

A HISTORY OF ZONNEBLOEM COLLEGE

1858 TO 1870

A STUDY OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY

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PREFACE

The project from which this thesis results was undertaken in the first place not for the purpose of a higher degree but at the request of the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Although from the beginning it has been supervised by Professor John Cumpsty, Head of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town, with the intention of submitting a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, the project has required a greater attention to the wider context in which the history of Zonnebloem was set in order to assess the successes and failures of the type of involvement of the Church in education typified by Zonnebloem, than might have been the case if this were simply an historical thesis restricted to the first twelve years of the College.

There being no readily available secondary sources to the reader of this thesis it has been necessary to include a great deal of background material drawn largely from primary sources. In order to understand and assess the vision of the founders, and its outworking in Zonnebloem, we have had to provide what is virtually a chronicle of the period. It asks a great deal of the reader; but to have done otherwise would have been to mislead and to insult the reader with superficiality. We have included much reference material in the hope that this will be of assistance to future workers in this largely undocumented field.

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- The Universities Mission to Central Africa - O. Chadwick,
 Mackenzie's Grave (London : Hodder and between pages
 Stoughton, 1959) page 8. 382 and 383
- Eastward. Extension of Cape Colony, 1858 - 94
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- Basutoland, 1833 - 71 - E.A. Walker, between pages
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- Natal and Zululand, 1945 - 1910 - E.A. between pages
 Walker, Historical Atlas of South Africa. 588 and 589
 No. 15.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1:1	Volume 1 : page 1.
BA	Bishopscourt Archives.
BM	<u>Bloemfontein Mission - Orange Free State and Basuto Mission.</u>
BQ	<u>Bloemfontein Quarterly.</u>
CA	Cape Archives.
CCC	<u>Colonial Church Chronicle.</u>
CCDG	<u>The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Grahamstown.</u>
CCM	<u>The Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record.</u>
CCP	<u>The Church Chronicle for the Church of the Province of South Africa.</u>
CM	<u>The Church Monthly.</u>
CPM	<u>Cowley St. John Parish Magazine.</u>
CTDM	<u>Cape Town Diocesan Magazine.</u>
CZ	<u>The Cape to the Zambesi. South African Church Magazine.</u>
GC	Grey Collection, South African Public Library.
GCAL	Grey Collection - Additional File of African Letters, South African Public Library.
LB	Letter Books numbered 1 to 10 - copies of Bishop Gray's correspondence, Church House, Cape Town.
MF	<u>Mission Field.</u>
MR	Muniments Room, St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town.
NS	New Series of a publication.
SACM & Eccl.	<u>South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review.</u>
SACM & Ed.	<u>South African Church Magazine and Education Register.</u>
SALQB	<u>South African Library Quarterly Bulletin.</u>
SAOP	<u>Occasional Papers, St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.</u>
SMPM	<u>The Sign and S. Mark's Parish Magazine.</u>
SMR	<u>S. Mark's Record.</u>
SPG	<u>Annual Report of the S.P.G..</u>
TN	The Net.
72	Zonnebloem Papers.

LIST OF ALTERNATIVE NAMES FOR ZONNEBLOEM COLLEGE

(This list has been included for reference purposes)

1858 1859

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Kaffir Industrial Institution - Travers to Frere, 17.4.1858, ZP.

Protea Mission College at Bishopscourt - Lightfoot, 17.4.1858, H. Barnett-Clarke, The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, 72.

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Zonnebloem Institution - Gray Memorandum, 1866, ZP.

The Bishop's Native College at Zonnebloem - TN, 1.1.1867, 2:44.

Kafir School at Zonnebloem - Landsberg to Wodehouse, 13.4.1868, ZP.

Zonnebloem Kafir Institution - Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1869, LB10:282.

Zonnebloem - Gray to Wodehouse, 30.4.1870, LB10:330.

Zonnebloem Native College - Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.

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Zonnebloem College - CCM, April 1901, 6 no. 4:10.

Chief's College - CCM, Jan. 1902, 7 no. 1:6.

Zonnebloem Kaffir College Capetown - CCM, Jan. 1902 7 no. 1:6.

NOTE ON TERMS

A work involving the history of the people living in South Africa is fraught with considerable difficulties concerning nomenclature. South Africans are commonly classified by race and as the terms have changed with time, so may those used a century ago cause offence when used to-day. The most acceptable modern terms are given by M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa, 1:xi - "'whites' meaning those classified as descendants of settlers from Europe and a handful from America; 'Coloured' meaning those of mixed descent (mulatto), and 'African' meaning dark-skinned part-negro people".

During the nineteenth century, however, the "whites" were more generally known as "Europeans", while "Boer" was the term used to describe the South Africans of Dutch descent. "Kafir" (also spelt Kaffir, Kaffer and Caffrey, the Arabic word for unbeliever or infidel, was commonly used by writers of the time when referring to black people, more especially those living on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony. The term was not then considered to have unpleasant connotations.

The leading personalities in this history frequently used the term "Kafir". The Institution in Cape Town for the children of chiefs was most commonly known as the "Kafir College". The students' country was called "Kafirland". The term will be retained, therefore, as contemporary usage requires. We note, however, that during the 1860's, the term "Native" was more generally used and that "Kafir" was limited to those people belonging to the Xhosa nation. We appreciate the fact that "Kafir" is not acceptable in modern usage and the term would be considered abusive.

The spelling of names and places varies considerably and is the cause of much confusion. We have retained that spelling and those names which were most commonly used during the period under discussion. Alternatives are stated where necessary.

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CHARTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Kafir College was established as an Industrial Institution for the Instruction of the children of Native Chiefs and their Councillors at Bishop's Court, (1) the home of Bishop Gray in Claremont, in February, 1858. This experiment in education was **the** realization of the vision of two leading personalities of **the** time - Bishop Gray, the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in South Africa (2) and Sir George Grey, Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape Colony. (3) The College was the combined venture of the Church and the British Government. They shared **the** financial responsibilities and when Zonnebloem, (4) a wine **Term on** the outskirts of Cape Town, was bought as a permanent **site** for the Institution in 1859, they both contributed towards **the** purchase price. Zonnebloem College came into being the following year when the students took up residence in their **new** quarters. The property, after first being transferred to Sir George Grey, was subsequently received back by Bishop Gray **and it** has been held in trust by the Lord Bishop of Cape Town **ever** since.

The history of Zonnebloem can be divided into a number of distinct periods. While the College has functioned as an Educational Institution up to the present day, its purpose **has** changed at intervals over the years. **It** has altered **direction** and varied the scope of its work in order to meet **the** differing educational needs of the time. The **student enrolment**, too, has changed with time, for the College has of **necessity been** compelled to comply with the requirements of **Government** legislation. Although the first students were **natives**, **it was the** founders' intention that Zonnebloem should be "open to pupils of all races in South Africa". (5) The Trust Deed **stated explicitly that it was endowed with the** object of civilizing and Christianizing the native inhabitants of Africa and their descendants of pure and mixed race and of providing for the education of destitute European children. (6) Zonnebloem remained "mixed" until the early 1920's. As a

result of legislation, European students were prevented from being accepted with Non-Europeans, (7) and the number of Native students also dwindled as facilities for their education became more generally available nearer their own homes. Thus, for the last fifty years, Zonnebloem has served the Coloured community only.

During this latter period, Zonnebloem has gone through a number of stages of development. To-day, Zonnebloem College is the collective title for four schools - Zonnebloem Training School, Zonnebloem Secondary School, Zonnebloem Boys Practising School and Zonnebloem Girls Practising School - in addition to St. Clare's Hostel and the Children's Art Centre. Each of the schools is a State Aided School under the Administration of The Department of Coloured Affairs. The College is administered by a Resident Warden who is responsible to the Advisory Council (8). This body is appointed by the Archbishop of Cape Town, who is the Chairman of the Council.

In this thesis we have made a detailed study of the first era in Zonnebloem's history, the period from 1858 to 1870, when the Kafir College was still fulfilling the function for which it was originally founded. This function is stated in some detail: in an official letter written by Sir George Grey to Bishop Cray in 1860, and forms the basis for our study :

One of the objects which the Government has for a long time considered of primary importance, with a view to the peaceable occupation of the Interior of Africa by a European Race, and the civilization and advancement in Christianity of the Races living within, or immediately beyond our borders, is the establishment in the vicinity of Cape Town, of an Industrial School, of a Superior Order.

Such a School would be situated near the Capital, where European Civilization is to be found in the most perfect form in which it exists in South Africa. It would be in the vicinity of the Residence of the Governor, and in some sort would be regarded as connected with him. These are all points which would exercise a great influence over the Native minds, and would probably induce many of the leading Chiefs, in the interior, to part with their children, while they might be unwilling to send them to one of an ordinary kind in some little frequented district.

In no other place could native children under our care be so thoroughly removed and kept apart from Heathen and barbarous influences as near Cape Town. In no other place could females be so secure from being taken away and disposed of to some Heathen husband, whom they had never seen, and for whom they had no regard. In no other place could all the force and appliances of civilization be brought to bear with the same uninterrupted effect upon the Children of barbarous and Savage Chiefs. (9)

Bishop Gray was in one accord with Sir George Grey. They shared a vision whereby they would provide the children of African chiefs with a liberal and Christian education and then send them back to their homes, to be an example and help to their people, arguing that they would be of far greater influence among their tribesmen than any European missionaries, teachers, or Government agents. It was a plan designed to serve the ends of both the Church and the Government, a plan devised to solve the state of constant unrest in South Africa caused by confrontation between black and white, a plan to create a better understanding between people of opposing cultures in a situation where all other schemes had proved unsuccessful, where political negotiations and military might had failed to secure peace. This period in Zonnebloem's history is, therefore, inextricably interwoven with the political events that took place in South Africa at the time.

A study limited to an account of the students and their schooling in Cape Town would be of superficial interest and little value. This, then, is not only the story of twelve years of Zonnebloem but it is also the story of Church and Society. The Kafir College was founded to fulfil certain needs in the country, as envisaged by the Government and the Church, and its early history cannot be divorced from the Society it was established to serve. The overall plan of the thesis is to study the early history of the College in three phases. Firstly, there is a careful examination of the events leading up to the founding, then there is an account of the minutiae of the life of the College between 1858 and 1870; and lastly, we have followed the course of some of the students' careers in their home countries. In this way an

attempt has been made to evaluate the effects of their education and to see in what measure Zonnebloem succeeded in satisfying the intentions of its founders.

The history of Zonnebloem makes no sense whatsoever in a vacuum. With the lack of any readily available single source, or even a manageable number of contemporary sources, to which one can turn for background material, we have decided that we must devote a considerable proportion of this thesis simply to the setting in which the Zonnebloem story takes place. In the three chapters following upon this introduction, we survey the background and set the scene.

Chapter Two is a brief historical account of some of the main factors in the period up to 1848, the year in which Robert Gray arrived in South Africa as the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town. Although Sir George Grey was the co-founder of Zonnebloem, he was not on the scene for long and his role was largely confined to seeing the college established. It is Bishop Gray who plays the prominent part. His personality and episcopacy are integral parts of Zonnebloem's history and so his early life is our first interest. We then follow his arrival in the Cape Colony with a description of Cape Town as seen through the eyes of his wife, Sophy. At the same time we get an understanding of why the capital of the Colony was the centre of civilization in South Africa. Gray's first concern was for the Church and its responsibility for the education of all races, and so we have his views on the state of affairs in 1848. This is accompanied by short historical accounts of the Churches at the Cape, particularly the Anglican, of education in the Colony up to this time, and of the Missionaries, representing different religious bodies, and their early attempts to evangelize the heathen.

In Chapter Three we look at the people for whom the Kafir College was founded and the situation in South Africa, up to 1854, which precipitated the founding. Firstly, it deals with the native races and their leaders, "the barbarous and savage chiefs", (10) their tribal traditions and culture, and their social customs which were the focus of so much criticism by Europeans. More specifically we shall look at the type of

education which a non-Christian native child received in his own country and this will form a basis for comparison with the instruction given at Zonnebloem. In this section we shall be specifically picking out personalities who will be involved in the development of the Kafir College. In the second part of this chapter we will make a short resume of the history of European occupation in South Africa, of the confrontation between two different cultures, of the efforts of successive Governors to prevent conflict and of their failure to resolve the situation, as seen by the series of Kafir wars. This is followed by an account of the Government's first concerted attempts to find a solution through planning to educate and Christianize the Xhosa, of Bishop Gray's efforts to secure the Anglican Church's involvement, of his meetings with the Chiefs and of the beginnings of his concern for the education of their children.

Sir George Grey made his appearance on the scene in 1854. Chapter Four deals with his previous experience in civilizing the indigenous people of Australia and New Zealand, his policy for civilizing the natives in South Africa, his co-operation with the different religious bodies and the impetus to Anglican missionary work as a result of his assistance. Of particular note was Sir George's participation in fostering the education of the sons of Maori and Polynesian chiefs at St. John's College, Auckland in New Zealand. We also discuss Bishop Colenso's actions in founding his "Kafir Harrow" at Ekukanyeni in Natal, where he provided instruction for the sons of Zulu chiefs. As far as we know, these two Colleges were the only other Institutions in the world that had similar aims to Zonnebloem and a comparison is consequently of great interest. Sir George Grey was involved in the establishment of all three Colleges: it was through him that the Government gave aid for their maintenance, and his personal contribution is characteristic. But although they were all Anglican Institutions and the systems of education, which included industrial instruction, were similar, they each had an individual stamp which stemmed directly from the particular Bishop at their head. Selwyn of New Zealand, Colenso of Natal, and Gray of the Cape, all held

different views concerning the heathen and his "savage" nature. Their diverse attitudes towards the natives' inherited beliefs were clearly reflected in their approach to the problem of converting their black students to Christianity.

The founding of the Kafir College in Cape Town was the climax to events on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony. We will follow these happenings, which centred around the Cattle Killing Delusion and the National Suicide of the Xhosa, for it was as a result of the subsequent breaking of the Chiefs' power and their enforced submission to the progress of European civilization, that the way was prepared for their children to accept the educational opportunities offered them by the Governor and for their removal to the Capital of the Colony for their schooling. Although Sir George Grey and Bishop Gray shared the idea, it was the Governor who made it possible to implement the scheme. And so in Chapter Five we turn directly to look at the founding of the Kafir College at Bishop's Court, and then in later chapters follow the further development of the Institution at Zonnebloem.

Robert Gray, First Anglican Bishop of Cape Town

Robert Gray is the central figure in this, the first period of Zonnebloem's history.⁽¹¹⁾ The Kafir College was a cause dear **to the** Bishop's heart and the story of its early years revolves round him. His belief in the ideals that fostered its founding inspired him, and we shall see how his energy was the driving force which made the realization of Zonnebloem's purpose possible. It was his tenacity which overcame the many difficulties which dogged the College's early years, and his determination that ensured its survival against seemingly overwhelming odds. Robert Gray's remarkable personality is reflected in the considerable achievements of his episcopacy at the Cape which spanned a quarter of a century. He was a priest of great spiritual strength, who dedicated his life to the work of the church and who ruled both himself and his flock with unwavering discipline. As the first Bishop of Cape Town, his was the responsibility of pioneering a new diocese and despite the frustrating handicaps of his academic shortcomings and continual ill-health, he triumphed to lay the foundations and construct **the** framework of the Anglican Church in South Africa.

Gray's Early Years and Education

Gray's early years showed little indication of his future life. He was born on October 3rd, 1809, the twelfth child and seventh son of Robert Gray, the Rector of Bishop's Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, England. The family suffered from tuberculosis and the youthful Robert was much saddened by the early death of a number of his brothers and sisters. He, too, was delicate **health**. Nonetheless he entered Eton College at the age of **thirteen**. He was not there for long, though. An accident left him with a maimed foot and he was forced to continue his education at home, an invalid confined to crutches.

During the time of his convalescence, Robert Gray made a **voyage** to the West Indies and then a Grand Tour of the Continent **accompanied** by various members of his family. By 1827, his

health had improved sufficiently for him to go up to University College, Oxford. He was a diligent student but his interrupted schooling and lack of formal education hampered his scholastic career. He read for a pass degree and after four years of study was awarded an honorary fourth-class honours degree. His modest academic record was probably not a true reflection of his intellect. Yet, with his poor physique, these were not promising qualifications for a man who felt a vocation for the ministry and who was later to become a leader in the Church.

While at University, Gray was much influenced by the trends in the Church of England which sought to catalyze a re-awakening in the spiritual life of its members and which tried to free the Church from its dependancy on the State. These "winds of change" culminated in the birth of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement. (12) According to Hinchliff, 'Gray, though not strictly a Tractarian, agreed with their 'high' doctrine of the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments'. (13) At Oxford Gray made friends with many eminent Churchmen. After leaving College he kept up a regular correspondence with Pusey and Keble, the founders of Tractarianism. But it was Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, who was his closest confidant and who supported him with advice and encouragement after he was called to the Cape Colony.

Robert Gray Enters the Ministry

Gray was a man of great courage who pursued his chosen course undeterred by popular public opinion. In this way he closely resembled his father. Robert Gray, senior, who became Bishop of Bristol in 1827, was a staunch Tory. As a vociferous opponent of the First Reform Bill in England, he became a target for the mob's fury during the Bristol riots in 1831. (14) Although the rioters succeeded in burning down the Episcopal Palace and attacked the Cathedral, the Bishop refused to be intimidated and would not retract. Neither would he go into hiding but chose rather to attend the public services as usual, quite prepared to take the consequences, even the possibility of death. This incident is thought to have made a profound impression on his Oxford graduate son, for it was shortly

first obligation was to save Fellow Christians in the Colonies from lapsing into paganism, it also aimed to propogate the gospel in Foreign lands. This meant that its work was extended to converting the heathen not only in the British Empire but in other countries as well. China, Japan, Hawaii, Central America, Madagascar, and Zululand, were all included in its outreach.(16)

Gray was an ardent supporter of the S.P.G., and through its publications he became familiar with the work of the Church all over the world. He plunged into his secretarial work with enthusiasm. Sophy was of great assistance in handling the extensive correspondence involved in canvassing local support for the Society. It was Gray's aim to induce the clergy in neighbouring parishes and towns, as well as the principal laity in the county. to form Parochial Associations and he was instrumental in establishing a flourishing network in his area. His connection with the Society proved to be of great value, for it was the S.P.G. who financed the bulk of the mission work in South Africa and it was the Society which later helped maintain the Kafir College in Cape Town.(17)

In 1845, Gray became Vicar of the important parish of Stockton-on-Tees. In contrast to his former rural parish, this was primarily an industrial area for it was an important ship-building centre. Much of Gray's work in his new job revolved around education. He was deeply concerned about the lack of schools and the low standard of learning among the poorer people. He refused an invitation to a more comfortable living at Wickham in order that he might see his plans "for the improvement and extension of education worked out to a safe conclusion". (18) His Bishop, impressed with his dedication, appointed him an Honorary Canon of Durham Cathedral.

Gray's Appointment as Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope

In 1847, Gray was faced with a momentous decision concerning his future. The Rev. Ernest Hawkins, secretary to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, wrote asking if he would be prepared to be nominated to one of the new sees which the Fund was in the process of founding.(19) Gray's work for the S.P.G., of which Hawkins was secretary too, had not gone unnoticed, and his

special interest in the mission Field was a high commendation. However he felt most unworthy to take this step and hesitated to accept the offer. A lengthy correspondence with family and friends heightened the confusion for he received a wealth of conflicting advice, most of it discouraging. He finally agreed to nomination and was, within a short time, appointed to the Bishopric of the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, the diocese of his choice. The four new Bishops - of Cape Town, Adelaide, Newcastle and Melbourne - were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Peter's Day, June 29th, 1847, at a ceremony marked by pomp and splendour.

There were many months of preparation before Gray left for his new diocese - men and money being the priority in his planning. He worked hard to raise funds for his new field of labour and toured England, speaking at innumerable meetings and preaching countless sermons, in order to rally support for his cause. Clergymen, inspired by his call, were eager to accompany him to the Cape and he was kept busy choosing his staff. Among those who offered themselves and were selected for specific posts were Nathaniel Merriman as Archdeacon, the Rev. The Hon. Henry Douglas as Dean, and Hopkins Badnall as the Bishop's Chaplain. (20)

Gray was at his best when involved in practical matters, and administration was his forte. However, he was most conscious of his academic deficiencies and expressed doubts as to his suitability for the post :

The relations of the Church towards the civil power are, I believe, quite undefined; the laws of the Church unsettled. The foundations of everything have yet to be laid. I own it has always appeared to me that the first Bishop of a Colonial See should have qualifications which I have no pretensions to. (21)

The Bishop, his wife, four children and a party of church-workers eventually set sail from England on December 20th, 1847. They landed at the Cape exactly two months later. Gray entered on his duties as Bishop of Cape Town with enthusiasm. His Clergy and Catechists were dispatched to their various posts and his family were settled in temporary quarters in

the town. A survey of the state of education and religion in the Colony showed neglect of both the settlers and the heathen. Gray was soon busy with plans for building churches and schools, Sophy being made responsible for most of the architectural designs.

Gray was stimulated by the challenge of the charge. He was thirty-seven years old and, although he was to find the new work physically and mentally exhausting, and often complained of ill-health, he lived until 1872, surviving Sophy by two years. During his twenty-five years leadership at the Cape he drove himself unflinchingly. It was not an easy passage for he had many critics. He was accused of being domineering, of despising others who didn't hold his views, (22) of being a bigot, and a poor judge of men.(2B) But, as Hinchliff says :

When all the adverse criticisms have been given due weight we are left with a picture of a man of very definite opinions, prepared on the whole to be tactful about expressing them; not willing to compromise on what he regarded as a matter of principle. (24)

The personality of the man emerges more clearly as we follow his participation in the development of the Kafir College. His enthusiasm and his dedication soon becoming evident.

2. Cape Town - The Centre of European Civilization in South Africa

"We are agreeably surprised with the town and magnificent mountains", wrote Bishop Gray, giving his first impressions of Cape Town to his family in England.(25) By 1848, the capital had grown from its -original function as a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company to being the chief port, and the centre of commerce, administration and European culture. Here Civilization was to be found "in the most perfect form in South Africa".(26) And Sir George Grey, wishing to impress the children of African chiefs with the Western way of life, later selected it as the ideal situation for the Kafir College.

The Development of the Cape Colony

The Cape Colony had developed slowly. It had made little progress as a Dutch dependency and after a century and a half of Company rule the white population remained concentrated on the coastal fringe, the interior being only sparsely inhabited

by semi-nomadic farmers. At the turn of the 18th century the Cape became a colonial shuttlecock between Holland and Britain but even the fact that it changed hands a number of times did little to stimulate expansion. The Colony first became a British possession in 1795. This was the time of the Napoleonic wars, and, as a result of the French invasion of Holland, Britain became fearful lest the French 'should seize the Cape, so endangering her sea-route to India. Consequently, British forces were sent south and with the consent of the exiled Prince of Orange, and after nominal resistance from the Dutch governor at Cape Town, they took occupation. The British Government did not retain control for long though for, with the Truce of Amiens, peace was restored between Britain and France and the Cape was given back to the Batavian Republic in 1803. (27) Dutch rule was short-lived and war broke out again in 1806- when the British invaded the Cape for the second time. However, it wasn't until 1814, after Napoleon's defeat and exile, that Britain was formally ceded the Cape Colony under the Peace of Paris settlement.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Cape was, therefore, a Dutch settlement. The first British colonists were mainly members of the Government, military men, and merchants, who lived in the vicinity of Cape Town. It was only after the second British Occupation that English speaking settlers were attracted to the Colony in considerable numbers. With the arrival of 3500 British settlers in 1820, they were no longer centred around the capital but were spread out over the Eastern Frontier district as well. This had an important bearing on the advancement of the pioneer Anglican missionary work. But in spite of the steady influx of Britons, at the time of Bishop Gray's arrival in South Africa, the white population in Cape Town was still largely composed of the descendents of Dutch settlers , some Germans, and a small settlement of the descendents of refugee French Huguenots. (28)

Cape Town was the seat of Government. This consisted of the Governor, who acted as High Commissioner, a nominated Executive Council, and a nominated Legislative Council. (29) In the early years of British rule, the Governor was "in law and practice an autocrat", (30) responsible only to the

This map shows the province of British Kaffraria and the extent and divisions of the Cape Colony in 1848



Colonial Office in Britain. The implementation and fulfilment of any public scheme was entirely dependent on the sympathy of the particular Governor. As they were replaced at frequent intervals, any person in a public position, such as Bishop Gray, found it imperative to remain on friendly terms with whoever the Colonial Office chose to send. Because of the continual unrest in the country, the British administrators at the Cape were invariably military men.

The territory over which the Governor ruled had ill defined frontiers which were constantly changing according to the prevailing British policy. While the Orange River remained the northern boundary, the Eastern Frontier was forever shifting. (31) The Keiskamma River replaced the Fish River as the eastern boundary in 1847. (32) The Gray's were overwhelmed by the vastness of the Cape Colony and this was only part of their new diocese. Soon after their arrival Sophy recorded some facts and figures concerning the Colony in her private notebook. She wrote :

It extends about 240 miles from North to South and 550 miles from East to West, its area being about 130,000 square miles.... It is divided into the Eastern and Western Province. (33)

Besides Cape Town, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth were the only other towns of any significance, and they were in the Eastern Province, six hundred miles away. The capital, which was also the main port, was the vital link with overseas markets. Yet, situated as it was on the southern tip of the continent, it was isolated from the rest of the country. Add to this the difficulties imposed by poor communications and it is understandable why economic development had been so slow. Apart from the commerce in and around Cape Town, the surrounding area was agricultural, the land being suitable for the growing of grain, vegetables, fruit and vines, as well as for keeping cattle and sheep. The small Western Province towns such as Paarl, Stellenbosch and Swellendam, served farming communities and the only industry was wagon building. (34)

The Hinterland

The country was semi-arid in the hinterland, suitable only for grazing stock. The farmers, referred to as "trek boers",

were constantly on the move, in search of new pastures for their animals. As the grazing became exhausted from overstocking, drought, or plagues or locusts which denuded the vegetation, they just trekked onwards to look for new land on which to settle. And as they fanned out east and north, they had to compete for the land with the Africans and tribes of mixed colour, such as the Griquas, who were also semi-nomadic. The fight for land became the crux of the dispute between the colonists and the indigenous people. The resultant conflict on the, many fronts of the expanding colony form the background to the early history of the Kafir College.

Many of the first permanent settlements in the remote regions were established by missionaries, pioneer farming communities being attracted to the environs of their stations. But these frontier pockets of civilization were sited in a haphazard fashion, their position being largely determined by the locality of the tribe who were to be evangelized and the whim of the chief concerned.

On the other hand, the new towns in the Northern Cape, founded by the Government, were situated at strategic points so that provision could be made for the local administration of justice, and a drostdy or sub-drostdy could then be established. (35) In the Eastern Province, garrison towns grew from military outposts and villages sprung up next to forts. "Dorps" developed around the churches which were established by the Dutch Reformed Church to serve the settlers living in the surrounding countryside. (36)

The Problems of Isolation in South Africa

The scattered outposts of civilization had little contact with Cape Town. Even as European expansion spread over South Africa and the colonists became concentrated in communities in an ever extending area, these small strongholds of the Western way of life were isolated from the capital. The country towns and villages, separated by distance and the difficulties of communication, were out of touch with the Cape. There were few roads except in the immediate proximity of the settlements. The rivers were not traversed by bridges, the mountain ranges were not accessible by passes, and rough tracks worn by

Wagon wheels marked uncertain routes across the vast expanses of the plains. Railways were undreamt of. The traveller was dependent on horse, cart and wagon to cover the long distances. The ox-wagon, drawn by a string of oxen, was the most satisfactory mode of transport for a lengthy journey, but was very slow. The horse-drawn cart, covered so as to give protection from the sun, was faster, but the horses were expensive to hire and were often inferior and difficult to procure.

The inland postal communications were primitive, accentuating the remoteness of Cape Town from the rural communities. (37) Exchanges between the capital of the Colony and England were also frustratingly slow. Mail sent by sea was dependent on the irregular sailing of the steamers. The sea trip took anything from two to three months, depending on the prevailing weather conditions and there could be long delays. (38) Bishop Gray, who had a large correspondence with family, friends and Church officials in England, frequently referred to the necessity of writing in time to catch "the mail". (39)

Those involved in administration in South Africa, whether in Church or Government circles, who depended on receiving orders from overseas, found it extremely difficult to implement decisions taken by the hierarchy who were out of touch with the situation in the Colony. By the time instructions arrived at the Cape they were often not suited to the changed circumstances. A dialogue could be drawn out over many months. It was a most unsatisfactory way of conducting affairs and misunderstandings were the unfortunate and frequent result. Colonial policy was decided in England and the Governor at the Cape had to carry out the instructions of the Colonial Office. We shall see how Sir George Grey, impatient with the delay, went ahead with many of his plans without waiting for official sanction, so incurring the wrath of the British Government.

Bishop Gray found it necessary to make regular trips to England to carry out the Church's business. Not only was this a time consuming exercise but it also left the Colonial Church without its Metropolitan for long periods. Besides these journeys overseas, the Bishop made extended visitations in all directions of South Africa. He was dedicated to expanding

the work of the Church, to taking Christianity to the neglected colonists as well as to the heathen. Because his headquarters were at the Cape, at the far corner of his large diocese, his expeditions to see his scattered flock involved many months of exhausting travel, with hundreds of miles distance covered. The accounts of his journeys, recorded in his Journals, reveal the many misfortunes encountered by a traveller in Africa. There are stories of overturned carts, of lame horses, of extremes of heat and cold, of wind and rain, floods and swollen rivers that could not be forded, of sleepless nights and days of hunger, and of endless miles that had to be covered on foot when the going was too hard for the horses. Besides these physical difficulties, there was often the danger of attack by hostile Africans, for it was a time when fighting continually broke out on the frontier and warring tribes decimated the countryside. (40)

The overall scene in South Africa was one of isolation. The sprinkling of European settlers spread out over the country struggled to retain contact with one another, and with civilization. Many of the colonists, deprived of their creature comforts, urban services and their church, developed a primitive culture that had a precarious hold on the niceties of life, a society shorn of sophistication that concentrated its efforts on survival. There was minimal community of interest and very little national feeling. (41) Cape Town, the centre of civilization in the Cape Colony, was cut off from the rest of the country and developed a pattern of culture and form of society which was unique in South Africa.

Cape Town in 1848

In the mid-nineteenth century, the population of the Colony numbered about 100,000. (42) More than half were white, mostly Dutch, while a fifth of the total lived in Cape Town. (43) Sophy Gray was impressed by the cosmopolitan composition of the capital and noted in her diary that "the mixture of English and foreign in all that meets the Eye is one of the striking things in this Town. The Inhabitants, Dutch, Malays, Negroes, Hottentots and intermediates of every shade and colour". (44) The negroes, mostly from West Africa and

Mozambique, were freed slaves. (45) The Malays, with their distinctive dress and customs, added an Eastern flavour to the town. Bishop Gray was soon busy with plans for their conversion and the Mission to the Mohammedans was the first Anglican mission to be launched. (46)

The busy sea-port at the southernmost tip of Africa received a constant flow of visitors from Europe and the East. Retired colonists from India formed their own select community and were commonly known as the "Hindoos". (47) The English colonials, both civil and military, took their lead from "home" and the Victorian influence was evident in their way of life. (48) By 1848, an intelligent and cultivated society was starting to emerge in Cape Town and it took an interest in choral societies, art classes and "scientific wonders". (49) But in appearance, the capital was still very much a Dutch town, a strange contrast to the English towns with which Sophy Gray was familiar. We have a picture of her new home through her own eyes for she recorded her first impressions in a diary :

The Town standing on nearly flat ground makes no very conspicuous figure. Immediately behind it like a huge wall, rises the Table Mountain The main streets are broad and regular, crossing one another at right angles; but they are unpaved and consequently at this season (January, summer month) excessively dusty, many of them are shaded by rows of Oak Trees, and a Canal, at present nearly dry, runs down the whole length of the principal street which is called the Heer(en)-gracht. There are no regular foot pavements; but in front of most of the Houses are brick Terraces, more or less raised above the level of the Street: this Terrace is called the stoep. I found it the usual lounging place of the Inhabitants.

The Houses are rather low, always flat roofed in consequence of the violent winds to which the place is subject, either whitewashed or painted (red granite on brick stuccoed) with glass windows of numerous small panes. (50)

The violent South-Easter which blew incessantly during the Summer months was the bane of the Capetonians life. Sophy, in common with the other inhabitants of the town, found it very trying.

It blows something like a Hurricane, (she wrote) with clouds of dust and gravel flying in all directions

•. This wind is usually accompanied and announced by that peculiar cloud called the Table Cloth, which lies along the Top of Table Mountain like a wreath of snow while the rest of the sky is perfectly clear.

Like many other disagreeable things this wind is considered very salutary. (51)

But the Bishop had little time to worry about the "inconveniences" of the weather for he was fully preoccupied with the affairs of his neglected Church. (52)

3. The Churches at the Cape

Before following the emergence of the Anglican Church under Bishop Gray's guidance, which constitutes the background to the founding of the Kafir College, we must first have an understanding of its early history and its relationship to the other Churches in the Colony. The work of the missionary bodies will be dealt with in a separate section.

Company Rule

The history of the Church in South Africa during the first one hundred and fifty years of European settlement, is the history of the Dutch Reformed Church. (53) This was the religion of the government; and as the State Church was the religion of the people, it was the established Church from the time of the arrival of the first Dutch settlers at the Cape in 1652. (54) During the whole period of Company rule, the Church remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Amsterdam Classis of the Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk. The Company, however, had control of all religious activities at the Cape. The ministers, chosen by the D.E.I.C. (55) officials in Holland, owed their allegiance to the secular authorities. They were paid servants of the Company and their duties were strictly defined in their letters of appointment. (56)

The Company did not approve of non-conformity in religion and were reluctant to extend toleration to any other denominations. This caused considerable difficulties when people of different nationalities came to settle at the Cape. The French Huguenots, who arrived in 1668, were comparatively easily assimilated because they too were Calvinists. They retained the right to have their own French-speaking pastor despite the Governor's attempts to reduce their special privileges. (57) However the Lutherans, many of whom were German soldiers stationed at the garrison, were only given their religious

freedom after a long struggle. In 1778 they were at last given permission to worship in public, erect their own church, and have their own minister. (58)

Anglican activity was minimal. English ships called at the Cape while plying between England and India, and occasional services were conducted by the naval chaplains for the ships' companies. They were allowed to use the Dutch Church by special dispensation of the Governor. It is recorded that in the mid-eighteenth century, a number of Anglican funeral services were also held. These were for passengers who had died on board ship but were too distinguished to be buried at sea. (59)

The Mohammedan religion was never prohibited by the Company, but worship was restricted and had to take place either in the open air or in private houses. (60) The Malay community was granted permission to build a mosque in 1795; and the British, who occupied the Cape shortly afterwards, allowed them the right to worship in public. (61)

The First British Occupation

The first British Occupation did not alter the position of the Dutch Church as the established Church of the settlement. Great Britain's interests at the Cape were limited to securing the port as a naval base and maritime junction, and the terms of the capitulation permitted the colonists to retain all the privileges they had enjoyed under Dutch rule, including their religion. (62) Little provision was made for the English Church even though it was the religion of the new rulers. The Anglican clergy were represented by a succession of military and naval chaplains. Their duties were restricted to ministering to British Government officials and the forces stationed at the garrison, services being held in the Castle. The Bishop of London had nominal episcopal control but he did not exercise his rights and the chaplains were subject to the authority of the Governor, as if they were military officials. (63) The Governor acted as "Ordinary". This curious title empowered him to carry out all the administrative and jurisdictional functions of an Anglican bishop without, of course, giving him any spiritual authority. (64) His consent was needed before

marriages or adult baptisms could take place and he gave permission for the holding of public services.

The British authorities took great care to safeguard the rights of the Colonists' religion and any infringement by the Anglican chaplains was severely dealt with. There were numerous controversies when the chaplains exceeded their authorized duties and the Governor invariably took the part of the Dutch. The Anglican clergy maintained that it was their Christian duty to evangelize the heathen as well as care for those of their Faith, and they baptized slaves and Hottentots. The Dutch Church held very definite views on baptism and believed that it was unlawful to baptize infant or uninstructed heathen. They repeatedly made complaints about Anglican "trespassing", their objection being that heathen were baptized unprepared. These protests were upheld by the Governor. (65) The British Occupation was only temporary and when the Colony was handed over to the Batavian Republic in 1806, the chaplains were withdrawn with the British forces. For the time being, the work of the Anglican Church, insignificant as it was, came to an end.

The Batavian Administration

In contrast to the conservative rule of the Dutch East India Company and the British Government, the Batavian administration instituted an era of liberalism. The new regime was headed by

Commissioner-General J.A. de Mist, a member of the Council responsible for the administration of Dutch colonies, and Governor J.W. Janssens.

De Mist was a follower of French Revolutionary ideals and his planned reforms were evidence of the influence of the European Enlightenment. His regulations for reorganizing the colony, in order "to civilize and spiritualize the rough, half-savage white settlers". provided measures by which the State might support and extend the work of education and religion. (66) He published an ordinance in 1804 which granted "the protection of the law on equal terms to 'all Religious associations which for the furtherance of virtue and good conduct respect a Supreme Being'". (67)

Although there was freedom of worship, the State still controlled the Church. The Governor had to give his permission for services to be held and approve the places of worship - "in order to prevent immoral or dangerous teaching". (68) And despite the fact that de Mist loosened the ties of the Dutch Reformed Church with the Mother Church in the Netherlands, it was still under the control of civil authorities. Government representatives sat on the administrative bodies of the Dutch Church and the Ministers were appointed, and paid, by the Governor. (69) These regulations were continued under the British rule which followed and were not repealed until 1843. (70) Thus, when Great Britain took possession of the Cape for the second time in 1806, the Church remained subordinate to the State.

British Rule in the Nineteenth Century

The British administration was faced with great difficulties. For the first eight years it had the task of governing a colony over which it had uncertain tenure, for the Cape was not formally ceded to Great Britain until 1814. It had the responsibility of ordering the lives of a people who had inherited no loyalty to Britain and who had a tradition that was peculiarly their own. The original settlers, of Dutch, French, and German origin, had become blended into a community who spoke their own language, had a different system of law, and "adhered to an established religion which differed from that of the English governing class". (71) The Afrikaners had already emerged as a distinct people. (72)

The first British governors respected the colonists' rights and privileges. They were punctilious in observing the articles of capitulation and, as promised, public worship in use at the time of the occupation was maintained without alteration. (73) Whereas English replaced Dutch as the official language, the Dutch Church continued to be the official Church of the colony even though the Anglican Church was now the Church of the Government. (74)

The state of affairs was a repetition of the previous British Occupation and the Anglican Church continued to suffer from neglect: . The clergy were again naval and military chaplains,

and their duties were once more confined to serving the garrison and the administration. There was a renewal of friction with the Dutch Church, the Governor again taking the side of the local clergy in the controversies. Only after 1814 were the Anglican clergy permitted greater freedom in their ministry.

The Dutch Church flourished under British rule. The Government not only guaranteed its privileged position, but also helped with the extension of its work. However it was always under Government control. The ministers appointed by the Governor were virtually State officials responsible to him. The Colonial treasury paid their stipends and provided for the maintenance of a church in every drostdy. But many of the pulpits stood vacant for there was a dearth of Dutch ministers in the colony. Holland, the erstwhile mother country, no longer felt any responsibility for the religious needs of what was now a foreign territory. In 1812 there were only ten Dutch pastors to serve the congregations of the entire colony. (75)

The Government made every effort to relieve the shortage of clergy. When, in 1820, Governor Lord Charles Somerset failed to obtain reinforcements from Holland, he directed his search to Scotland. He had an ulterior motive for he thought it expedient to fill the pulpits of the Dutch Church with pro-British clergy whose mother tongue was English. The Dutch Reformed and Established Church of Scotland were both of the Reformed family of Protestantism. They shared an identical creed and had a similar form of worship. (76) The Scots recruits were encouraged to spend some time in Holland learning Dutch, before taking up their appointments in South Africa. Some of them, such as the Rev. Andrew Murray, who started work at Graaff Reinet in 1822, married into Afrikaner families and identified themselves completely with their adopted countrymen. Their influence on the local Church was considerable for they brought with them the current trends in theological thought.

(77)

Once the problem of recruiting clergy had been solved, the Dutch Church was able to concentrate its energies on organisation.

It found the interference and restraints imposed by the State increasingly irksome. The first Synod met in 1824; but it was many years before a certain measure of autonomy was granted in internal affairs, and then only as a result of steady pressure by the congregations. Even then the State continued to retain control of the ministers, they still being appointed and paid by the Colonial Treasury. (78)

The Dutch Church in the Rural Areas

The church was the centre around which a tenuous community life developed among the colonists in the rural areas. It was the focal point to which the widely scattered farming families were drawn for social as well as religious activities. When a new Grua was settled, a committee of farmers would select a central site suitable for laying out a village and then buy the farm. Subscriptions and the sale of building plots defrayed the cost of the property, as well as providing funds for building the church and parsonage. (79)

"Nachtmaal" (Holy Communion) was the occasion for a gathering of farmers from a widespread area. The sacrament was administered once a quarter, according to the custom of the Reformed Church, and the Boer families would travel long distances, often undertaking journeys of many weeks, in order to be present. The call to worship was also a welcome opportunity to conduct business and enjoy a few days of social life. The farmers would arrive before the weekend, outspan their wagons and sell their produce at the market set up in the village square. The gathering provided the opportunity for family and friends to get together and exchange news, for young couples to court, and for the catechumens to be examined by the "predikant" (minister). Sports meetings were a popular entertainment. Church services were held in the evenings, in preparation for the Lord's Supper on the Sunday. This was a solemn religious occasion. Marriages and baptisms followed the celebration of Communion, the sermon was interminable, and the service lasted for hours. (80)

The Dutch Church brought the colonists together. It was their only link with the outside world. It was the bastion of civilization and Christianity in rural South African society. But they had no missions and there were no places of worship

beyond the Orange River, the northern boundary of the Cape Colony. Those Boers who elected to emigrate and trek North were not only out of reach of the Government authorities but they were also out of touch with the spiritual life of their Church. At the time of the Great Trek, in 1837, the Synod did all in its power to prevent the mass migration. They forecast that this movement would lead to godlessness and a decline in civilization, and the trekkers' departure was accompanied by dire warnings. Dutch ministers were forbidden to accompany them. •81)

For many years the trekkers were dependent on the occasional ministrations of foreign missionaries who had settled among the indigenous people of the interior. Later, a few Dutch Reformed ministers itinerated among the widely dispersed communities; but because of their isolation, they could only be visited at infrequent intervals; The trekkers, however, maintained a disciplined religious life. The Bible was their most treasured possession. Morning and evening the family would join in worship - sing a psalm, say prayers, and read the Bible. Sunday was observed as a day of rest and families would meet together to hold a service in the open air. The pioneers' existence was primitive, though, and travellers from the Cape delighted in giving lurid descriptions of the "half-wild" state of many of the frontiersmen, reporting that they suffered from "a complete corruption of their moral sense" and that they were often 'rebellious and unreasonable in their behaviour". (82)

Bishop Gray's first impressions of the Dutch Reformed Church was that it seemed "a respectable but not very lively body". (83) The Anglicans had no places of worship of their own in the country districts and the Dutch Church clergy, many of whom were English-speaking, were generous in making their churches available for Anglican services on the occasion of the Bishop's visits. This tradition had started in the early nineteenth century and the "Groote Kerk", the mother Dutch Reformed church in Cape Town, was used by Anglican clergy for twenty-seven years. (84)

The Anglican Church

The state of the Anglican Church at the Cape was not a pleasant prospect for Bishop Gray, on his arrival in 1848.

Writing to the S.P.G. in England, he said : "We have suffered grievously, as might have been supposed from the long neglect which has been shown by the Mother Church toward her daughter in this distant land, and from the absence of a chief pastor, who might regulate the affairs of the Church and press its claims". (85)

The Anglican Church had indeed been sadly neglected. The military chaplains were the only clergy during the first years of British administration. (86) Eventually, the steady influx of English settlers and colonial officials made it necessary for the Colonial Office to appoint colonial chaplains to care for their needs. These clergy were civil servants, who received their salaries from the Government. (87) The coming of the 1820 Settlers added substantially to the number of Englishmen in the colony. Although the majority in this group were Methodists, this large scale immigration influenced the S.P.G. to grant funds towards the stipends of each Anglican clergyman sent out to the Cape, in order "that permanent means of religious worship and instruction should at once be secured as well as to the original settlers and their descendants as to the natives." (88)

The first Anglican church, St. George's, was built in 1814 at the naval base at Simonstown. It fell down a few years later, battered by stormy weather. Over the years, other churches were built in various parts of the Cape Peninsula and in the Eastern Province, to cater for the rapidly increasing number of English colonists. But there was no cohesion between the congregations. Each one was independent of the other and was regarded as belonging to the Established Church of England. Even though the S.P.G. voted a sum of money to erect a church in Cape Town in the early 1820's, it was not considered necessary to build it. St. George's, which became the Cathedral, was not completed until 1834. (89)

The problem of providing ministers for small groups of widely separated Englishmen was great. A few came to the Cape on their own initiative, some were sent by the S.P.G., but the right of appointment to all vacancies remained rigidly vested in the Governor. Although a few of these early clergy did good work **tinder** very trying conditions, a number of them were decidedly

eccentric and did little to enhance the Church's reputation. There were only six clergy at the Cape in 1825. (90) By the time the new bishop arrived, the number had risen to seventeen, out of a total of two hundred ministers of all denominations. (91) There were only twelve Anglican churches. (92)

The "absence of a chief pastor" was the crux of the Church's pitiable progress. The Governor, in his position as "Ordinary", was at the head with quasi-episcopal authority over the local clergy. Spiritual matters were consequently subordinate to State concerns. In 1827, the Church in England tried to improve its oversight, the new Bishop of Calcutta being given a special commission to begin his episcopate by calling at the Cape, the first Anglican bishop to visit there. Succeeding incumbents made brief stays on their way to India but only at long intervals. As their diocese included "all places between the Cape and Magellan's Straits", they could give but minimal attention to this fragment of the vast area under their supervision. They were vociferous in their complaints about the low spiritual state of the Cape Church and during their short sojourns attempted to stimulate spiritual revivals and stir up enthusiasm for church building. Without sustained leadership, however, this zeal did not last long. (93)

Through the 1830's and 1840's there was a succession of pleas by the colonists and clergy for a bishop. Some of the congregations were undisciplined and the clergy complained that they could not maintain control. There was friction and jealousy between the clergy themselves and the beginnings of the doctrinal controversy which so plagued Bishop Gray's episcopacy and caused conflict in Church circles. (94) The Tractarians, who sought a revival of the Catholic tradition, were opposed by the Evangelicals; and the latter were suspicious of ceremony and anything that suggested Romanism. (95) It was an unhappy state of affairs and it was palpably clear that effective Anglican work could not proceed without resident episcopal authority.

Fortunately for the struggling Church, Angela Burdett Coutts came to the rescue. In 1847, she gave £36,000 to the Colonial Bishops' Fund, the money to be used to create two new colonial sees. Cape Town and Adelaide were selected as having

the most urgent needs. Miss Burdett Coutts, the heiress to a banking fortune, is remembered for the colossal benefactions she gave both in England and abroad. A staunch churchwoman, she provided funds towards the building of numerous churches and Church schools (including Zonnebloem), as well as endowing a third bishopric in British Columbia. Her philanthropic efforts were not exclusive to religious work, however, and her sympathies were extended to a wide range of social reform. In recognition of her philanthropy, Queen Victoria conferred a Peerage on her in 1871, and she became the first woman to gain the distinction of Baroness on her own right. (96)

We have already learnt how Robert Gray was appointed the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town. The diocese to which he came included all that part of South Africa which Great Britain claimed to rule - the Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, Natal, St. Helena and the Orange River Sovereignty. (97) Miss Burdett Coutts, who maintained a personal interest in the affairs of the new see, was told by Bishop Gray : "You will I am sure, rejoice, that it has pleased God to make you the humble instrument of promoting to so great an extent the advancement of his Kingdom on Earth". (98) He then went on to describe the many difficulties with which he had to contend : "The rebellious state of the Colonists - the careless state of many of our own people - the ignorance which prevails as to Divine things through our past neglect - and the jealousies of those who are not of us". (99)

The Bishop was in despair over the dissent that flourished among his flock, the suspicions and jealousies of the local Anglican clergy, and the strange behaviour in his churches. At St. John's, Wynberg, he found one of the "Hindoos" praying extemporarily in the church - "preachers, who with long purses and pious purposes were the pest of the place". (100) While at the cathedral, the two clergy belonged to "a little evangelical alliance" (101) and had used the pulpit for proclaiming pamphlets against the doctrine of the Church. (102) Gray, writing to his family in England, said : "I find everything relating to religion in confusion and disorder". (103)

Small knots of Anglicans, dispersed throughout the country, were overjoyed at the coming of the Bishop and begged him for

churches, clergy and schools. Anxious as he was to reorganize and extend the work of the Church, Gray was, from the start, hampered by the scarcity of funds at his disposal. During his fund-raising drive in England, he had been promised subscriptions which were to be paid over a five year period, and this guaranteed a certain income. But the calls for money were legion and the Bishop was hard put to find the means for all the worthy causes. In addition, he was personally responsible for the salaries of his clergy. (104) Gray's private income perforce provided the funds for many a Church project.

Due to the past apathy of the Church, many Anglicans, in despair of receiving spiritual aid from their own clergy, had joined other religious bodies. These were little better off, and the Bishop found them "all in some confusion". (105) He reported that

An elder of the Lutheran Church has requested to come to talk over the affairs of his connection. Then the dependents are quarreling vehemently among themselves, some siding with Dr. Philip (106) and some against; and the Free Kirk and Kirk are furious, and I understand the Methodists are divided. May God save his Church from being so. (107)

Freedom of Worship

Under British rule, freedom of worship was extended to "the full range of confessions which enjoyed the right of worship in Great Britain". (108) In practice there were certain limitations. The Wesleyan Methodists sent their first missionary to South Africa in 1814, in response to requests from soldiers in the garrison. But Somerset refused him permission to preach for fear that "his exertions might interfere with the established religion". (109) The Rev. Barnabas Shaw, (110) who arrived two years later, managed to win the Government's confidence and from that time on Methodist work, particularly in the mission field, forged ahead. Their strength was greatly increased by the large contingent of 1820 Settlers of their faith who settled in the Eastern Province, and, thirty years later, by another group who went to Natal. Many nominal Anglicans joined the Methodists' ranks in the frontier districts. (111) There were eighteen Methodist churches in South Africa by 1844. (112)

The Presbyterians were far fewer in number. Their first small congregation, formed in 1813, was drawn from the troops and it languished when the regiment concerned was transferred. Although they did not have many European adherents, the Scots ministers were very active in mission work. The Scots Presbyterians were divided among themselves, and the persistent dissent between the **two** sections widened the cleavage still further. The congregation that fared in Cape Town in the mid-1820's, was careful to explain to the Government that it was distinct from Dr. Philip's "Scots Independents". (113) The dissension ultimately led to the establishment of the "Free Church of Scotland" in 1843. (114)

The Lutherans had an old tradition at the Cape. They continued to receive full toleration under British rule but their ministers were not supported by the State. Their numbers were never high, the estimate being 1800 in 1841. (115)

Unlike the other religions, the Roman Catholics were not tolerated by Britain. The three priests who were allowed to officiate under Batavian rule, were expelled after the coming of the British. (116) A priest was permitted to resume work in Cape Town in 1820, but there were always difficulties in securing staff and during the next few decades the Catholic Church was often without **a** clergyman. (117) Theoretically there was political and civil equality for people of every religious belief. It was thought, though, that Catholics could be excluded from civil offices by laws of England that were binding in South Africa. It was only **in** 1830 that the issue of an ordinance definitely guaranteed **them** their freedom. (118) The census taken in 1841 gave their numbers as 1710. (119)

There were Baptists among the 1820 Settlers, too, and in time **they** built a church in Grahamstown. (120) The small Jewish community at the Cape did not avail themselves of the freedom **of** worship allowed them and the first permanent congregation in **Cape** Town was not founded until 1841. The first Rabbi came from **England** in 1849, a year after Bishop Gray. (121)

Bishop Gray and the other denominations at the Cape

Bishop Gray's first task was to bring the Anglicans together **into a** united body. Simultaneously he desired to maintain friendly relations with the other denominations. At the start of his **work** he expressed the wish that he might "keep our Church in

that by teaching them Christian prayers and the Dutch language they would become more useful servants. A daily tot of brandy and two inches of chewing tobacco were offered as inducements. A school which included white children was only opened five years later. The Sick Comforter (Sickentrooster) was given the job of teacher. There was no distinction of race or colour in his "mixed" class of pupils. (128) The Company later instituted separate schools for the slaves but free-blacks and half-breed children continued to be admitted to the general schools as long as they were sufficiently intelligent. (129)

The public schools were controlled by the Church and instruction was usually entrusted to some minor Church official. (130) A special education commission, the Scholarch, was set up in 1714, and it functioned under the Governor and Council. (131) Private schools were also established during the eighteenth century but the standard of education was so low that wealthy burghers and officials who could afford it, sent their sons to Holland for further education. (132)

There were no schools in the rural areas and country children were considered lucky if they received even the most rudimentary education. The isolated farming families were dependent on the services of itinerant teachers or "meesters", The Boers, desperate for instruction for their children, employed whomsoever they could get. The "meesters" were for the most part drawn from the dregs of society. Their ranks included army deserters, sailors who had jumped ship, discharged Company officials, and those escaping from the law. These vagabonds had all the vices and their drunken disorderly behaviour brought the teaching profession into disrepute. They had no other means of livelihood and were generally poorly educated. They seldom stayed with one family for longer than a year, a six month sojourn was more usual. They taught their pupils all they knew and then moved on. The Boer youth were not supposed to marry until they had passed their religious examination and had been confirmed. The Church, therefore, provided a powerful motive for them to learn to read. (133)

The First Educational Reforms

The first educational reform at the Cape was attempted by Commissioner de Mist during the Batavian rule. (134) He planned

a State system of education, a revolutionary concept in a society where education was so closely linked with the Church and religion. During the short period of his administration he was able to see few of his schemes realized and it was only in Cape Town that he achieved some success.

It was as a result of de Mist's encouragement that a school providing education of a higher calibre was started in 1804 by the Netherlands Society, Tot Nut van't Algemeen ("Pro Bono Publico"). (135) Even if the Commissioner's attempts at re-organizing education throughout the country had not been hampered by insufficient funds and a shortage of teachers, public suspicion would probably have thwarted his plans, for his reforms were too advanced for the time. The colonists did not want secular education - "Better no education at all from books than instruction not based on religion was the cry from one end of the colony to the other". (136)

Fortunately for the colonists' peace of mind, the British administration, which took over from the Batavians, did not consider that it was the State's duty to provide education. They were content to hand this responsibility over to private and religious charity, and after de Mist left, education was re-established under the Church's control. (137) Sir John Cradock, the first of the English Governors to improve education in the Colony, replaced de Mist's Board of Education with the Bible and Schol Commission. (138) The new system, patterned on an English one, (139) was directed chiefly towards the poor and needy. The Commission, by means of financial support obtained from the Churches, was able to make free public schools possible both in town and country. These Church-clerk or "Koster-scholen", established in 1813, were open to all races. The medium of instruction was Dutch. (140)

English Free Schools

In the early 1820's, Governor Lord Charles Somerset determined on a policy of anglicization for the Colony. He proclaimed English as the official language, and, in order to effect his designs, established Government supported English Free Schools throughout the Colony. Teachers were imported from Britain, and

Latin and English were the only languages that were allowed to be taught in these schools. (141) No distinction was made between black and white. The schools were advertized as being available "to poor children at every class and colour, provided they were decently clad and not suffering from disease". (142)

Joint education was not favoured by many of the colonists and, in the mid-1820's, the objections from both Dutch and English speaking parents gathered force. The administration, however, persevered with their policy despite these complaints. When the acting Governor, Major-General Bourke, learnt of discrimination being practised against black children in Grahamstown, in 1827, he rebuked those concerned, saying :

The distinction between white and coloured children is not observed in any other free school in the Colony, and should, if possible, be avoided ... it is said no better way of removing the prejudice against the black exists than affording them an opportunity of emulating those who possessed advantages over them. (143)

The Dutch schools in many of the principal villages were hard hit by the competition from the Government Free Schools and were soon forced to close because of the lack of pupils. The twenty-four Somerset schools, however, themselves met with indifferent success and were soon going downhill. Hampered by a lack of qualified teachers and inefficient direction by the Bible and School Commission, the new school system was further jeopardized by the antagonism of parents in the rural areas. They objected to the Government-prescribed syllabus, maintaining that it was irrelevant for children living in the "platteland". They particularly resented the fact that the schooling was given almost entirely through the English medium, whereas their home language was Dutch. (144) In spite of this criticism, an official report written in 1824, stated that "the Government had entirely accomplished its design, in the establishment of

English Schools, to make that language the general one among the inhabitants". (145)

Private and Grammar Schools

There were many attempts to found small private schools at this time, but they seldom lasted long because of lack of support. Ate Academy founded by Pringle and Fairbairn in 1824, in

opposition to the Somerset School in Cape Town, closed the following year. (146) Education was not considered essential during the early nineteenth century and it was not made compulsory for white children until a hundred years later. Even wealthy people wished their sons to enter the family business by the time they reached the age of twelve. (147) The private schools received no assistance from the Government and were maintained almost exclusively by fees. The Church schools were subsidized by the various religious bodies, while the Grammar Schools were supported from public funds. (148)

Lord Charles Somerset encouraged the establishment of a Grammar School patterned on the English model - "probably because he regarded such an institution an essential to maintain the prestige and leadership of his countrymen in a conquered colony". (149) An Anglican clergyman, Mr. Judge, was secured as teacher and he opened a high class school in Cape Town in 1825. Four years later, his school merged with the South African College, a joint enterprise of British and Dutch colonists.

The newly founded College offered a wide range of subjects, both classical and "modern". Two professors headed the separate departments of literature and science. There were many difficulties during the early years and the College struggled to keep going. The discipline was poor, the pupils had insufficient elementary grounding, they were disinterested in higher learning, and the enrolment dwindled. One of the professors reported in 1844, that only a few of his more advanced pupils had even begun to learn Greek. (150) There were continual financial problems, too. The College was saved by the granting of an annual Government subsidy. It later gave birth to the first University in South Africa. (151)

The Herschel System of Education

Education in the Cape Colony was eventually placed on a sound foundation in 1839, when the Herschel system was introduced by Governor Napier. (152) This system was the combined inspiration of three men - Sir John Herschel, the Astronomer Royal at the Cape, Colonel Bell, the Secretary for the Colony, and John Fairbairn, school-master and newspaper editor. The Cape Department of Education was created according to their proposals. It was made responsible for the administration, control, and

organization of education in the Colony. The Bible and School Commission was replaced by a single centre of educational authority, in the person of a Superintendent-General of Public Education. James Rose-Innes was the first appointment to this post and he held the position for twenty years. (153)

Rose-Innes had come to the Cape as one of the band of Scots teachers engaged by Somerset for his English Free Schools. After teaching for a time at Uitenhage, Rose-Innes had then been appointed Professor of Mathematics at the South African College. His new duties as Superintendent-General were manifold. He was Inspector and Registrar of schools, he controlled educational finance, planned the school curriculum, appointed teachers and established schools. He was answerable to the Government for furnishing an annual report in which he recorded the past year's progress, and stated his policy and plans for the future.

The new system provided for two classes of schools and this allowed for improved facilities in education. The First Class, English medium, classical schools were instituted in the large centres. They provided elementary and secondary instruction. Those pupils who did not secure a Government nomination were charged a small fee. The Second Class elementary schools were free. The instruction was given either in Dutch or English, depending on the requirements. (154)

One of the Superintendent-General's greatest problems proved to be the securing of a sufficient supply of competent teachers. The salaries offered were meagre and were small enticement in acquiring staff from overseas. Nevertheless, a considerable number of teachers were obtained from Scotland. A Normal College was started in Cape Town to train teachers for the elementary schools. (155) It was due to Rose-Inne's efforts that teaching became a dignified profession in South Africa.

The public schools were open to children of all races. According to the historian George McCall Theal, the failure to implement racial discrimination initially caused much dissatisfaction among the colonists. His account of the introduction of the new system was palpably prejudiced against the philanthropists :

^k
⁴ The lower schools were nearly wrecked almost immediately after being started through attempt on the part of certain people who had peculiar ideas, to force coloured children as well as white into those schools. The schools were free, and you could

use the words "white" and "coloured" in any enactment Naturally the white children were withdrawn, and there was a great deal of trouble for some considerable time. Ultimately Dr. Innes ... succeeded in rectifying the matter by requiring all pupils to be decently attired and behave themselves respectably, and in course of time the coloured children were got out of these schools and into mission schools. (156)

In 1841 Government grants were made available to the mission schools to encourage their development. Two years later, Third Class sohools were created to meet the needs of the country districts. This was the start of the *system* of State-aided schools which was instrumental in extending the work of education throughout South Africa. (157)

In places where the Government was not able to establish schools, *aid*, in the form of an annual grant towards the salary of a teacher, was given either to an existing private school or else the local inhabitants were encouraged to start their own school. Such schools were required to fulfil certain conditions - English had to be taught as a subject, the instruction must be secular, and the Superintendent-General had the right to inspect the schools. The Dutch Reformed Church supported the system and was active in getting State-aided schools started in outlying areas. Local school committees were formed and the "dominees" invariably accepted nomination to the chairmanship. (158) By 1846, there were twenty-five public schools in the Colony, and fifty six receiving grants in aid. (159)

Bishop Gray's Educational Plans

Bishop Gray made a survey of the State system of schools soon *after* his arrival at the Cape in 1848. His expertise in educational matters, acquired during his years as a parish priest in England, was a great help in making an appraisal of the situation in South Africa and in formulating his plans for the future. He reported that : "The whole question of education (a very difficult and delicate one) is decided against the ,Church, and the country is covered with schools and Scotch Masters at large salaries, though many more are wanted". (160)

The secular system of education, insisted on by the State, (161) distressed the Bishop greatly and he determined to do all in his power to make some alterations in the system. (162) He planned

to establish an independent network of schools attached to Anglican churches. These were to be erected throughout the diocese. The main difficulty was to secure competent teaching staff. He believed that if only he could get sufficient schoolmasters, he might eventually be able "to break up the Government system and get hold gradually of the Government funds". (163) This particular plan, confided to his brother-in-law, Dr. Williamson, was not realized.

As a beginning, Bishop Gray directed his attention to the schools in Cape Town. He was dismayed by his findings. He told the S.P.G.:

This parish has ... an Infant School where morality is taught as a substitute for the Christian Faith - a Government School from which the Catechism is excluded - a Church Girl's School where the Catechism is mutilated to suit the Methodists - a Sunday School held in Church from where it is excluded. (164)

It seemed to Gray that the most pressing need was to establish a school of a higher order, a Collegiate Institution, in Cape Town. He fully sympathized with the English immigrants, who, when they settled in the Colony, had to forego that type of education which had been so richly provided for them at home.

(165) The Bishop was most scathing about the South African College and commented that "the only Institution which professes to give an Education of a higher order, is based upon no religious principles, and is a manifest failure". (166) He evolved a "great scheme" to buy the "Dissenting Government College", as he called it, planning to turn it into a Collegiate school. (167)

I mean to make a dash at it, (he told a brother in England) though I scarce expect to succeed, and shall probably excite the jealousy of the Dutch and Scotch. My proposal, however, is a most liberal one and so palpably for the benefit of the Colony, that I may succeed. If I do carry my point, it will be a glorious move. If I fail then I shall instantly start my own college. (168)

The negotiations were unsuccessful. (169) Bishop Gray, undeterred by this setback, founded his own Institution. The Diocesan College School (Bishop's) opened on March 15, 1848, in an out-building on the Bishop's property at Protea (Bishop's Court). (170) The Kafir College was begun there ten years later.

Education on the Frontier

The object of the Kafir Institution at Cape Town was to educate the children of "barbarous and savage" African chiefs. But it was not only the indigenous people who were labelled with such an epithet. According to Trollope, the cultured Dutchmen of the Cape regarded the Boers living in the Transvaal as "dirty, ignorant and arrogant Savage(s)". (171)

Education in the frontier districts was still virtually non-existent, and there was a wide gulf between the pioneers and their fellows living in urban comfort. The nomadic life of the farmers made the establishing of schools an impossibility. Despite this, there was practically no illiteracy. Because of the Dutch Reformed Church's insistence on certain minimum educational requirements for church membership, every effort was made to arrange for the children to receive a few months schooling from a "meester". But their formal education was rudimentary. For most of them, the Bible was the only book they read. :172) They had little contact with the outside world and were isolated from civilization. Because of the harshness of their surroundings, their learning was based on adaptation and survival, not taken from books. As Pells says :

Their main education was the education provided by life itself. The process of solving the problems presented by their environment, the problems of gaining their daily sustenance, of warding off danger, and of maintaining their White standards of living and of morality, constituted their training Both both and girl soon learned to handle a gun, to ride a horse, to shoot from the saddle, and to read the signs of the veld and sky. they assisted their parents in the care of the flocks and herds. They helped to make their own clothing, boots and furniture (They were) busy helping their parents to win a new land for civilization. (173)

The frontiersmen developed skills suited to their way of life. They also acquired virtues such as courtesy, self-reliance and courage. There was no place in their lives for fastidiousness and the trivialities of social conventions. For this, they were cohdemned as being uncivilized. Critical Westerners maintained that "many of the rising generation were well on the way to becoming worse than Hottentots". (174)

In fact the education provided for many Coloured people in the Cape, and for a few Africans in the Eastern Province, far surpassed that of many of the Boers. This was due to the devoted work of missionaries, sent from Europe by various Societies and Churches, to labour among the heathen in Africa. Most of them concentrated on book learning and were active in starting Mission schools wherever they settled. It is, therefore, of interest to make a short study of the work of the Missionary Societies and their early efforts in evangelizing and educating the heathen. This cannot be separated from the missionaries' involvement in the political developments of the time, for they became the champions of their adopted people.

5. The Evangelization and Education of the Heathen

(a) Under Company Rule

Instruction of the Slaves and Hottentots

Van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape of Good Hope to establish a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company. The Company was not concerned with colonization and they, therefore, made little effort to provide for the religious needs of their servants.

The Sick-Comforter, who accompanied the expedition, acted as a **sort** of Catechist. His duties were strictly circumscribed. He **had to** visit the sick, conduct evening worship, and read a **sermon** on Sundays. He was not allowed to preach, nor administer **the** sacraments, nor conduct a burial service. (175) No regular minister accompanied the party of Dutchmen and for the first **thirteen** years they were dependent on the infrequent ministrations **of** clergymen who called at the settlement on their way to and **from** the East. (176) Considering the neglect of the settlers' **Spiritual** care, it is hardly surprising that little was done in **the** way of missionary work during the early years of Company **,rule.**

Nevertheless, van Riebeeck felt a commitment towards evangelizing the heathen, his concern being for the Bushmen and Hottentots **:whom he** found living at the Cape. (177) **At** his first Council **'Feting,** held soon after landing, he opened the proceedings with **:prayer** in which he asked for God's guidance in "the propogation

and extension (if that be possible) of Thy true Reformed Christian Religion among these wild and brutal men". (178)

Once the settlement was established, the Commander directed that there should be schools for the education and evangelization of the Bushmen and Hottentots, as well as for the Company's slaves. The Sick-Comforter was designated as their teacher. He had to instruct them in the Dutch language and in the truths of Christian religion. His early efforts met with little success, however.

Few of the Hottentots took any interest in the white mens' religion. Nor did they show any desire to become civilized. The Sick-Comforter's most promising candidates disappointed their Dutch mentor by discarding their newly acquired European clothes and reverting to their "barbaric" state. Despite this setback, the first convert was a Hottentot, a young girl called Eva. She was baptized at an impressive public ceremony in 1662.(179) Subsequent converts were mainly slaves, not Hottentots, though. As a result of the tribesmens' repeated sheep-stealing forays on the settlement, relations between the Hottentots and the burghers became severely strained. The hostilities which ensued put paid to further efforts for their conversion. The smallpox epidemic in 1713 wiped out whole communities of Hottentots. Many of the remnants were absorbed into the settler community as servants. (180)

It was the custom at the Cape during the early years for a visiting clergyman to baptize the children of all the slaves.

The Dutch owners were then expected to ensure that these children were educated in the Christian religion. (181) The slave children were admitted to the public schools from the start. Under Company rule there was no racial discrimination. Even when a separate school was started for them in the slave quarters in Cape Town in 1665 considerable numbers continued to receive their education alongside the children of the settlers. (182)

Adult slaves, who were baptized into the Church, received their freedom and were entitled to a social status which was almost on a par with the colonists. This custom was, understandably, a deterrent to over-enthusiastic evangelization on the part of the slave owners, who were not anxious to lose *their* slaves.

Stricter laws were later introduced to check indiscriminate emancipation. (183)

The Decline in Missionary Effort

After the first quarter of a century of missionary effort, the colonists' evangelistic zeal, such as it was, slowly petered out. During the eighteenth century, they remained diligent about seeing to the instruction of their slaves but made little attempt to win converts. The reason for this, was, that the settlers themselves received scant spiritual attention and their gradual moral decline was not conducive to missionary activity. (184)

The Company had by now appointed clergymen to work in the Colony, but they were too few in number to serve the rapidly expanding white settlement adequately. In 1743, there were three ministers. They were stationed at Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. They had the care of four thousand farmers and fifteen hundred Company servants. (185) Governor-general van Imhof, who made a tour of inspection at this time, reported that the scattered colonists were "rather like a collection of blind heathens, than a colony of European Christians". (186) He forecast that if they were not supplied with more ministers, "a race will soon be found in that country, which, being destitute of the most necessary knowledge of fundamental truths, will be distinguished from the surrounding heathens in nothing but the Christian name". (187)

The then Dutch Reformed Church, hampered by a chronic shortage of clergy, had neither the men nor the money to embark on missions to the heathen. The Church was further impeded in its work by the fact that it was State controlled. Half the "Kerkenraad" (Consistory) were State officials, nominated by the State. Besides which, the ministers whom the Company selected were not necessarily properly qualified for the ministry. The Church had no central union and missionary work was entirely dependent on the enterprise of individuals. (188)

The deficiency in clergy at the Cape was augmented by ministers who came as representatives of missionary societies. Although the S.P.G. had been active among the heathen in the English colonies since 1701, and the Danish-Halle Missionary Society was operating in the Danish colonies (in the East Indies and Greenland), it was the Moravians from Germany and the London Missionary Society, who were the first to enter the South African

mission field. (189)

The Moravian Mission to the Hottentots

M~~oravian~~**T**he first real and sustained effort at evangelization in the Colony was undertaken by Georg Schmidt, a Moravian. In 1737, he **was** given permission by the Company to work among the Cape Hottentots with the purpose of converting them from heathendom **to** Christianity. (190) He settled near a tribe at Baviaanskloof **in** the Caledon district and here he started a mission station, later called Genadendal. (191)

The Hottentots were herders by nature and unused to a settled **life**. Schmidt tried to teach them the rudiments of farming as well as religion but he found them lazy and loath to work on the mission. In spite of their apathy, Schmidt persevered with instructing them in the Christian beliefs. He was rewarded with a number of converts. But this led to dissension. The Dutch clergy were adamant that only the reformed ministers of the established Church be allowed to administer the sacraments and objected to Schmidt baptizing his converts. The missionary belonged to the Hernhutt religious community (192) and was not an ordained minister of a recognized Church. The prejudice against him was **so** strong, that after working in South Africa for six years, Schmidt was forced to leave the country. (193) There were no further missions in the Colony for nearly fifty years.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there was a movement among the Dutch clergy at the Cape to arouse in the colonists a concern for the spiritual welfare of the slaves and Hottentots. Outstanding were the Rev. van Lier of Cape Town and the Rev. **Vos** of Roodezand (Tulbagh). They encouraged their congregations **to** become responsible for missionary work among their servants, **and** the heathen in the surrounding area. (194)

The change in the climate of public opinion at the Cape encouraged the Moravians to seek permission from the authorities to revive their mission to the Hottentots. Their application was successful **and** three Brethren were sent from Hernhutt to re-start the station at Genadendal, in 1792. They were allowed far greater freedom than their predecessor, being given leave to administer the sacraments and preach as long as they did not compete with existing Dutch congregations. (195)

The object of the Moravian Brethren was "to convert the Hottentots, and render them industrious, religious and happy". (196) In order to achieve the difficult transition of these people, from a nomadic way of life to a settled existence, the mission was organized as an enclosed settlement. Here the Hottentots could live permanently and be kept apart from the contaminating influence of their tribesmen. It was a protected environment in which they were to be transformed from "one kind of society, culture, and life into another". (197)

The Hottentot families were encouraged to settle on the mission land, to build neat houses, and start gardens. A church was erected, and so was a school and mill. The Moravians were stern disciplinarians and church attendance was compulsory. They met with a surprisingly eager response to their preaching of the gospel and the tribesmen came flocking to live at the station. Both adults and children attended the school. Classes were given in reading and writing, as well as religious instruction.

The Moravians were great believers in the value of manual labour as a character-builder. Despite the innate idleness of the Hottentots, the Brethren succeeded in showing their flock how to farm the land productively and taught them simple crafts. The Brethren were themselves masters of trades, and they started cottage industries in shoe-making, metal-working (cutlery), thatching, tanning and carpentry. The rapidly expanding village at Genadendal was soon largely self-supporting. (198) The work was extended in the Cape and Eastern Province. By 1849 there were seven Moravian mission stations in South Africa, (199) manned by seventeen missionaries. (200)

The manner in which the Moravians moulded the heathen Hottentots into a disciplined and industrious Christian community, was copied by other religious bodies. The Anglicans modelled many of their mission stations on the Moravian pattern. The colonists, on the other hand, resented the arrival of the Brethren. They were indignant because the Hottentot children received schooling while their children remained untutored. The farmers complained of a shortage of labour because their Hottentot workers left the farm, to settle on the mission stations. They denounced Genadendal as "a refuge for the idle, the discontented and the thievish". (201) This was the start of a prejudice which was

directed by the colonists against all foreign missionaries, and which, in fact, was to escalate over the next fifty years.

(b) The Missionary Societies

There was considerable missionary activity in South Africa during the first fifty years of British rule. The Evangelical revival which took place in Europe during the eighteenth century stirred up a missionary spirit among the masses. Missionary Societies were formed in many countries and they were moved to send representatives to Africa, to take civilization and Christianity to the heathen. (202) They established a network of mission stations which extended throughout the Cape Colony and beyond its borders, the missionaries penetrating deep into the tribal territories of the indigenous people. The many faceted work of the different societies is dealt with in detail by Professor J. du Plessis in his book, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa. We shall only touch on those developments which are pertinent to this history.

Of primary importance is an examination of the deterioration in the relationship between the missionaries and the colonists during the first half of the nineteenth century. The alienation within the ranks of the white people, resulting from differing attitudes to people of colour, was to have an important bearing on the work of the Kafir College.

This was a time of turbulence in South African affairs. There was continual friction between the Africans and settlers, and amongst the Africans themselves. Tribal warfare generated mass migrations which had repercussions over the length and breadth of the country, as the displaced people sought land on which to settle. On the frontiers of the Colony, the frequent collisions between black and white engendered a chronic antagonism. During this time, the missionaries, who had settled among the tribes, were the target for much criticism. The colonists accused them of becoming rich from trading and of making themselves too comfortable, of having better homes and gardens than anyone else. Above all, they charged them with being active politicians. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society were the chief objects of this denunciation but they brought the other
1, missionaries into disrepute too.

The London Missionary Society

The L.M.S. pioneered the South African missionary field for the British. The society was originally non-denominational but it later tended to represent the Congregationalists. Their missionaries identified themselves with the cause of the black people and persevered in championing their rights. They believed that it was their Christian duty to fight for fair treatment for the Coloured and African people, and to expose the injustices committed against them. They maintained that their political activity was, chiefly, a plea to the colonial authorities to assume the responsibility for law and order. The colonists, however, resented the missionaries' biased humanitarian treatment of the blacks. Conflict was the inevitable consequence. (203)

Dr. J.T. van der Kemp accompanied the first missionary group sent by the L.M.S. to the Colony. On his arrival in Cape Town in 1799, he was given an enthusiastic welcome by the burghers and they were aroused to start their own missionary movement. The South African Missionary Society, many of whose members belonged to the Dutch Church, concentrated their efforts on evangelizing the slaves. They began work in the capital but the Dutch clergy became alarmed when they built their own church. After being accused of proselytizing, they were forced to divert their energies to supporting missionaries in the country districts. (204)

Van der Kemp's popularity with the colonists was short-lived. His eccentric conduct soon stirred up enmity against him and the reputation of the L.M.S. suffered as a result. His pioneer missionary venture was a failure. He opened the first school for Africans near Ngqika's (Gaika's) kraal, but conditions on the Eastern Frontier were too unsettled and he left after a year. He then turned his attention to the Hottentots and, assisted by Read, established a mission station at Bethelsdorp, near Algoa Bay. (205) Here he achieved a greater measure of success and many Hottentot families came to live at the settlement. The farmers in the surrounding areas were furious because they said that van der Kemp had lured all their labour away from the lands. They asserted that Bethelsdorp was a hotbed of idleness and iniquity, and villified the missionary for his beliefs and his behaviour.

Van der Kemp was a visionary rather than a missionary. As a disciple of Rousseau's philosophy, he practised and preached the doctrine of equality of all men. He believed that in order to win "the confidence of savages it was necessary to conform to such of their customs as were not sinful". (206) He carried out this conviction by adopting the Hottentot way of life, dressing and eating like them, and marrying the daughter of a Malagasy slave. His example was followed by a number of his fellow workers, who took Hottentot wives, much to the colonists' disgust. Van der Kemp refused to coerce the Hottentots, who had settled at Bethelsdorp, into working for the local farmers. He maintained that they were free men, and defended their rights and privileges as such. Theal reflected the sentiments of the majority of the colonists when he commented that this concept of the "noble savage" was "philanthropy gone mad". (207)

Read, who succeeded van der Kemp, alienated the settlers still further through his prominent participation in the Black Circuit. (208) At the instigation of the L.M.S. missionaries, a large number of frontier farmers were brought to court, charged with cruelty against their Hottentot servants. The whites bitterly resented having to defend themselves against allegations made by blacks. One farmer refused to appear in court and was shot resisting arrest. His family and friends sought revenge and this flared up into the Slachter's Nek Rebellion. (209) These incidents left a bitter hatred, directed against the L.M.S.

The L.M.S. missionary network grew apace. Stations were started among the Griquas, Namaquas and Bechuanas, as well as in the Eastern Province. (210) Two of the Society's most famous servants were Robert Moffat and Dr. David Livingstone, both of whom were later associated with the Kafir College. Moffat worked among the Bechuanas, founding the station at Kuruman on the edge of the Kalahari Desert, which eventually served a vast missionary district. (211) Livingstone started his missionary career with Moffat, and married his daughter. But he felt a call to explore the hinterland and went on to make numerous journeys of discovery, hoping to open the way for the establishment of Christian missions in Central Africa and what is now Rhodesia and Zambia. (212)

In order to co-ordinate the work of the L.M.S. in South Africa, Dr. John Philip was appointed the Resident Director and Superintendent of Missions in 1819. (213) It was he who was chiefly identified with political interference and he became the focus for the colonists' rancour. Philip was not a missionary, he was responsible for directing L.M.S. operations. His supervisory duties obliged him to keep in constant touch with mission stations all over the country and during his regular tours of inspection, he was able to accumulate first hand evidence of conditions among the underprivileged indigenous people. He was horrified by what he found. The farmers were dependent on the Hottentots to supply their labour wants. They were a nomadic people with no homeland and had no choice but to work on the farms or be punished as vagrants, such were the laws. They had no legal rights, lived under appalling conditions, and were often treated very badly. The farmers, in turn, complained that the Hottentots were shiftless and thieving, and that their large families had to be supported for little return. (214) Philip was also concerned about conditions on the Eastern Frontier, where a constant state of tension between the settlers and the Xhosa was the cause of repeated outbreaks of fighting.

Philip was a humanitarian and philanthropist. He believed it was his duty to fight for an improvement in the lot of the African and Coloured people, particularly for their just treatment. (215) Through official dispatches, letters, and his book, Researches in South Africa, published in 1828, he was able to keep his Evangelical supporters in Britain constantly informed of the situation, as he saw it. Unfortunately his biased viewpoint was often their only source of information. Philip failed to appreciate the colonists' point of view and took no cognizance of their complaints. He censured them for the maltreatment of their labour and blamed them entirely for the unrest on the Frontier.

The L.M.S. Superintendent's campaign was championed in Britain. It was the time of the Anti-Slavery Agitation and the British philanthropists, eager to expose injustices against the black people, gave Philip their political support. Following an official inquiry, the Government took legislative action. Ordinance 50, which was passed in 1828, conferred on the Hottentots and other Free Persons of Colour, equal rights with

the Whites. (216) They no longer had to carry passes and the employers' powers were curtailed. The colonists were outraged by Philip's involvement in these proceedings. Vagrancy, no longer a punishable offence, was soon on the increase with a concomittant upsurge in crime. The emancipation of slaves, which followed in 1834, was the last straw as far as the Boers were concerned.

Philip's suggestions were also instrumental in shaping the British policy of Balkanization in South Africa. Under this system, the Government attempted to solve the frontier difficulties by creating African states on the Colony's borders. Treaties were made with the African chiefs and they received recognition as independent rulers. They had complete authority over any white adventurers who might enter their territories as well as over their black subjects. (217)

The Colonists' Antagonism towards the Missionaries

The Boers could not accept the idea of social equality between civilized Europeans and "naked savages". The Dutch settlers, "with all their qualities and virtues, carried Puritan manners and traditions into the 19th century, and applied the Old Testament as their standard of conduct toward the coloured races". (218) The English clergymen were dismayed to find that the Boers believe(that the Coloured and African people had no souls. One Anglican minister in the Orange River Colony reported that the farmers looked on the indigenous people "as inferior animals and very often treated them as such", (219) The Dutch farmers were content to employ Hottentots and Africans as helpers, but made no attempt to teach them anything. (220)

The Boers bitterly resented the fact that the heathen were able to attend mission schools while their own children remained ignorant, for want of teachers and schools. As one frontier farmer confided to an L.M.S. missionary in the Eastern Cape : "Our children are going backwards while the children of our former slaves, and those who are not a people, and considered to have no souls, are rising in knowledge, and becoming, in some cases, their superiors". (221) Their resentment was understandable. The different standpoints of the missionaries and the ;.colonists seemed irreconcilable.

The colonists maintained that Britain's policy towards the 'coloured races was a betrayal of their interests and blamed the

missionaries' political manoeuvring for the Government's apparent defection. The Boers could see no sign that Government sympathy **would** be forthcoming in the future. Their reaction was to leave **the** Colony. The emigration which started in the early 1830's, culminated in the Great Trek in 1837. The Boers' grievances were enumerated in a manifesto issued by Piet Retief on the eve of **his** departure from Grahamstown. Section four obvious refers to **the** workers of the L.M.S. :

We complain of the unjustifiable odium ... cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of our country.
^ 222)

The Voortrekkers were resolved not to countenance slavery but at **the same** time, they were determined to maintain a proper relationship between master and servant. (223) This resolution was later **enshrined** in the Nine Articles of the "Grondwet" of the Transvaal Republic, published in **1858**, which stated that : "The **People** wills to agree to no equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or State". (224) The "Grondwet" **also** forbade any intercourse with missionaries from English **societies**, the Trekkers hostility being directed mainly against **Dr. Philip** and the L.M.S.. (225)

The L.M.S. missionaries were not deflected from their chosen course by this overt antagonism. They distended their political **activity**, maintaining that the work of evangelizing and educating **heathen could** not be divorced from their Christian responsibility **to the** people under their care. Henry Calderwood, an L.M.S. missionary working in the Eastern Cape, supported his Superintendent's actions to the full. He told Dr. Philip :

I see it impossible for a missionary with a conscience and a heart to live in Caffreland and refrain from doing what will be called political. And if it be political to stand between the oppressors and oppressed I am determined by the Grace of God to be political. (226)

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission

;,The Wesleyan Methodist missionaries found favour with the **colonists** because they did not share Dr. Philip's views. (227)
Under the Methodist system, the ministers served in a dual

capacity, as colonial pastor to the English settlers and missionary to the African tribesmen. (228) Yet, despite their divided loyalties and concern for the heathen, they were anxious for security on the frontier and sympathized with many of the settlers' grievances. The first Methodist station was established by Barnabas Shaw among the Namaqua Hottentots on the west coast in 1816. (229) But the main missionary thrust was directed to the African tribes living beyond the eastern and north-eastern borders of the Colony.

The Methodists were the first missionary society to organize a systematic scheme for taking Christianity and civilization to the heathen. This was done under the direction of the Rev. William Shaw, who came to South Africa as chaplain to a party of 1820 Settlers. (230) He started his ministry at Salem, near Grahamstown; but, challenged by the fact that there was not a single missionary between himself and the northern extremity of the Red Sea, he soon made plans to enter the mission field. (231) He envisaged a chain of mission stations placed at strategic points among selected African tribes, stretching from Salem to the port of Natal, four hundred miles north. The Methodists made rapid progress with their plans and Buntingville, the sixth link in the mission chain, was established in Pondoland in 1830, so covering half the distance in the first ten years. (232) The Methodists continued with their swift advance and by 1850 they numbered at least twenty-five stations, serving both colonists and Africans in the Eastern Province and Kaffraria. (233)

One branch of the Methodist attack on heathenism was directed inland, and, in common with a number of the other missionary societies, they became attached to a specific tribe. Just as Moffat and the L.M.S. were linked with the Bechuana, and the French Protestant missionaries with the Basuto, so did the Methodists adopt the Barolong tribe of the Bechuana people.

(234) Besides their work of evangelization and education, these foreign missionaries became the spokesmen for the tribesmen under their charge. They advised them in political matters, championed their cause and defended their rights.

In 1822, two Methodist ministers, Samuel Broadbent and Thomas Hodgson, were sent into the interior to seek out a Bechuana tribe whom they could evangelize. Determined not to trespass on

L.M.S. precincts, they crossed the Vaal River and attached themselves to Sifonela, (235) chief of the Barolong, at Maquassi. These were a fugitive people for this was the time of the "Difaqane", a period when inter-tribal warfare devastated the high veld. (236)

With the rise of the Zulu kingdom in the 1820's, bands of refugees, fleeing from Shaka, sought new land on which to live and invaded the settlements of the surrounding communities. This triggered off a successive wave of invasions which led to the forced migration of the displaced people into the interior. The Barolong, who had been driven from their homelands by the rampaging Mantatee horde, were not long at Maquassi, being soon constrained to flee further west, accompanied by the Methodist missionaries. They remained at Platberg for a time but eventually they were driven south by drought and the threat of famine.

The missionaries negotiated their removal to a more fertile area in the Caledon River valley. Permission to settle in this new territory was given by Moshesh (237) and Sekonyela (238) in exchange for eight head of horned cattle, thirty-four sheep and five goats. Moroka, (239) who had succeeded Sifonela as chief, led the migration south of the 12,000 strong Barolong tribe, in 1833. They established a settlement at Thaba 'Nchu, "the Mountain of Blackness", and here the Methodists founded a station which soon became the centre of a large missionary district. (240)

The Paris Evangelical Society Mission to the Basuto

The Paris Evangelical Society followed hard on the Methodists' heels. The first French Protestant missionaries arrived in South Africa in 1829, but because of the troubled state of the interior they found difficulty in attaching themselves to a tribe. It was not until 1833 that the Society was invited to start work in Basutoland under the aegis of the chief, Moshesh. (241)

Moshesh had inherited neither rank nor position. He was the son of a village headman of an inferior Sotho tribe. (242) A dynamic leader, with great military and diplomatic talents, he rose to power during the "Difaqane". The Sotho tribes were dispersed by the Matabele invasion. Moshesh rounded up a large number of refugees, settled them in villages under their chiefs, took

wives from most of the chiefly lineages (so enhancing his standing), and in time, welded them together to form the Basuto (Ba Sotho) nation. Using the impregnable mountain stronghold at Thaba Bosiu, "the Hill at Night", as his headquarters, Moshesh led his army in a succession of wars against the surrounding tribes. The victorious expeditions yielded him additional territory and wealth in the form of cattle. (243)

When Moshesh heard of the good work being done by the missionaries and of how the nomadic tribes were prospering under their guidance, he determined to "buy" himself a missionary. He sent a few hundred head of cattle to Griqua Town as the purchase price of a church worker, but they were intercepted by Koranna Hottentots. However a second message reached Dr. Philip successfully and he passed on the request to three French missionaries (The Revs. Thomas Arbousset and Eugene Casalis, and Constant Gosselin, a layman), newly arrived in Cape Town and looking for a field of work. They took this news as a call from God and set off at once for Thaba Bosiu, where they were welcomed by Moshesh. They selected a site for their mission station in a valley below the mountain and called it Morija (Moriah), "the Lord Provides". Here Moshesh settled his two eldest sons, Letsie (Letsea) and Molapo, with their followers so that they could be taught by the missionaries. (244)

On his arrival, Cassalis wrote : "We became Basutos, from to-day onwards our destinies and those of the tribe are identical". (245) This was indeed true for the French missionaries identified themselves completely with the cause of their adopted people. They acted for Moshesh in a secretarial capacity and became the Basuto Chief's trusted advisers in diplomatic dealings with the Boers and the British. When other members of their Society came to Basutoland, Moshesh established them in strategic positions on the exposed frontiers of his country with the purpose of extending his influence and pacifying the border tribes.

By 1847, there were nine French mission stations in Basutoland. (246) The Roman Catholic Church did not enter the country until 1862, while the Anglicans founded their first mission there in 1876. (247) The French Protestants, therefore, held full sway over the Basuto mission field for a considerable time. Theirs

was the only missionary society to consolidate its work over a compact area, a factor which made for efficient functioning.

Missionaries and Education

The work of education went hand in hand with evangelization and Wherever foreign missionaries attached themselves to a tribe, whether it be Hottentot, Griqua or African, they started schools. They then set to work, in their several fields, to master the local languages and dialects. It was the missionaries who pioneered the study of the unwritten languages of the indigenous people. Printing presses were set up at numerous stations, 'convert: were taught how to work them, and material was produced for use in church and school.

The Methodists are rembered for their contribution to Xhosa and thee many Bechuana dialects. The Rev. W.B. Boyce, a scholarly missionary working among the Pondo, discovered the grammatical principle known as the Euphonic Concord" which governs not only Xhosa, but all the African languages. (248) His publication of the Grammar of the Kafir Language, in 1834, made possible the translation of psalms, hymns, prayer books etc., and the production of the first Xhosa bible by the Rev. J.W. Appleyard in 1859. 249)

The Methodists in the Trans-Orangia region printed a wealth of religious and teaching material in Dutch, Sechuana, Sesuto, Serolong and Siraputo. (250) At the same time, Moffat made translations of literary as well as religious works. By 1859 he had the whole bible available in Sechuana. (251) The French missionaries carried out similar work in Sesuto and it is due to them that so much of the Basuto language, traditions, and history, have been preserved.

The Scotch Presbyterians worked simultaneously with the Methodists to reduce the Xhosa language to writing. They were sent by the Glasgow Missionary Society to Kaffraria in 1821, to start work among the Xhosa. (252) John Bennie, a catechist with linguistic gifts, produced some of the earliest Kafir vocabularies and grammars. The work of the Lovedale Press is a lasting testimony to his pioneering labours. The Rev. J. Ross brought their first press from Scotland. When he and Bennie opened a new station among the Ngqika people in 1824, the press went with them. They called the new mission Lovedale, after Dr. John Love, the

chairman of their society. From this base, Bennie produced a prolific ncy of translations and printed matter which later earned him the title of "The Father of Kafir Literature". (253)

The Scots missionaries encouraged manual as well as educational work among their flock. They taught the Xhosa to cultivate their land productively and the Society's stations were soon the centre of flourishing farmlands. But it was their contribution to education with which we are primarily concerned, and with Lovedale in particular, for it was one of the few Institutions comparable with Zonnebloem.

Lovedale Institution and the Scots Missionaries

The first ten years at Lovedale were overshadowed by the general unrest in the country, and the small school under Bennie made little progress. The Xhosa were then trying to stem the advancing tide of white settlers and there were continual disturbances. The missionaries prophesied war. When it came in 1834, Lovedale was destroyed, printing press and all, along with about four hundred Albany settler homes. After peace was restored, a new station was built on the opposite bank of the Tyumie River, a site better situated for irrigation purposes. Here the Scots missionaries, with the Society's approval, decided to erect a seminary, a centre of higher education which would not only serve their own childrens' needs but would also provide facilities for training the most promising Africans as catechists and teachers. Lovedale Seminary opened its doors on July 21, 1841. (254)

The Rev. William Govan was appointed the first principal. He was a newly ordained minister from Glasgow who had business and teaching experience. (255) From the beginning, the education was conducted on non-sectarian and non-denominational lines. The Institution was open to students from any Christian body. There Was no distinction of colour, an educational policy not unusual at that time. The Seminary started with eleven Africans and nine white students. Pupils were eventually enrolled from all ranks of South African society - Kafirs, Dingoes, Hottentots, Pondos, Bechuanns, Basutos, Zulus, English and Dutch. (256)

The students were taught in the same classrooms, took part in the same literary societies, and used the same dining hall. They slept in separate dormitories and sat at separate tables

for meals - they were supplied with different food and paid different fees. Andrew Smith, a teacher during the early years, maintained that the principles on which Lovedale was conducted, brought the Europeans and Africans "into a true relationship with each other". (257) At the Institution they had the opportunity of finding out "how to live together in the same country". (258) As a boarding establishment, Lovedale was unique. The numbers of European scholars dropped towards the end of the nineteenth century as the numbers of high schools for Europeans increased in the area. Nonetheless, Lovedale continued mixed until 1926. (259)

Students admitted to the Institution had to be over the age of twelve and were expected to be well grounded in reading, writing and arithmetic. The rules stipulated that they "should be of such capacity and character as to warrant the hope of their profiting by a higher course of education for the benefit of their countrymen". (260) Lovedale, apart from its function as a missionary institution, provided instruction in the classics for the sons of missionaries, who were preparing to enter the minister, and a special course for the daughters of missionaries. (261) Daily manual labour such as road making, dam building and field work, was an integral part of the school curriculum. Industrial training was also offered. James Stewart, who succeeded Govan as principal, asserted that the object was "not the value of their labour but the principle that Christianity and idleness are not compatible". (262)

State aid was made available to mission schools in 1841. The Government offered £30 per annum towards a teacher's salary. Lovedale, in common with about half of the mission schools, rejected the grant. Subsidized schools were subject to regular inspection by the Superintendent-General of Education, (263) and the Scots missionaries were wary of State interference in the affairs of their newly founded institution. The Seminary was a financial burden on the Society, though, despite the support obtained from private subscriptions; and they were forced to charge fees. This limited the enrolment during the early years. Their own mission students had free tuition but Africans of other denominations found difficulty in obtaining the sum of £12 per

annum needed for board and education. (264) The Glasgow Missionary Society was absorbed into the United Free Church of Scotland in 1854 and this body directed the Seminary from that time on. (265)

Lovedale, situated as it was in the midst of the hostile heathen Ngqika people, was in a vulnerable position, at the mercy of frontier disturbances. The Seminary had to suspend its activities, five years after its founding, when fighting broke out once again in the country. The missionaries were evacuated during the "War of the Axe". The buildings were used as a British fort, the classrooms as barracks. When Lovedale re-opened in 1849, the future seemed more secure. The Ngqika tribesmen had been removed and loyal Fingoes settled in their place. The newcomers proved to be well-disposed to evangelism. (266)

The Work of Other Foreign Missionary Societies

A number of German missionary societies were active in South Africa during the early nineteenth century. The Moravians pioneered the field, followed by the Rherish Missionary Society, who began work among the Coloured people of the Western Cape in 1829. Over the years, they extended their network of stations up the west coast, through Namaqualand and north of the Orange River into what is now South West Africa. Evangelism and education were their primary concern. Like the Moravians, they formed mission communities centred around church and school. (267) The Berlin Missionary Society commenced work among the Koranna Hottentots in Trans-Orangia in 1834. Wher branch stations in Kaffraria were destroyed during the "War of the Axe", the Berlin missionaries moved to Natal to work among the Zulus. (268)

The Natal mission field was neglected during the first half of the nineteenth century for this period saw the rise of the Zulu nation to power. (269) Conditions in this region were too unsettled to allow of anything but the most tentative missionary activity. Little was achieved apart from a few struggling African schools supported by agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. There was continual intertribal fighting as the Zulu warriors under the successive leadership of Dingiswayo and Shake (270) overpowered the weaker chiefdoms in the surrounding area and absorbed them into the Zulu ranks. The powerful Zulu kingdom was an ever present menace which discouraged white

Settlement in its vicinity.

The Anglican Church, following haltingly in the wake of the missionary societies, directed its first attempt to establish a mission to the Zulus in 1835. Captain Allan Gardiner, R.N., a retired naval officer, opened the way. He came to South Africa fired with fervour to pioneer "a Christian mission to the most abandoned heathen", and selected the Zulus for his purpose.

(271) He approached Dingane, (272) who had by now succeeded Shaka as king, with a request to preach the gospel to his people. (273) But Dingane wanted "to know about guns not about God". (274)

Gardiner persevered, and in the meantime was appointed British magistrate at Port Natal (Durban), in charge of British subjects outside British territory. At the end of 1837, the Zulu king at last gave his reluctant permission for the Rev. Francis Owen, of the Church Missionary Society, to settle at Umgungunhlovu, the king's great kraal. (275) But Owen made little progress. Dingane wished to be taught about fire-arms and bullets, not God's word.

After only a few months duration, the Anglican mission to the "Zooloos" came to an abrupt end. In February 1838, Piet Retief and his party of Voortrekkers visited Dingane to ask his permission to settle in Natal. The unarmed Boers, lulled into false security, were set on by the Zulus and brutally murdered. Owen and his family, horrified witnesses of the tragedy, fled the country in fear of their lives, never to return. (276) The Anglican Church made no further missionary effort until after Bishop Gray's arrival, ten years later.

The work of the American missionaries was also disrupted by these events. (277) They had scarcely occupied the sites of their proposed mission stations in Zululand, when the Trekker massacre took place, and they hurriedly left the country. A number of them were so discouraged that they returned to America. Not so Daniel Lindley. (278) A Calvinist, he remained and became a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. He believed that 'the ultimate salvation of the Zulu now lay in the establishment of Christian principles among the Boers, who were pastorless'. (279)

The Trekkers wreaked their revenge on the Zulus on December 16,

1838, when they defeated their enemy at the battle of Bloodrivier. Nevertheless, conditions in the country continued unsettled until Britain extended her rule to Natal six years later. Assured of more security, American mission work developed apace. From the beginning they encouraged an indigenous movement in the Zulu Church and their missions were run on the principle of "self-support and self-propagation". (280) Their aim to train a native ministry was not realized until 1870, when the first Zulu pastor was ordained. (281)

The work of evangelizing the Zulus was aided by representatives of the Norwegian Missionary Society, who, after a number of setbacks, founded their first mission in Zululand in 1850. (282)

Bishop Gray's Survey of the Mission Scene

As we have seen, missionary activity in South Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century was severely restricted by the frequent disturbances throughout the country. Up to the time of Bishop Gray's coming, little progress had been made in evangelizing the vast mass of the indigenous population. The missionaries had had to contend not only with fighting on every front, but also with the colonists' prejudice. It appears that Gray, after collecting all available evidence, was influenced by the settlers' arguments and sympathized with their condemnation of the colonial missionaries. In an early report, he stated :

The Missionary Institutions throughout the Colony
are held - I had almost said in abomination by the
whole body of Colonists: 'nests of idleness' is the
usual term applied to them, and even right-minded
and religious men cannot altogether uphold them
They keep the coloured and white population too
widely apart, and the capital and the land of the
country are deprived of the labour essential to
the prosperity of the Colony. (283)

The Bishop made further rather wild and unsubstantiated accusations against the Moravians, Independents, and Methodists, charging them with being traffickers who grew rich -by dealing in tea and coffee, guns and gunpowder, horses and hides, blankets and ivory". (284) He also maintained that their books and reports were not to be believed. Gray branded Dr. Philip as an autocrat, (285) and described the London Society men as bitter politicians. But he tempered his criticism with the observation that "it is better

to do the work as they do it than not do it at all, as is the case with ourselves". (286)

Bishop Grays primary concern, at the start of his episcopacy, was for the neglected English settlers. For the first few years he directed all his efforts towards establishing churches and schools to serve their needs. During this time, he made visitations to the ends of his diocese. This gave him the opportunity of personally inspecting the work of the various societies and selecting their most successful ideas for use in the proposed Anglican missions. A countrywide tour in 1850 helped the Bishop to crystallize his schemes. (287)

Gray envisaged organizing a chain of stations similar to the Methodist system in Kaffraria. But he selected the Moravian type of institution as the ideal pattern on which to model the Anglican establishments. In his opinion, not only were the Moravians most in favour in the Colony, because they did not meddle in politics, but they were also the most effective in civilizing the heathen. (288) Initially, he even considered sending Anglican students to the training school at Genadendal. (289) He had certain reservations, though. The Bishop was critical of the lack of discipline and "the good cheer of the place". He said : "There are too many substantial meals I ... There is no excess but there is fulness". (290) Gray believed that his Church's workers should be examples of austerity and self-denial.

Bishop Gray had his first opportunity of preaching to the heathen when he visited the Methodist mission at Thaba 'Nchu in 1850. Impressed by the attentive Barolong congregation, he observed "that the people of this land are ready at least, to hear the Gospel". (291) He was eager to implement his missionary schemes, with one proviso - that "the whole Mission shall in every respect be managed by the Church here, or there shall be none. I have seen enough since I have been out here of the working of Societies to make me loathe them - always excepting the dear S.P.G. which seems mercifully preserved from the Society spirit". (292) Gray had no Intention of bargaining for power with the Church Missionary Society.

The Bishop's overall impression of the mission field was that there was a total lack of unity of design in the efforts of the various societies. They selected their fields at random, none of

them possessed specific areas of work, and they acted independently of one another "without much consultation or intercourse". (293) He forecast great harm, as, with time, the mission fields would overlap and the Coloured and African people would be exposed to the conflicting teaching of rival societies. (294)

The missionaries did, however, share "a common conviction of the importance of personal conversions and of high standards of morality". (295) In taking the gospel to the heathen, they adopted an inflexible attitude of censure towards the social customs of the Africans. Professor Hattersley sums up their contribution, as follows : "Their strength lay in firmness of conviction but their splendid ideal of practical Christianity was marred by an inability to appreciate conceptions formed in social surroundings different from their own". (296) The majority of missionaries made no attempt whatsoever to gain an understanding of the

African traditions. They were highly critical of the autocratic powers, which were the traditional right of the chief; and condemned many of the Africans' social practices, particularly circumcision, "lobola" and polygamy. Not surprisingly, the missionaries made comparatively few conversions during the early years.

The African and European cultures were incompatible. In the next chapter, we shall follow the developments which led up to the inevitable confrontation between the two societies and the consequent conflict, as the Africans attempted to withstand European encroachment on their land and the concomitant advances of Western civilization and Christianity. In order to understand why the Kafir College at Cape Town was envisaged as a partial solution to the problem of peaceful co-existence, we shall first examine certain aspects of the Africans' traditional social structure and customs, and discuss the Europeans' objections. We shall then study the way in which the missionaries and Government officials tried to bring about a change in the African way of life, with negligible success, up to the coming of Sir George Grey as Governor and High Commissioner in 1854.

CHAPTER I

1. For a short history of Bishop's Court (Bishopscourt) see Appendix IV.
2. Robert Gray, First Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, 1847 - 1872, see Chapter II.
3. Sir George Grey, Governor and High Commissioner, 5.12.1854 to 20.8.1859 and 4.7.1860 to 15.8.1861.
4. For a short history of Zonnebloem see Appendix VI.
5. Zonnebloem Deed of Trust, Appendix I.
6. Ibid.
7. "Zonnebloem College", CTDM, Supplement to the South African Church Weekly Newspaper, Nov. 1944, vf.
8. The present Warden, the Rev. J.F. Forbes, has held the post since July 1969.
9. Grey to Gray, 27.10.1860, quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
10. Ibid.

CHAPTER II

11. Biographical details of Gray's early life were taken from a number of sources, the chief being : A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder (London : Skeffington, 1905) ch.1; A. Brooke, Robert Gray, First Bishop of Cape Town (Cape Town: O.U.P., 1947) ch.1; C.N. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town (London : Rivington, 1876) 1 :ch.1 to 3; T. Gutsche, The Bishop's Lady (Cape Town : Timmins, 1970) ch.1 to 3; P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa (London : Darton, 1963) 27 et seq.; C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa (London : S.P.C.K., 1934) 31 et seq.
12. For further details on Oxford Movement : G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa (London : Longmans, 1910 - 1930) 6:192; P. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa (London : S.P.C.K., 1968) 74. John Keble preached his famous Assize sermon on National Apostasy in Oxford, July 1833, followed by commencement of publication of "Tracts for the Times" viz. Tractarianism.
13. Hinchliff, The Church, 74.
14. Reform Act passed in 1832.
15. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:100ff.
16. C.F Pascoe, 200 Years of the S.P.G. An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701 - 1900 (London : S.P.G., 1901) ixff.
17. SACM, May 1855, 3 NS : 129.
18. D.H. Thomson, Not for School but for Life (Wynberg : Rustica Press, 1971) 5.

19. The Colonial Bishoprics Fund was established in 1841 to provide money for endowing dioceses in the colonies. See Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 26.
20. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 34.
21. B.T. Page, The Harvest of Good Hope (London : S.P.C.K., 1947) 6f.
22. Cory, op.cit., 6:189.
23. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 30.
24. Ibid.
25. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:156.
26. Gay to Gray, 27.10.1860, quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
27. D.E.I.C. came to an end in 1798. The United Provinces of Holland were succeeded by The Batavian Republic. See E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa (Cape Town : Longmans, 1957, 3rd ed.), 133ff.
28. It is estimated that of the 25,000 White people who lived in the Colony at the beginning of the nineteenth century : 50% Dutch, 27% German, 17% French, 5% other nationalities - E.G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652-1922 (Cape Town : Juta, 1925) 40.
29. E.G. Pells, 300 Years of Education in South Africa (Cape Town : Juta, n.d.) 70.
30. A.F. Hattersley, An Illustrated Social History of South Africa (Cape Town : Balkema, 1969) 66.
31. The Fish River was indicated as the definite boundary from 1780 to 1847.
32. E.A. Walker, Historical Atlas of South Africa (London 1 O.U.P., 1922) 10f.
33. Sophy Gray's Notebook, 1848 - 51, MR.
34. Hattersley, op.cit., 78.
35. The "landdrost" was the chief representative of supreme authority in a defined district viz. magistrate. His residence was called a "drostdy".
36. Hattersley, op.cit., 181.
37. Hattersley, op.cit., 111; Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 6.
38. Hattersley, op.cit., 89.
39. Letters in Muniments Room.
40. Accounts of Visitations in Biographies of Bishop Gray and Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 37 et seq.; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 37ff, 82ff, 93f.
41. A.T. Wirgman, The History of the English Church and People in South Africa, 1652 - 1917 (London : Longmans, 1895) 104.
42. Pells, op.cit., 12.
43. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:154.
44. Sophy Gray's Notebook, 1848 - 57, MR.

45. Emancipation Day of Slaves : 1.12.1834.
46. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:169.
47. Hattersley, op.cit., 153.
48. Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837.
49. Hattersley, op.cit., 182.
50. Sophy Gray's Notebook, 1848 - 51, MP.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church : "primitive Calvinism as embodied in the Heidelberg catechism and the decrees of the Synod of Dort". - M. Wilson and L. Thompson (Eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa (London : O.U.P., 1971) 1:229.
54. "Since this was the seventeenth century the principle that the religion of the government ought to be the religion of the people was still regarded as fundamental to the religious settlement of Europe" - Hinchliff, The Church, 6.
55. D.E.I.C. - Dutch East India Company.
56. A. Moorreess, Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika (Cape Town, 1937) 51ff.
57. Hinchliff, The Church, 6f.
58. J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town : Struik Facsimile Reprint, 1965) 70f; K.S. Latourette, The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia and Africa, 1800 - 1914 (New. York : Harper, 1943) 5:331; Moorreess, op.cit., 250ff.
59. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 4.
60. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa Since 1795 (London : Sonnenschein, 1908) 1:350.
61. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:275.
62. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 4.
63. Ibid., 5.
64. The letters patent granted to Lord Charles Somerset defined his rights as "the power of collating to benefices, granting licences for marriage and probater of will, commonly called the office of Ordinary" - A.J. Hewitt, Sketches of English Church History in South Africa (Cape Town : Jute, 1887) 12ff.
65. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 4.
66. Hinchliff, The Church, 16f.
67. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:275.
68. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:119.
69. Ibid.
70. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 6.
71. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:278.
72. The term "Afrikaner" was used from 1706 on - Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago : Benton, 1970) 4:819.

73. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 7.
74. Hinchliff, The Church, 19.
75. Hattersley, op.cit., 118f.
76. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:309.
77. Latourette, op.cit., 324.
78. Cory, op.cit., 4 : 221ff.
79. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:216.
80. Hattersley, op.cit., 120f and 231.'
81. "The Synod had solemnly warned those about to trek that they would be going forth into the wilderness as a Chosen People lacking the guidance of an Aaron or Moses and without the divine assurance of a Canaan, but none the less answerable to God and the Church for virtually denying their children baptism and other ghostly comforts. It begged them to bear the cross which God had laid upon them and to hearken to the rulers to whom God had entrusted the temporal sword" - Walker, History of S.A., 265.
82. Ibid., 99.
83. Gray to C. Gray, 1.3.1848, C.N. Gray op.cit., 1:159.
84. Hattersley, op.cit., 121ff.
85. Gray to S.P.G., 11.4.1848, S.P.G. Report, 1848, cxix.
86. Mr. Dennis was a Military Chaplain in the 1810's and lived at Zonnebloem until he left the Cape in 1822 - Hewitt, op.cit., 34.
87. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 11ff.
88. 200 Years of S.P.G., 269.
89. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 20.
90. Ibid., 12ff.
91. Cory, op.cit., 1:189.
92. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 1E.
93. Hewitt, op.cit., ch.6.
94. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 24ff.
95. Hattersley, op.cit., 124.
96. Angela Burdett Coutts, the daughter of Sir Francis Burdett, was born in 1841. She inherited a fortune from her banker grandfather, Sir Thomas Coutts, and was the wealthiest heiress in England at the time. She numbered among her friends many of the prominent Victorian celebrities and public figures - Gladstone, Disraeli, the Duke of Wellington, Louis Napoleon, Bishop Wilberforce, Dickens, Rajah Brooke of Sarawak. They kept her in touch with social conditions all over the world and advised her in her philanthropy. - C.B. Patterson, Angela Burdett Coutts and the Victorians (London : Murray, 1953).
97. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 34.

98. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 1.9.1849, LB 1:85.
99. Ibid.
100. Cory, op.cit., 6:119.
101. ~~COM.~~ . Gray, op.cit., 1:156.
102. Ibid., 1:158.
103. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 36.
104. C.R. Goodlatte, The Church of the Province in South Africa (Port Elizabeth, 1891) 2f.
105. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:159f.
106. Dr. Philip was the Resident Director and Superintendent of Missions at the Cape for the London Missionary Society.
107. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:159f.
108. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:286.
109. Du Plessis, op.cit., 167.
110. B. Shaw, Memorials of South Africa (Cape Town : Struik Facsimile Reprint, 1970).
111. Hattersley, op.cit., 125.
112. Latourette, op.cit., 330f.
113. Hattersley, op.cit., 125.
114. Du Plessis, op.cit., 188.
115. Hattersley, op.cit., 124.
116. Latourette, op.cit., 332.
117. Theal, S.A Since 1795, 2:224ff.
118. Ibid., 1:307.
119. Hattersley, op.cit., 124.
120. Latourette, op.cit., 331.
121. Hattersley, op.cit., 125.
122. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:159.
123. ~~Gray~~ to Williamson, 30.6.1859, MR.
124. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:230.
125. A.L. Behr and B.G. Macmillan, Education in South Africa (Pretoria : van Schaik, 1971) 104.
126. Malherbe, op.cit., 20 et seq.; Pells, op.cit., 12 et seq.
127. A few slaves were initially imported from Batavia and Madagascar. Then in 1658, a shipload from Angola was captured from the Portuguese. Another consignment from West Africa brought the total to 227 - Du Plessis, op.cit., 29.
128. Ibid., 30.
129. Hattersley, op.cit., 57.
130. Malherbe, op.cit., 40. See Footnote n.28 for a description of an early school.
131. The "Scholarchs" were made up of the "secundus", the

clergyman and the military chaplain.

132. Hattersley, op.cit., 57.
133. There are numerous references to meesters" and frontier education. Selected sources : Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 212; Hattersley, op.cit., 58, 129; Pells, op.cit., 15ff; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:230 and 276, 2:112.
134. Malherbe, op.cit., ch.3.
135. Hattersley, op.cit., 129.
136. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:99.
137. Hattersley, op.cit., 129.
138. Malherbe, op.cit., 62ff.
139. The system of Bell and Lancaster.
140. Malherbe, op.cit., 60 et seq.
141. Walker, History of S.A., 133ff.
142. Hattersley, op.cit., 131f.
143. Souvenir in Commemoration of the Centenary of the 1820 Settlers in Albany, 1820 - 1920, 12.
144. Malherbe, op.cit., 82f. See Graph : Decline of Free Schools.
145. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:284.
146. Pells, op.cit., 21.
147. Hattersley, op.cit., 129.
148. Cory, op.cit., 4:212.
149. Malherbe, op.cit., 68.
150. Hattersley, op.cit., 134.
151. A Board of Public Examiners was appointed in 1858 to conduct the Matriculation and post-Matriculation examinations. The University Incorporation Act was passed in 1873 and the University of the Cape of Good Hope took over the examining functions in 1874 - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 230.
152. Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 112f; Malherbe, op.cit., ch.5; Pells, op.cit., 20 et seq.
153. For the functions of the Superintendent-General of Education and facts concerning James Rose-Innes, see references under Herschel system. Also - John Bond, They were South Africans (London : O.U.P., 1956) ch.17; Hattersley, op.cit., 134f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:210ff.
154. For further details of the curriculum for the primary course - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 112.
155. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:211.
156. Evidence of G.M. Theal, Commission of Enquiry into the Educational System of the Colony, 1892, (Cape Town : Government Printers, 1892) 30.
157. Zonnebloem College became a State-aided Kafir Industrial Institution in 1864.
158. 'Dells, op.cit., 24f.

159. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:250.
160. Gray to Williamson, 20.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:166.
161. The Religious instruction in the elementary schools comprised mainly readings from the Bible. It was given at special hours and attendance was not compulsory - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 112.
162. Gray to Williamson, 20.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:166.
163. Gray to Williamson, 12.2.1850, MR.
164. Gray to S.P.G., 20.3.1848, 200 Years of S.P.G., 275.
165. Substance of a Speech Delivered by the Lord Bishop of Cape Town at a Public Meeting at York, Jan. 1853.
166. Gray to Coleridge, 3.9.1849, LB1:88.
167. Gray to W. Gray, 15.7.1848, MR.
168. Gray to C. Gray, 2.5.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:176.
169. Gray to E. Gray, 28.7.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:185.
170. See Chapter V for further details concerning Diocesan College.
171. Quoted in Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:112.
172. Walker, History of S.A., 99.
173. Polls, op.cit., 19f,
174. Walker, History of S.A., 99.
175. Hinchliff, The Church, 2 et seq.
176. Du Plessis, op.cit., 24.
177. The yellow-skinned hunters, called Bushmen, are now known as San. The yellow-skinned herders, called Hottentots, are now known as Khoikhoi - Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:21.
178. Du Plessis, op.cit., 23.
179. Ibid., 26f.
180. Ibid., 38ff.
181. Ibid., 34.
182. Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 105ff and 357ff.
183. Du Plessis, op.cit., 32ff and 42f.
184. Ibid., 36f.
185. Ibid., 46f.
186. "The Dutch Reformed Church and Missions", SACM & Eccl., July 1854, 2NS:207.
187. Ibid.
188. SACM & Eccl., Aug. 1854, 2NS:247 et seq.
189. Ibid., July 1854, 206.
190. Du Plessis, op.cit., 52.
191. Baviaanskloof meant Kloof of the Baboons; Genadendal meant Vale of Grace.
192. Hinchliff, The Church, 9.
193. For further details about G. Schmidt and the Early Moravian

- Mission - Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.7; B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms (Genadendal, 1966). The History of the Moravian Church in S.A., 1737-1869.
194. A.E. du Toit, The Earliest South African Documents on the Education and Civilization of the Bantu (Pretoria: Communications of the Univ. of S.A., C47, 1963) 5.
 195. Du Plessis, op.cit., 71f.
 196. Ibid., 80.
 197. Hinchliff, The Church, 12.
 198. Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.9 and 10.
 199. Moravian stations were established at Mature, Elim, Groenekloof, a leper asylum at Hemel-en-Aarde near Caledon, Enon near the Eastern Frontier, and Shiloh in Kafirland - Hattersley, op.cit., 127.
 200. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:209.
 201. Du Plessis, op.cit., 77f.
 202. See Appendix II : Commencement of Christian Missions in South Africa, before and after 1848.
 203. The London Missionary Society, its workers and their role in South African history are considered in detail in : W.M Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton (London: O.U.P., -963, revised edition) and Cape Colour Question (Cape Town : Balkema, 1968).
 204. For a history of the South African Missionary Society, see Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.11.
 205. For further information concerning van der Kemp and the Bethelsdorp Mission - Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.14; Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, ch.5.
 206. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:60.
 207. Quoted in Malherbe, op.cit., 59.
 208. The circuit court commonly known as the Black Circuit, sat in 1812. - Cory, op.cit., 1: ch.7; Walker, History of S.A., 150.
 209. The Slachter's Nek Rebellion took place in 1815 - Cory, op.cit., 1: ch.11; Theal, 1:229 at seq.; Walker, History of S.A., 153 et seq.
 210. Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.13 and 16.
 211. R. Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa (London : Snow, 1842); Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.17.
 212. J.I. Macnair (Ed.), Livingstone's Travels (London : Dent, 1954); Latourette, op.cit., 345ff.
 213. For a full appraisal and defence of Dr. Philip's work - Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton; Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.16.
 214. Hinchliff, The Church, 25 et seq.
 215. For a resume of the legal status of the indigenous people - "The Extension of Freedom under Law", Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:297 et seq.

216. Cory, op.cit., 2:366ff.
217. For further information on Treaty States - Walker, History of S.A., 192 et seq.
218. Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, 23.
219. 200 Years of S.P.G., 351. (Report by an English minister living in the Orange River Colony).
220. Evidence of Bishop Twells of the Free State, BM, May 1868, 1:171.
221. H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions (London : Nisbet, 1858) 10.
222. Retief's Manifesto quoted in full. - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 266f.
223. Ibid., see section 5.
224. Quoted in Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, 23.
225. Walker, History of S.A., 278ff.
226. Quoted in Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 273, note.
227. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed in Britain in 1813.
228. Du Plessis, op.cit., 294.
229. For an account of the Rev. Barnabas Shaw's work at Leliefontein and the Namaqualand mission - Du Plessis, op.cit., 167ff; Shaw, Memorials of South Africa.
230. Each party of 100 families of 1820 Settlers had the privilege of selecting a clergyman of any Christian denomination, whose salary was to be paid from the public funds. Only 2 parties had Anglican chaplains, most chose Wesleyans - Hewitt, op.cit., 38.
231. Du Plessis, op.cit., 173.
232. The Commencement of the Wesleyan Missions is discussed fully in Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.18; J. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan - Methodist Missionary Society, 1826 - 1899 (Cape Town : Juta, 1906).
233. Du Plessis, op.cit., 258.
234. Barolong : Baralong, Sekeka-Rolong.
235. Sifonela Sifonelo, sefunelo.
236. Difaqane : Lifaqane, Mfecane. For further details : "The Difaqane and its Aftermath, 1822 - 1836", Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:391 et seq.
237. Moshesh : Mosheshwe, Moshueshue, Moshoeshoe.
238. Sekonyela : Sikonyela, Sikonyelo.
239. Moroka : Moroko. This chief sent two of his sons, Samuel and George, to the Kafir College in Cape Town and they played a leading role in the College's early history.
240. Du Plessis, op.cit., 176 et seq.; W.G.A. Mears, Wesleyan Baralong Mission in Trans-Orangia, 1821 - 1884 (Cape Town : Struik, 1970); I.S.J Venter, "Platberg (Motlhana-wa-pitse). Die eerste Wesleyaanse Sendingstasie in die Transgariep, 1826 - 1833, "SALQB, March 1968, 22, 3:69 et seq.

241. Moshesh became an enthusiastic supporter of the Kafir College. Two of his sons were among the first group of students. The link between Zonnebloem and Basutoland forms an integral part of Zonnebloem's early history.
242. Moshesh was born about 1786. He was first given the name "Lepoko" (Lepogo) meaning "dispute", reflecting the unsettled times of the "Difaqane". At circumcision he was called "Tlaputle", "the busy one". His grandson, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, related how he came to be called Moshesh : "When my grandfather was a young man, he and his family had a quarrel with the family of another chief. My grandfather won, and part of the punishment that he meted out to his opponent was to have him shaved in public, and sent away as a Boman. The people were much impressed by this, and taking the sound of the razor as it scrapes a beard - "Mo-shoe-shoe" - they gave this name Moshoeshoe to my grandfather - in its anglicized form it is Moshesh". Cape Times, 6.7.1937.
243. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, ch.15; G. Tylden, The Rise of the Basuto (Cape Town : Jute., 1950) 3 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:399 et seq.
244. Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.20; V. Ellenberger, A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland, 1833 - 1933 (Morijsa, 1938) 44f and 234ff.
245. G.M. Theal, Basutoland Records, 1862 - 1865 (Cape Town : Struik Facsimile Reprint of 1833 edition, 1964) 3A:23.
246. Du Plessis, op.cit., 193 et seq.
247. Ibid., 320f.
248. Ibid., 175. "Boyce showed that in the Kafir sentence the noun was the governing element, and that all the other parts of speech were thrown immediately into an alliterative (or euphonic) concord with the governing noun".
249. J. Frye (Ed.), The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible : The Journal of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard (Cape Town : Struik Facsimile Reprint, 1971).
250. Mears, Wesleyan Barolong Mission, 32.
251. Du Toit, Earliest S.A. Documents, 8f.
252. Glasgow Missionary Society was formed in 1796.
253. R.H.W. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa, 1824 - 1855 (Lovedale, 1971) 6.
254. Ibid., 9f.
255. Ibid., 13. The 5 Principals of Lovedale from 1841 - 1955 were : Rev. William Govan (1841 - 1870); Rev. Dr. James Stewart (1870 - 1905); Dr. James Henderson (1906 - 1930); Rev. Dr. Arthur West Wilkie (1932 - 1942); Rev. Dr. Robert H.W. Shepherd (1942 - 1955).
256. Report by Dr. James Stewart, 1878, quoted in Wilson and Thompson, 1:261. It is noted that a couple of non-white students were admitted to the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch in the early years.
257. Shepherd, op.cit., 14f.
258. Ibid.

259. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:261.
260. Shepherd, op.cit., 15.
261. "Voices of the Past, Bantu Education a Century Ago", South African Outlook, Jan. 1940, 13 et seq.
262. Quoted in Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:239.
263. Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 378.
264. Shepherd, op.cit., 16f.
265. Du Plessis, op.cit., 188.
266. Shepherd, op.cit., 17f.
267. "A Rhenish mission tradition was established - a particular way of life; a Christian standard of conduct based on the Bible; the celebration of Christmas and other Church festivals, the harmonious singing of choir and congregation, community life and care of the sick and aged, manual labour and above all the preaching of the Gospel" - E.A. Strassberger, The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa, 1830 - 1950 (Cape Town : Struik, 1969) 60; Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.21.
268. The Berlin Missionary Society was founded in 1824 - Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.22.
269. D.R. Morris, The Washing of the Spears (London : Cape, 1966) 40 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1: ch.8.
270. Shaka : Chaka, Tshaka.
271. Du Plessis, op.cit., 235.
272. Dingane : Dingaan, Dingan.
273. -. Shake was assassinated in 1828.
274. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 303.
275. G.E. Cory (Ed.), The Diary of the Reverend Francis Owen (Cape Town : Van Riebeeck Society, No. 7, 1926)
276. Early Anglican missions in Natal - B.B. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal (Durban, n.d.) ch.1; Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.24; Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 21ff.
277. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent missionaries to South Africa from Boston in 1835 - A.R. Booth (Ed.), Journal of the Rev. George Champion, American Missionary in Zululand, 1835 - 1839 (Cape Town : Struik, 1967); Du Plessis, op.cit., ch.13; J. Tyler, 40 Years among the Zulu (Boston, 1891, Struik Facsimile Reprint).
278. Booth, op.cit., ix, xiv, 109; Du Plessis, op.cit., 220 et seq.; Tyler, op.cit., 24 and 35ff.
279. Booth, op.cit., xiv.
280. B.G.M. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (London : O.U.P., 1948) 26.
281. Ibid.
282. Du Plessis, op.cit., 380f; Sundkler, op.cit., 25f.
283. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:195.

284. Ibid., 1:190.
285. Ibid.
286. Ibid., 1:269.
287. Ibid., 1:195.
288. Ibid., 2:155.
289. Kruger, op.cit., 267.
290. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:269.
291. 200 Years of S.P.G., 306.
292. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:267.
293. Report by Bishop Gray, 200 Years of S.P.G., 283.
294. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:281.
295. Hinchliff, The Church, 22.
296. Hattersley, op.cit., 220.

CHAPTER III

CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO CULTURES

1. The African Social Structure and Customs

The African races living in South Africa are normally divided into two distinct groups, the Nguni and the Sotho, which are defined in terms of language. Within these groups there are considerable differences in dialect, as well as culture. The Nguni include the Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele. They were originally found living on the eastern and north-eastern coastal belt - the Transkei, Natal, Zululand and Swaziland. (1) The Sotho - the Southern Sotho of Lesotho (Basutoland), the Northern Sotho of Transvaal, and the Tswana (Bechuana) of Botswana (Bechuanaland) - peopled the interior. (2) Although there was at one time a certain geographical delimitation of these groups, over the centuries there has been a constant movement between them, the Sotho absorbing different Nguni groups, and vice versa. (3)

All these groups were ultimately represented by students at the Kafir College in Cape Town. An understanding of their background is essential to a proper understanding of contemporary attitudes and to an evaluation of the work of the College. The founders were initially concerned with educating the children of Xhosa chiefs in the Western way of life, because it was this nation who were involved in the conflict with the white settlers, and their leaders who were held responsible for fomenting the continual disturbances on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony. We shall, therefore, concentrate on the social structure and customs of the Xhosa race, with particular reference to the position and powers of the chiefs, setting out the more significant characteristics of Xhosa culture and typical contemporary European responses to them.

The Tribal Structure

The African tribes (4) were made up of clans and families of one stock, whose members could trace their descent from a common ancestor in the male line. (5) Intermarriage within the line was forbidden among the Xhosa. Because the African people were polygamists, a chief could have thousands of descendants within a few generations. As a family grew in number, it formed a clan. A number of clans would associate to form a tribe. The

tribe could expand by incorporating foreigners into its fold. Bachelors or families, refugees from tribes dispersed by war, could attach themselves to a tribe. But although they became absorbed through marriage, they would still retain their original clan and tribal names. (6)

The chief was head of the tribe. Petty chieftains and headmen were subordinate to him and had charge of groups of kraals. The chiefdom was made up of a number of local groups which varied in size. Together they formed "a political unit occupying a defined area under an independent chief". (7) The name of a tribe was taken from a chief in the direct line of descent. Following the division in the Xhosa tribe between Gcaleka and Rarabe, the sons of Palo, their two groups of followers adopted the names of their respective chiefs as their tribal names. Rarabe's grandson, Ngqika, later superseded him in popularity and the tribe's name changed once again. The Gcalekas (Galekas) and Ngqikas (Gaikas) were the tribes largely responsible for the frontier unrest. It was the royal children from their ranks who made up the bulk of the first batch of Kafir College pupils. (8)

All the chiefs were of royal blood because of their common descent from one ancestor, Nguni (and Xhosa). Rank played an important role both within a chiefdom and between chiefdoms. The royal members of a clan had greater prestige than the commoners. (9) The individual chief's rank depended on the status of his clan, (10) the different families or clans being arranged in grades in the royal hierarchy. Independent chiefs would acknowledge the "seniority and right of precedence in ritual of related chiefs", but this did not necessarily mean that they were subordinate to him. (11)

The colonial authorities failed to appreciate these fine distinctions in tribal rank when dealing with the chiefs, and needless misunderstandings were the result. Successive Governors made treaties with various chiefs, on the erroneous assumption that they had political authority over certain tribes. The chiefs were then held responsible when they failed to control the aggressive activities of the tribesmen concerned.

The Laws of Succession

The tribal laws of succession were complex and depended on the

practice of polygamy for their enactment. There were usually a number of the chief's sons aspiring to inherit the chieftainship but the naming of the successor, and the division of the tribe, were determined by the status of the mother, not the son. (12) The "great wife" and the "right hand wife", who held the highest rank, were invariably only named in the chief's old age. The chief would probably select his first wife, "the wife of his youth", from amongst the family of his own councillors and in many cases this was a love-match. As the chief became more famous, brides would be offered from other tribes, the dowries or "lobola" increasing in size as the chief got older and richer, and the wives got higher in rank. The brides of royal blood demanded the biggest dowries. If the chief should refuse to accept the offer of a bride, it would be considered as an insult to the girl's whole tribe.

The laws of succession, (13) as understood by a contemporary European historian, are explained in some detail by the Rev. H.H. Dugmore, in notes which he set down in 1846 :

At some specific period, the chief of a tribe, who, it is assumed, has a plurality of wives, assembles his relatives, with his principal officers and councillors, to decide as to the investment of two of his wives with the respective dignities of 'the great one' (omkulu), and 'the one of the right hand' (owasekunene). These two wives rank superior to all the rest. The eldest son of the 'great' wife is presumptive heir to his father's dignity, and succeeds him in his general government. The 'right-hand' wife, however, lays the foundation of a new 'house', as her eldest son is constituted the head of a certain allotted portion of the tribe; and assumes, on the death of his father, the separate jurisdiction of that portion. He thus becomes the originator of a new tribe, acknowledging precedence of rank on the part of his brother, 'the great', but independent of him, except in matters involving the general relations of the tribe at large.

The sons of the inferior wives possess no distinct authority, excepting among such retainers as their personal influence may gather around them; unless, indeed, the 'king' be a 'child' in which case one of them is invested with a kind of regency until the period of minority has expired. They are, however, attached to the courts of their 'great' brothers, enjoying their share of the exclusive privileges of the 'blood royal', and constituting the aristocracy of the nation. (14)

Ngika caused a further subdivision of the tribe by choosing a "wife of the left hand", so investing a third son with distinct authority. If the "great wife" failed to bear a son, a male child was transferred from the minor house and attached to the great house. He was adopted by the principal wife and became his father's heir. (15)

Because the "great wife" was usually chosen when the chief was old, and was selected from one of his more recently wedded wives of royal-rank, the heir was often still a child when he succeeded to the chieftainship. For a start, the young chief had to be obedient to the decisions of the old tribal councillors; but as he grew up, and proved his courage and wisdom, he would surround himself with councillors of his own age who eventually took over the government of the tribe. (16) The regent could be the young chief's mother, uncle or half-brother. As he or she was often loathe to relinquish power when the young chief came of age, this often resulted in a further division of the tribe, with the regent breaking away with his or her followers. (17)

There was just such a struggle for power between Ndhlambe and his nephew, Ngika. Ndhlambe acted as regent for about twelve years and refused to stand down when the legitimate heir came of age in 1796. Civil war followed and Ndhlambe, defeated, was forced to move across the Fish River border with his subjects and settle in the Zuurveld. A bitter feud persisted between the two chiefs and their followers. (18) Ngika's son, Maqomo, (19) was later regent for his younger brother, Sandile. (20) When the time came for Sandile to take over the reins as Paramount Chief, in 1841, a similar feud split the tribe. (21)

Tribal Government, Laws and Legal Processes

The chief was the supreme ruler of the tribe. He "initiated action in political, economic and religious fields, as well as settling disputes". (22) He was general of the army, chief priest, law giver and judge. The government was patriarchal, the chief governing the whole tribe through a series of councils. (23) He was assisted by a court of councillors, while the lesser chiefs had corresponding courts of wise men and advisers. The councillors acted in an advisory capacity and were present at the daily sessions held in the court. (24) Every adult male had the right to speak at these hearings and all disputes were heard in public.

Although the chief was head of the council, the councillors were expected to keep a check on their leader and prevent him from abusing his power. The chief could endanger his authority in the tribe if he were to veto any of his council's decisions. A tribal court assembled in terms of emergency, when the fate of the tribe was affected, and they decided questions of national interest. A prime minister, chosen by the chief, served under him and this officer acted as his leading adviser and "mouth", deputizing for him in his absence, with full powers of control.

In theory, every individual in the tribe was the property of the chief. All his cattle and possessions belonged to his leader, according to tribal custom. The chief's wealth was measured in cattle and he accumulated his fortune by a number of means. Besides the stock he inherited from his father, he would also receive presents of cattle from time to time. These were given to mark special occasions, such as his inauguration immediately after circumcision, and, as gestures of goodwill, by rich commoners and friendly chiefs. Another profitable source of income was obtained from fines, levied in cattle, the standard punishment for crime. The chief needed cattle for many purposes - to conduct business with other tribes, pay the "lobola" for his brides, and recompense his personal retainers for their services. He was also obliged to make frequent and liberal slaughterings of cattle for tribal feasts so as to maintain his popularity with his tribe. (25)

The chief's power was measured in terms of men : the number of warriors in his army. He was not an absolute monarch. The strength of his following was dependent on his influence as a ruler, and the affection and loyalty of his people. If his conduct found disfavour with his followers, if he were too tyrannical or mean, the members of his tribe would move away and attach themselves to a more benevolent leader. Ndhlambe attracted many discontented warriors from Ngqika's tribe.

Refugees were always welcomed by another tribe, for the chiefs were ever anxious to augment their army. According to custom, the fugitive took his place in his adopted tribe on the same footing as the subjects, and was assured of protection. Any attempt by his old chief to interfere with his freedom would be

forestalled by his new brethren, who would rise in his defence. It was, therefore, almost impossible for a chief to arrest a delinquent subject who had taken refuge with another tribe. Complaints received short shrift and investigations were frustrated. (26) In this way, Moshesh, with his reputation for clemency, soon attracted a large following. He accepted any member into the tribe who was prepared to fight for him, and fugitives flocked from many other tribes to join the Basuto. (27)

The colonists were vociferous in their denunciation of the Xhosa system of government, their laws and legal practices. The autocratic power of the chiefs was considered to be the root cause of much evil, and the missionaries united with the colonial authorities in their efforts to break the chiefs' power. The main criticisms made by contemporary European observers were enumerated by the Rev. Dugmore in his notes on Kafir customs. (28)

Firstly, it was claimed that the Xhosa recognized no fixed constitution or system of legislation, with the exception of the principle of hereditary succession. The selection of the "great wife" from among many rival candidates was condemned as being open to caprice and intrigue.

Secondly, the Europeans criticized the Xhosa laws because they were merely "a collection of precedents, consisting of the decisions of the chiefs and councils of bye-gone days, and embodied in the recollections, personal or traditional, of the people of the existing generation". (29) Seeing that the laws were unwritten, they were held suspect owing to their dependence on the chief's whim.

Furthermore, the fact that the laws were made by the same body that administered them, was not acceptable to the Englishmen's sense of justice. The tribal council was the law-court, the chief, the judge and sometimes even executioner, who afterwards might carry out his own sentence. Only two sentences were awarded, death or a fine of cattle. As manpower was a priority, cattle featured largely in the sentences. The judgment was obviously sensitive to favouritism and bribery, particularly if a powerful councillor was involved, and there was no guarantee of the uniform administration of justice, a notion horrifying to Victorian Englishmen.

Marriage Customs

African law encouraged polygamy. (61) A man could have as many wives as he could afford. The chiefs had at least four or five wives as well as numerous concubines. The Xhosa had strict rules forbidding marriage between relatives but the Basuto permitted cousins to marry. Moshesh was an enthusiastic supporter of polygamy. He claimed that it was a valuable means of making political alliances with other tribes, added to which, it solved the problem of entertaining visitors. The Paramount Chief of the Basuto is supposed to have said that "Basuto women aged quickly and that few men could resist the temptation of taking other wives". (62)

Xhosa and Basuto youth were allowed to marry after their initiation and coming of age. The Zulu warrior had first to complete a lengthy service in the army and could not marry until he was thirty. The girls were, therefore, correspondingly older. The African youth's wife was chosen by the father and the couple were compelled to marry. They might possibly never meet before the wedding day. (63)

A gift of cattle, "lobola" or bride-price, (64) was made by the bridegroom to the father of the bride and this established the legality of the union, without which the children would be illegitimate. The custom was designed to give the woman a distinct status, to secure her rights and to protect her from abuse. The various tribes practiced different systems. (65) A Xhosa youth could be expected to pay a dowry of twenty head of cattle, sometimes less. (66) The Zulus gave hoes and spears as well. (67) The marriage day was an occasion for feasting and dancing, many cattle would be slaughtered and there would be Kafir beer a-plenty.

The bride's behaviour was ordered by many strict rules and customs. Some of these were listed by John James :

The girl has to be advised beforehand by the parents to avoid stinginess, laziness, stealing, witchcraft, committing adultery, quarrelling etc. She has to cover herself until she has been married several months. She will never go in the kraal, nor walk in front of the place. She will never sit on her father-in-law's mats, never call his name, and she will try to avoid every word which has a letter of the father's name, until her death. Then the parent of the girl will visit her when she has been a long time there. (68)

The missionaries considered polygamy to be the worst of all the African social evils. The chiefs were castigated for being the greatest offenders, as their superior wealth allowed them to take many wives. (69) The missionaries maintained that paying cattle for wives amounted to "a species of sale and slavery". (70) The Rev. Widdicombe, who pioneered the Basuto mission field for the Anglicans, averred that the possession of many wives was "the parent of jealousies, heart burnings, dissensions, murders and wars". (71) The Church workers did their best to eradicate the system among their converts, but, unfortunately, this often led to a decline in morality.

The views of the Rev. Tiyo Soga are of value seeing that this Lovedale graduate who was ordained in 1856, was the first African to enter the priesthood. (72) Early on in his ministry he became bitterly disillusioned by the lax behaviour of members of his flock and complained that the Christian parents became indifferent to preserving the purity of their home life. Soga suggested that the checking of a national custom such as the "lobola", had been forced prematurely on the Christian natives before they had abandoned their old way of life in the hut, which he described as "a hotbed of iniquity". (73) The African missionary argued that, whereas the tribal marriage customs safeguarded the woman's rights, English law was powerless to meet moral vice, and that from a Kafir standpoint, it was an incentive to immorality.

The majority of missionaries refused to baptize polygamists. Bishop Colenso was one of the exceptions and he came under fire from his colleagues. Colenso held that "since polygamous unions were lawful according to Native custom and law, they must be accepted as binding. Therefore one either broke a lawful union, or tolerated a controlled polygamy, naturally forbidding its increase. To him the latter was the lesser of two evils". (74)

The Church's attitude to polygamy remains a contentious and unresolved problem to this day. Even though the practice diminished with time, the giving of "lobola", according to modern sociologists, is "still generally regarded as a prerequisite of a properly constituted marriage". (75) Nowadays there may still be a surreptitious exchange of cattle and horses and even saddles and bridles, to satisfy the older generation. (76)

African Dress

The missionaries were also very outspoken in their criticism of African dress. The chief's traditional clothing was a leopard skin robe or "kaross". The commoners wore cloaks of cowhide. The Basuto shepherd boys used sheepskin mantles to keep them warm in winter. (77) The men also wore loincloths or kilts, fashioned from strips of animal skin and the tails of various wildcat. The Africans loved to adorn themselves with ornaments, the bangles and bracelets being made from beads, feathers, shells, seed pods, iron, ivory and copper.

In vain did the missionaries set their faces against the extravagant dress and love of display. They were particularly shocked by the nudity and by the tribesmen's custom of covering their bodies with red clay. The clay was ground into a powder, mixed with water and painted on the body. When dry, it was rubbed into the skin and polished with melted fat. (78)

Red ochre-dyed blankets later replaced the animal skin cloaks, and these were the distinguishing dress of the non-Christians, who were known as the "Red Blankets". The converts adopted European dress. Those that backslid and reverted to heathen practices, were said to have "returned to the Red Clay". This was the fate of quite a number of the Kafir College graduates, as we shall see.

Land : the Laws and Customs

The Africans had a wealth of social laws and customs, (79) many of which the Victorian Englishmen failed to understand with disastrous consequences. The most confusing tribal laws were those pertaining to land. (80) The Africans did not share the European notion of the private ownership of a specific, measured piece of ground. Rather, a tribe settled on a certain ill-defined area, and the right of occupation on the boundary land was often contested by neighbouring tribes. The chief had no authority to sell or cede the land, it only changed hands as a result of force, the common cause of inter-tribal fights.

Every member of the tribe had the right to use the tribal land as long as he made a Token payment or gift to the chief. Foreign settlers, black and white, might also be given permission to use part of the land in exchange for a few cattle, sheep or guns.

The payment was considered to be a symbolic gesture which gave recognition to the chief as overlord. He was in no way transferring the permanent right of ownership to his new subjects. There was no question of a sale, a fundamental fact which the European colonists failed to realize. (81)

Many a chief granted land to a number of different people in the belief that he was allocating temporary squatters rights. In numerous oases, the chiefs unwittingly put their mark to documents produced by white settlers which signified a sale according to Western legal practice. The European approach was based on concepts totally foreign to African custom and the chiefs could not possibly comprehend the implications of their actions. As land became scarce, there was endless confusion as to property rights. The colonists accused the chiefs of double-dealing when they tried to re-occupy their land. Friction was the inevitable conclusion.

The misunderstandings were magnified in the case of contracts between the chiefs and the different Governors. A succession of treaties were made ceding land, annexing territories, and fixing boundaries. But the chiefs had no authority to demarcate land in this way and no tradition of maintaining such allocations permanently. The chiefs were charged with treachery when they broke the treaties. As the conflicting parties attempted to secure their "rights", fighting surely followed. The history of the confrontation between the two cultures on the Eastern Frontier is a record of successive wars which spanned a period of one hundred years - 1779 to 1878. One after another, the Governors of the Cape Colony tried to find a way of securing permanent peace, and failed. We shall now make a short study of their different policies up to the time of the arrival of Sir George Grey in 1854.

2. Conflict on the Eastern Frontier

Dutch Policy

The early occupation of the Cape, under Dutch rule, was almost entirely peaceful. As the "trekboers" ventured further afield, the Colony gradually expanded until the boundary was pushed as far as the Orange River in the north, and toward the Fish River in the east. It was on the Eastern Frontier that black and white first confronted one another. In an attempt to limit interaction between the two races, the Company made laws forbidding private

oattle barter. But these were ignored. Trade soon developed between the Xhosa and the colonists in which brandy, beads, tobacco, knives, muskets and horses, were exchanged for cattle and ivory. (82) The Company, fearing friction, issued regulations designed to control the trade and ensure peaceful co-existence. But their efforts were in vain, and the trade continued unabated. By 1778, the colonists eastern advance had been checked by the African trout. There was a certain measure of infiltration, though, for some "trekboers" lived among the Xhosa in the Zuurveld. (83) Friction was bound to develop between the two societies. They were at different levels of civilization, and they were competing for land and grazing. The border was unpoliced, the frontier policy was in the hands of the inhabitants. Cattle stealing raids by the Africans were punished by retaliatory settler commandos. This led to a series of skirmishes commonly known as the First Kafir War, which lasted from 1779 to 1781. (84)

The authorities attempted to separate the warring factions by designating a dividing line. They proclaimed the Great Fish River as the eastern boundary. They failed, however, to clear all the Africans out of the Zuurveld, which was now absorbed into the Cape Colony, and the unrest continued. Further border wars followed, the clashes between 1789 and 1793 being collectively known as the Second Kafir War, (85) and those between 1799 and 1803, as the Third. (86) Boer commandos assisted the small European military force during the hostilities.

British Frontier Policy

The British Colonial Policy during the first half of the nineteenth century was dictated by the Government's desire to avoid responsibilities that were likely to incur additional expense. Many different frontier policies were experimented with during this period but these attempts to maintain law and order, without deploying large forces, were doomed to fail.

Because of the continual state of unrest and sporadic fighting on the Eastern Frontier, military men were appointed to the post of Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape. These professional soldiers had little or no experience in colonial administration and scant appreciation of, or sympathy for, the customs and traditions of the indigenous people. Yet, they wielded wide

autocratic powers. Black and white in South Africa were at the mercy of the particular Governor of the time. These administrators came and went in rapid succession, and their diverse policies caused considerable confusion among both the colonists and the Africans, not to mention ill-feeling.

The Eastern Frontier was administered by a few colonial officials, responsible to the Governor, whose headquarters were six hundred miles distant from Cape Town. The Governor, in turn, was the servant of the British Government and was answerable for his actions to the Colonial Office, 6000 miles away in London. Such a system of administration was inefficient and unwieldy, prey to long delays in communication, and at the mercy of second-hand opinions and biased reports.

Information concerning the Frontier situation was relayed to the Governor from a number of different sources - from military personnel, civil administrators, colonists and missionaries. Many of the church workers had settled among the Xhosa and purposed to represent their interests. The Governor was, therefore, the recipient of a bewildering barrage of conflicting intelligence from parties with diametrically opposed interests and his subsequent actions depended on where his personal sympathies lay.

The Frontier wars were a heavy drain on British men and money. As the unrest continued over the years, the public "at home" became progressively more reluctant to support the troublesome Cape Colony at such cost to the Mother country. The agitators in Britain were led by a small, but active, group of philanthropists whose representations were instrumental in shaping the policy of the Government. The philanthropists, fed information by missionaries in the field, had little sympathy for the colonists and accused them of being the aggressors in the disturbances. The African tribes, on the other hand, were depicted "as the most injured and innocent of human beings". (87) Such prejudiced opinion caused a cleavage between the colonists and Britain.

As Kafir War succeeded Kafir War, it became obvious that the vacillating policy of the British Government had failed to secure peace on the Frontier, and that neither political manoeuvring or military might would be the means of establishing security there. This led to a growing concern to find peace through educating the Xhosa in the Western way of life.

Segregation Policies

Sir John Cradock was the first British Governor to attempt to segregate black and white. He determined to expel the Africans from the Zuurveld, and, as a result, the Ndhlambe tribe were driven over the Great Fish River in the Fourth War of 1811-1812.

(88) Military posts were established on the border to protect the farmers; but cattle stealing continued and retaliatory raids to recover stolen animals kept the Frontier in a constant state of tension.

This segregation policy failed, for inter-tribal warfare erupted which had a back-lash on the Colony. The Ndhlambe had been driven onto land occupied by the Ngqika and before long, fighting broke out between the enemy tribes. The conflict reached a climax at the battle of Amalinde Flats (near King William's Town), when Ndhlambe had his revenge and defeated Ngqika, his arch rival. (89) The Xhosa warriors then went on the rampage, crossing the border and overrunning the Zuurveld. The colonists were forced to flee their farms, and the missionaries to evacuate their stations, as the tribesmen advanced to attack Grahamstown. This, the Fifth Kafir War, 1818-1819, finally came to an end when the Xhosa were driven over the Keiskamma River. (90) But the frontier unrest continued. The Government and the colonists failed to realize the extent of the pressure they were exerting on the Africans by seizing their land and trying to force back the black tide.

Lord Charles Somerset attempted a more drastic segregation policy. He saw that a small military force was powerless to police the extensive border effectively and so he declared the area between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, a no-mans land. This neutral territory was to remain unoccupied and act as a buffer between the colonists and the Xhosa. Somerset ordered that it was not to be inhabited "until our endeavours to civilize the Kafirs have been successful". (91) The regulations were soon relaxed, however, and this plan to pacify the Frontier also failed.

There was an acute labour shortage on the frontier farms and Xhosa were granted permission to enter the Colony to seek work. Controlled trading was also permitted. Eventually Somerset gave in to the pleading of the Dutch farmers for more land, and grants of farms were allowed. The Governor then decided to bolster the

border with a human barrier. He placed the large contingent of 1820 Settlers in "No Man's Land" and proclaimed it the new district of Albany. (92) This scheme was a disaster for the land was not suited to intensive agriculture. Few of the English settlers were farmers by profession and a succession of droughts destroyed their feeble agricultural efforts. They were further plagued by the continual plundering of the Xhosa, who were infiltrating back into their old habitat. After much discouragement and suffering, many of the Albany settlers left their land and moved to the new towns of Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Bathurst and Port Kowie (Port Alfred). They were extremely dissatisfied with their lot and sought redress for their grievances. Their complaints were aired in local newspapers and journals, with editors such as Fairbairn and Pringle acting as their spokesmen. But Somerset was indifferent to their plight and tried to suppress the settler publications.

The colonists, both English and Dutch, became bitterly opposed to the Government. Missionaries, more particularly Dr. Philip, stirred up their resentment by according them the entire blame for the unrest. the L.M.S. Superintendent maintained that the farmers were just waiting for an excuse to attack the Xhosa, drive them from their lands, and confiscate their cattle and country. (93) Philip was anxious about the future of the Xhosa. He was appalled by the deleterious effects of their contact with Europeans, and pleaded concern for their cause :

The Caffres have not only gained nothing by their intercourse with the colony but they have greatly deteriorated. They have acquired no arts from us, they have borrowed none of our agricultural processes The farmers have done nothing for them Their manner of life and superstitions are the same. But stealing is more common Many of them, particularly their chiefs, have been ruined by violent spirits. They have had the vices of civilization grafted on. Only the missionaries have done them any good, trying to civilize them by understanding them ... and they have so far been limited. (94)

Philip decried the use of force in trying to subdue the Xhosa. He entreated for their education and Christianization :

Such is the system that is now followed, that I can see nothing before the Caffres but slavery or extermination (meaning, as usual, extrusion from their lands) if they are not educated. Education would teach them that their true interest is to be

at peace with the colony and the folly of resistance, raise them above stealing, and fit them for coming under the colonial Government. Such as have been at the mission stations prefer the Government of the colony to that of their chiefs. (95)

Philip's pleas fell on deaf ears as far as the settlers were concerned, and he received scant support for his schemes. After making a tour of the Albany district in 1830, he reported that nine tenths of the frontiersmen were against civilizing the Africans. (96) Relations between the two white camps deteriorated rapidly as a result of the missionaries' involvement in shaping the Government's liberal humanitarian policies, which led to the emancipation of the Hottentots and slaves. Matters came to a head with the outbreak of the Sixth Kafir War in 1834, (97) when Philip and his subordinates sided with the Kafirs. The settlers were very outspoken against their "interior foes" and complained that the missionaries "exerted all their influence to dry up the public compassion for the frontier inhabitants, and at the same time awaken the sympathy of the British public, on behalf of the savage invaders of the colony, and destroyers of the British settlements". (98)

The colonists were indignant that they were branded by the philanthropists as the aggressors, who had oppressed the natives and usurped their land. They objected to the injustice of their situation and complained that nothing was being done by the authorities "to obtain redress of their grievous wrongs". (99) They stood by their claim that there had been "an unprovoked irruption of savage hordes, upon a peaceful European Settlement, many of its inhabitants being murdered, their property swept away, and their dwellings reduced to ashes". (100) But they received little satisfaction from the Government. From this time on, a steady trickle of Dutch farmers trekked away from the Colony in search of new land and freedom, to live their lives according to their own tenets.

Sir Benjamin Durban made a bid to pacify the frontiersmen when he was appointed Governor in 1834. He attempted to reassert military authority on the Frontier by driving the Xhosa beyond the Great Kei River, so moving the border still further east. The new land was annexed, named the Province of Queen Adelaide, (101) and parcelled out to farmers. Their satisfaction was short-

lived, though, for this arrangement was cancelled within a year by Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He insisted that the "Ceded Territory" be handed back to the African chiefs and their subjects. Both sides of the Frontier were seething with discontent. There seemed to be no satisfactory solution to the problem of racial co-existence. The Boers decided on mass emigration and the Great Trek began. (102) "We quit this Colony", wrote Retief in 1837, "under the full assurance that the English Government ... will allow us to govern ourselves without interference". (103)

The System of Treaty States

For the next eleven years, the Government attempted a system of negotiating treaties with chiefs, they being regarded as sovereign powers on a footing of equality. The official policy was guided by humanitarian motives for the Government believed that the African tribes had been cheated of their rights and their land, and was determined to protect the interests of the indigenous people. Besides which, annexation had proved too costly. The authorities were not prepared to finance an adequate civil administration to control the border area. (104)

Buffer states were created on the Colony's borders. The Government hoped that by recognizing the chiefs as independent rulers, they would gradually become convinced "of the incalculable advantages of civilized government, of which they had no direct experience". (105) Treaties were concluded with Kok as head of the Griquas, Moshesh in Basutoland, and Faku in Pondoland, as well as with numerous Xhosa chiefs. However the black rulers' limited experience of civilized government had not been encouraging. They distrusted the Governors who had continually changed their policies and broken their promises. Not surprisingly, the chiefs regarded the new policy with the utmost suspicion.

The chiefs were required to co-operate with the Colonial Government in maintaining peace and order. Colonial agents were placed at the principal kraals, but they were only given diplomatic authority. Elaborate laws were made against cattle stealing; but as the border was thinly policed, it was rather unreasonable to hold the chiefs responsible for controlling a practice which successive Governors had failed to combat. Governor Napier in-

introduced a scheme in 1843 under which chiefs were paid salaries provided that they prevented robbery and raiding. Colonial police were allowed into the treaty states to arrest criminals and recover stolen cattle; but seeing that the officials were not permitted to use military force in effecting law and order, they received little satisfaction from the Africans. It was palpably clear that there would soon be further trouble.

Nevertheless, a time of comparative peace prevailed. It was a period of prosperity for the frontier farmers, for the infant sheep and wool industry flourished and was a profitable source of revenue. The Government had high hopes that the treaties would not only secure peace, but would also open the way for the introduction of civilization to the tribes living across the border; (106) and the missionaries from the different societies were encouraged to expand their work and establish stations in the treaty states. The Eastern Province settlers were pessimistic about the prospect of 'permanent security, however, and maintained that "the savage hordes are quite incapable of appreciating treaties". (107)

The Treaty System was destined to fail. The civilized government neglected to do its share of the police work, and the internal and external pressures on the African states were too great for the chiefs to control. During this period, the Xhosa territories were forced to absorb a mass immigration of Fingo and Tambookie (Tembu) refugees, who had fled south to escape the warring Zulus. This population explosion created fierce competition between the tribesmen, for land. At the same time, the colonists living on the fringe of the treaty states tried to claim more land for new settlements. Because of the Africans' vague notions of property ownership, and the fact that the states had no strict boundary delimitation, there was constant quarrelling between black and white over land. Cattle stealing was merely a symptom of the unrest, the land question was the root cause of the trouble.

The African rulers could not hope to abide by the treaties for they had little control over the situation in their territories. Their hold over their own tribesmen was diminishing and they could not possibly maintain stability among a people whose whole

tradition was based on fighting for power, let alone among newcomers, both black and white, who had to be assimilated into their countries. And the colonial administration could not possibly buttress the weak chiefs. Relations between the Colony and the treaty states became aggravated by border incidents, and when Governor Napier left the Colony in 1844, he was a sadly disillusioned administrator. "The Kaffirs", he said, "are very much more of savages than barbarians ... as to civilizing them, my opinion is that they will never be much better than they are". (108)

Tension between the two societies reached breaking point as a result of circumstances beyond either sides' control. Prolonged drought, successive years of crop failure, plagues of locusts, and acute famine, hit both Xhosa and colonists alike. A minor incident, the theft of an axe from a frontier store by an African, was all that was needed to trigger off the Seventh Kafir War, commonly known as the War of the Axe, in 1846. (109)

The Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, led the colonial forces in the field. Eager to subdue the enemy, he devised a radically changed policy. He aimed at breaking the power of the chiefs. Individual Xhosas were allowed to surrender, while Christian converts were exempted from obeying those tribal laws and traditions (the "barbarous customs" of "lobola" and circumcision), and charges of witchcraft, which were contrary to their new beliefs. (110) but Earl Grey, the newly appointed Colonial Secretary, reversed this policy and retired the Governor. He insisted that the chieftainships should still be supported and that the new Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, must manipulate the chiefs into a position where they could serve the Colony. (111) The Frontier policy continued to be at the mercy of successive State officials' caprice.

The Dictatorial Policy of Sir Harry Smith

Sir Harry Smith, who arrived at the Cape in December 1847, was the only Cape Governor to have had previous experience of conditions in the Colony. He had seen service on the Frontier during the Sixth Kafir War and had governed the Eastern Cape at the time of the short-lived Province of Queen Adelaide. The return of this flamboyant character, after a triumphant military career in India,

was warmly applauded by the colonists. Sir Harry had his own ideas on how to pacify the Frontier and control the chiefs. His policy was in marked contrast to that of his predecessors, it being dictatorial and directed toward subjugating the chiefs. He lost no time in putting his plans into action, much to the settlers' satisfaction. He set off for the Eastern Cape soon after his arrival. There he met the leading Xhosa chiefs in order to explain the new state of affairs. The African rulers were left bewildered by the strange antics adopted by Smith to demonstrate his position and power.

Sir Harry met Magomo in Port Elizabeth. This chief, who had become addicted to drink and had retained little authority, was then living with his retinue in voluntary exile. Although Magomo had taken small part in the War of the Axe, the Governor took him to task for his past misdemeanours and then subjected him to public mortification. Smith made Magomo kneel, and then, placing his foot on the chief's neck, explained that this was the manner in which he intended to treat the enemies of the Queen of England. (112)

Sir Harry continued on his way to the Frontier. On his arrival at Grahamstown, he released Sandile from prison, the chief having been held captive there since the end of the war. The Governor then addressed a loudly cheering gathering of settlers, and told them : 'The Kaffirs shall be prostrated under our feet and the occurrence of war shall be prevented. But there must be unanimity throughout the Colony, all must make common cause in carrying out my measures. Let it be understood, I WILL BE GOVERNOR'.(113)

The Governor's next step was to appropriate a large area of Xhosa territory. He proclaimed two new districts, Victoria and Albert, while the land between the Keiskamma and Great Kei Rivers was designated the "Province of British Katfraria. Sir Harry called a meeting of the local chiefs and their followers at King William's Town, the capital of the new Province, to announce his policy and plans. He informed the Xhosa leaders that there to be no more treaties and that all previous treaties between the Government and the chiefs were abrogated and annulled. (114) He explained that British Kaffraria" was to be independent of the Cape Colony, that it was to be held by the Kafir chiefs and their people, but was to be governed by Sir Harry, in his position

as High Commissioner, with such rules and regulations as were best calculated to promote Christianity and civilization. (115) This was a drastic step for it meant that the chiefs were to lose their hereditary rights of supreme authority. The missionaries were to be encouraged to return to their stations near the chiefs, which they had evacuated during the war, and were to be joined by traders.

Sir Harry closed the proceedings with a curious pantomime, supposedly designed to impress the chiefs with his power so that they would accept him as their great chief, the "Inkosi Inkuli". The High Commissioner held up his symbols of war and peace, a sergeant's halberd and a "wand", a stick with a brass doorknob on the end of it. Each chief was required to select the symbol he preferred. They all obediently touched the staff of peace. Not satisfied, Sir Harry then insisted that each chief must kiss his boot, as he sat astride his horse. There were repercussions in England and the Colony following this public humiliation of the chiefs, and the Governor-cum-High Commissioner was ridiculed and castigated for his conduct. (116)

Sir Harry, undeterred, held a second and even larger gathering of tribesmen at King William's Town, a few weeks later. On that occasion he devised yet more elaborate stage effects in an attempt to intimidate the chiefs. They were, however, first treated to a long harangue. The High Commissioner told them that he was now Paramount Chief, that there was : "No more Kreli, no more Sandilli, no more mhallla". (117) The chiefs appeared outwardly penitent and submissive. Sir Harry then went on to explain the plans he had made for his "childrens" civilization. There was to be no more witchcraft or murder, no violation of women and buying of Ives, and they were to listen to the missionaries. He continued

You shall all learn to speak English at the schools
I will establish for you and, that you may no
longer be naked and wicked barbarians, good people
in England will help me to provide for your wants
.... Your people must work as we do, none of us
eat the bread of idleness, nor can, nor shall
you. (118)

The High Commissioner promised the chiefs ploughs, seeds and goats; but threatened that if they were idle and bad, he would "Eat them up" and drive them out of British Kaffraria. If they dared to make war or attack the wagons again, he would blow them

up. He then proceeded to demonstrate his meaning. On the command of "FIRE", an empty ox wagon, stacked with gunpowder, was blown skywards, much to the astonishment of the black onlookers. No wonder that Sandile told Sir Harry : "I have no mouth, what chieftainship I have, I have received at your hands". While Umhala "thanked" the High Commissioner for bringing him out of the rocks, bushes and holes. (119) Sir Harry closed the proceedings with one final pantomime. He tore up a piece of paper to show what had happened to the treaties.

The High Commissioner then advanced inland to settle the disputes between the Boers and the Basutos. He commanded Moshesh to maintain order, and told Moroka that if he kept the peace, his cattle would grow fat and he would go to Heaven. (120) At the same time, plans went ahead to proclaim the Orange River Sovereignty an independent Boer Republic. (121)

The colonists were delighted with Sir Harry's strong-arm tactics in settling the troublesome disputes that had so constantly threatened the security of the Colony. Bishop Gray, newly arrived in Cape Town, was caught up in the general public enthusiasm and was greatly impressed by Sir Harry's handling of the African problems. He reported that the Governor was the idol of the Colony, that his progress through the country had been one continual triumph, that the Kafirs were fascinated by him, and that he had "settled Kaffraria" in fifty-eight days. (122)

The Kafirs all gave in as soon as he was governor, (wrote Gray) he does what he likes with everyone; - he made the Kafir chiefs kiss his toe (123) It remains to be seen whether his personal influence will last long enough to induce them to keep sheep and cultivate their land; these two things would fix them. (124)

When Sir Harry returned to the metropolis shortly afterwards, the Bishop soon came under the spell of his charisma. "I already feel an attachment to him", said Gray, soon after meeting the Governor, "and am much struck with the religious turn his mind takes upon viewing any object. He is not perhaps much of a theologian, but I am sure he is devout". (125)

The two leaders had long confidential talks about their future plans, and together organized a Day of Thanksgiving for the restoration of peace. (126) It was not long, however, before Gray was approaching the Governor rather more circumspectly. The

Bishop complained to his brother, that : "Sir H. Smith does not understand Church or Education questions (and I have to watch him very narrowly, lest he committ himself and hamper me)".(127)

The Governor, for all his dramatics and-extraordinary attempts to convince the Kafirs that he had supernatural powers, was sincere in his desire to give them the benefits of civilization. His policy, dictatorial though it might be, and contrary to the humanitarian approach of his predecessors, was the first concerted attempt to secure lasting peace through education, Christianization and civilization.

Sir Harry's peace terms with the Xhosa were criticized by many of the frontiersmen, who maintained that he had displayed "a ludicrous ignorance of the simplest points of Bantu sociology". (128) The missionaries, on the other hand, were enthusiastic about the new system of administration in British Kaffraria. They fully supported the Governor's attempts to maintain an effective Frontier policy, which besides ensuring security, also offered the opportunity of introducing among the Kafirs - "such principles of good Government and Civil Liberty as should tend to their advancement as a people, and to raise them in the scale of Civilization to which hitherto they held so low a place". (129)

3. Sir Harry Smith's Endeavours to Civilize the Xhosa: 1847-1850 The Governor's Schemes

Sir Harry Smith was entirely dependent on the missionaries' co-operation in realizing his plans to civilize the Xhosa. In an official report of his schemes, made to the Colonial Secretary, he stated :

From the exertions of our worthy Missionaries, the foundation of schools, the example of honesty and industry, and agricultural and horticultural pursuits, we may with the aid of Divine Truth ... expect much in the improvement of the Nomadic Race It is to industry and labour, and to them only, we can look for their education to civilized life. It is absurd to expect that any System should of itself bring about effectual changes. (130)

Once law and order were established on the Frontier, the missionaries of the various Societies were encouraged to renew their labours amongst the Xhosa. The majority returned to their

stations, which they had hurriedly abandoned during the war, to find their work in ruins, the buildings burnt to the ground, their equipment missing, stolen or destroyed. But they courageously started again and the stations were soon rebuilt. In April 1848, the Governor sent a circular letter to all the church workers in the field, asking for their views on how to implement his plans -

to inspire in the Bantu a desire to cultivate their lands by ploughing and to induce them to follow habits of industry, the first steps to civilization and equally so to their embracing the Christian Faith ... to see the necessity of wearing clothes ... the use of money ... of establishing schools on such a footing as would ensure hereafter teachers from among themselves... and too much pains cannot be taken to wean them from the use of blankets ... and of all things His Excellency requests ... English in the schools to the total exclusion of the Kafir dialect. (131)

The missionaries replies are varied and interesting. One significant factor is a recurring theme in their suggestions : that is, their insistence on the necessity of obtaining the local chief's co-operation when attempting to bring about change among his people, whether it be agricultural, educational, sociological or spiritual "improvement". The missionaries maintained that it was the chief's example in supporting their efforts which was the determining factor in the successful evangelization and education of the Xhosa. This is a noteworthy trend in opinion which must be borne in mind when we later consider the purpose behind the establishment of the Kafir College.

Education

Educational matters feature prominently in the missionaries' memoranda to Sir Harry. The missionaries held that the Xhosa must lie made the means of their own improvement, that a selected number of natives should be trained as schoolmasters and evangelists, 'that these leaders should then be responsible for educating their own people. (132) Not only would the indigenous teachers be re effective in instructing their tribesmen in their home language, but they would be a more economic proposition. It would be possible to appoint native teachers at reasonable rates, £12 per annum being suggested as a suitable stipend. Moreover European teachers could never be secured in sufficient numbers. (133)

But native teachers were in short supply. Even though a number of missions had already trained their own men, it was imperative that the Government should establish Normal schools and Seminaries, open to pupils from all the Societies, to cope with the demand for qualified schoolmasters. (134) Lovedale, which re-opened in 1849, was suggested as a model for such establishments. (135)

The native schools were to be established at focal points among the tribesmen. There were practical problems, however, which impeded the missionaries' endeavours, for the kraals were scattered over a wide area and the teachers had difficulty in collecting sufficient numbers of children together in one place. Apart from the geographical complications, the parents showed great reluctance in sending their children to school, even when a native teacher was available. Their opposition to Western education stemmed partly from fear that their offspring would forget the old customs and traditions, and partly from the fact that the children were needed for work at home - the boys to herd animals, the girls to help in the huts and fields. (136)

The missionaries suggested that the chiefs could set the example, and do much to counteract their tribesmen's apathy, by themselves becoming literate and by sending their children to school. The missionaries maintained that literacy should be recognized as a status symbol among the chiefs. They recommended that a financial reward could be used as a stimulus in achieving this goal. (137) It was suggested that, ideally, an African schoolmaster should be placed at each chief's kraal. (138)

Language

Sir Harry Smith's emphasis on English as the medium for native education, was in conformity with instructions issued by Earl Grey (Secretary of State for the Colonies) to discourage the use of the Kafir language in schools. (139) Many of the missionaries, however, disagreed with this approach. They did not dispute the necessity of teaching the English language as a very desirable "branch of learning", (140) but they believed that initial instruction should be given in the children's mother tongue. They likened the learning of English to the "learned" acquirement

of Latin in Europe, a few centuries previous. (141) A number of the church workers were also concerned lest the "rich and harmonious" language of the Kafirs should become extinct. (142) Richard Niven, writing from Igqibigha Mission Station, argued -

that His Excellency's wish to supersede the vernacular tongue, by a foreign, the language of the conquered, by that of the conqueror, to make the euphonic vehicle of the pathos, patriotism and poetry which move the affections and feed the imagination of the Caffre, give way to one, which in the judgment of the nation is a cold complex uncouth impracticable species of the Babel genus, will be a work of time. (143)

Lovedale led the way in Anglicizing the Africans. No native language was taught there and the advanced pupils soon learned to speak and read English with ease, their progress being facilitated by the fact that they mixed with Europeans in class. (144) Tiyo Soga was proof of the effectiveness of their system. By the late 1840's, he had graduated from the Seminary and was furthering his theological studies in Scotland.

The Advancement in Civilization

The missionaries were faced with a tremendous challenge in trying to impart the benefits of civilization to the Africans. The majority of church workers in the field realized that it was not sufficient to preach the gospel and teach the Xhosa to read; but that the heathen had, at the same time, to be motivated to adopt the Western way of life. "Wants" had to be created and "the power of supplying these wants imparted". (145) The Rev. W.C. Holden, a Methodist missionary with many years experience of working among the Xhosa, described the challenge, as follows :

The child of nature ... prefers his own mode of living to that of civilized man. The sports of the chase, the sensuality of polygamy, and the laziness of plenty, with wants few and easily supplied, without moral constraint or coercive labour, is a state infinitely preferable to him, as compared with ours, which requires care and forethought, and continued labour, to supply wants and provide comforts, the nature of which he does not understand, and the necessity of which he does not feel. So that, instead of our state and mode of life being attractive to him, they are positively repulsive; instead of exciting desire, they create disgust; instead of calling forth imitation, they raise opposition.

You have therefore to create the tastes and desires for the conveniences and comforts of civilized life, to produce that change in his views and tastes and habits, which shall lead him to understand and value our improved modes of agriculture and living. In this manner you must bring into existence a number of artificial wants, which by degrees may acquire all the force of real wants; of which, consequently, from necessity, he must have supplied. It is only so far as you succeed in effecting this change, that you are able to call forth continuous action and submission to the pressure of constant labour. (146)

The missionaries wished to foster trading in the Xhosa territories in order to bring about this change in the traditional African way of life; and they suggested that trading stations should be established throughout the area. Only by encouraging the Xhosa to use money, could he be persuaded to work for a living. They enumerated a variety of articles, beside grain and other crops, which could be sold to the traders - gum, Euphorbia juice and aloes for medicine, baskets, rush mats, ox-riems, walking sticks, tobacco pipes etc. (147)

A major difficulty, then was to persuade the tribesmen to be industrious and farm the land themselves. Field work was traditionally the Xhosa women's duty, the primitive wooden hoe being their only implement for breaking the ground. Now that the Governor had provided many of the chiefs (including Sandile, Toise and Umhala) with seed, ploughs and oxen, the missionaries held that the Xhosa needed expert instruction and superintendence in farming - in ploughing, the cultivation of crops such as vegetables, wheat and maize, and the building of irrigation furrows. (148)

Sir Harry Smith belonged to the school of thought which held that the African could be civilized by bringing him into contact with Europeans. On the Governor's orders, a large number of Kafir youth were sent to work for farmers in the Colony. While providing labour, they would, at the same time, be taught Western methods of agriculture. (149) Those Kafirs who worked in the Colony would also become familiar with the use of money. When Sir Harry later introduced an African poll tax, many more Kafirs were forced to go to work on colonial farms to secure the money, for it was the only paid employment available, and poorly paid at that. (150)

But indiscriminate association with the frontiersmen was seen by some as a questionable measure for improving the heathen. It was felt that the European settlers had also suffered from spiritual and educational neglect, and being irreligious, uneducated and rough, they were, more often than not, an undesirable example for the Kafirs to follow. As one observer, a British military officer, commented : "If the children are without bread, where are the crumbs to come for the heathen dog beneath the table?"

(151) During their comparatively short period of contact with Europeans, the Xhosa had shown ample evidence that they were quick to acquire the vices, but averse to imitating the virtues, of civilization. Many of the chiefs, who had been closely associated with the colonists, had succumbed to drink. (152)

A number of the missionaries proposed that it would be better to bring civilization into close contact with the chiefs in their kraals. They recommended that the mission stations should include Model Farms within their range of operations. These, they maintained, would be more effective in demonstrating the profitability of improved agriculture. (153) This system was eventually adopted by most of the Societies, with varying degrees of success.

The Kafirs' homes, clothing and domestic habits, were further subjects for discussion by the missionaries. The changes that they recommended were an essential part of the programme for improving the Kafirs. The grass huts were criticized as being too low, too hot and too smoky - "European Clothes can scarcely be borne in them; and the loose kaross and squatting posture seem an almost necessary accompaniment to their habitation".(154) Dugmore, the Methodist missionary, wished to promote the building of plastered walled huts which would be far roomier and could be whitewashed inside and out. He argued that such houses would favour "habits of cleanliness" and foster the wearing of "European apparel". (155)

The missionaries gave Sir Harry Smith their full support in his desire to see the Kafirs decently clothed. (156) Some of their advice, drawn from their own experience, seems somewhat bizarre. The Scotsmen were enthusiastic supporters of the kilt and advocated the Scots national dress. as being ideally suited to the men, as a first step in acquiring the habit of wearing trousers.

(157) The church workers stressed the need for the chiefs to set the example. The African leaders must be encouraged to wear European clothes so that this sign of respectability might be emulated by their followers. (158) It would be necessary, too, to forbid the sale of red clay (159) - "that disgusting red paint with which they bedaub their bodies". (260)

Christianization : "Christianize : for so doing you civilize".(161)

The missionaries were in one mind as regards the benefits of Christianity to the heathen. They firmly believed that attempts to civilize the Kafirs would only succeed if they were "based upon religious instruction and moral culture". (162) They insisted that civilization would surely accompany the preaching of the gospel. James Read, junior, an L.M.S. missionary, typified their attitude. He wrote enthusiastically about the effectiveness of Christianity in "remaking barbarous and savage communities", for "in it are contained both moral and industrial precepts and the highest examples are set forth for the emulation of such as are taught". (163) The missionaries, once again, emphasized the fact that the chiefs must set the example of attending church, as an encouragement to their people to follow their lead . (164)

The evangelists decried the Kafirs' national customs and superstitions, and complained that these were a great hindrance to the conversion of the heathen. Polygamy was abhorred and circumcision denounced, because of the "heathenish and obscure customs and practices" that were connected with it. (165) Sir Harry made laws prohibiting the violation of females and the paying of "lobola". But as the dowry was the only legal recognition of marriage, there were those who prophesied that "utmost domestic confusion" would result if some other contract was not instituted in its place. (166) The missionaries would only marry those who were baptized, or, at least, professed a nominal faith in Christianity.

There were also difficulties in the way of counteracting the influence of the witchfinders and sorcerers. The Kafirs believed that illness was due to "evil disposed" people bewitching others. (167) It was hard to persuade them to give up their magical practices and superstitious beliefs, in favour of the white man's medicine and surgical treatment. (168)

Sir Harry Smith denounced the witchdoctors as criminals, and attempted to intervene in the meting out of tribal justice. But his efforts to suppress the punishment of people who had been accused of being witches, was opposed by the tribesmen as well as the chiefs. The latter resented this interference with their authority and their consequent loss of income from cattle fines. The High Commissioner's meddling in tribal affairs contributed toward the continuation of the Frontier unrest. This ultimately led to the outbreak of the Eighth Kafir War in 1850, which put paid to Sir Harry's endeavours to civilize the Xhosa. (169)

4. Bishop Gray's Plans to Evangelize the Heathen: 1848-1850

Bishop Gray's primary concern, on taking up office at the Cape in 1848, was for the neglected colonists and British forces; and his energies were mainly devoted to finding men and money for the struggling Anglican Church in South Africa. (170) At the same time, he felt a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of the 600,000 heathen resident in the Colony, not to mention the mass living beyond the borders. (171) From the start of his episcopacy, Gray was busy with plans for their evangelization. Although the Kafirs on the Eastern Frontier excited his greatest interest, the Mission to the Mohammedans in Cape Town was his first missionary venture. A Maltese, Dr. Camilleri, was appointed in 1848 to pioneer the work among the Malay ex-slaves and their children. (172)

Bishop Gray's First Meeting with the Kafir Chiefs

The Bishop's first opportunity of meeting Kafirs was in October 1848. This unexpected contact took place in King William's Town during Gray's first Visitation to his scattered Anglican congregation, a journey that took him up the south-eastern seaboard to the Eastern Province. (173)

When he finally reached Grahamstown, after six weeks on the road, Gray learnt that Sir Harry Smith was due to address a large gathering of Kafir chiefs and their followers, at the Kaffrarian capital in two days' time. Determined not to miss this opportunity of meeting the African "heathen", the Bishop set off at once for King William's Town, dressed "in a not altogether Episcopal garb of leathers, jackboots and white hat". (174) He was accompanied by the military chaplain, Mr. Heavyside. With fresh horses, supplied along the way, they managed to cover the strenuous

ninety mile horseback journey in fourteen hours. Bishop Gray was exhilarated by their gallop through the sun-baked, wild and desolate countryside, the scene of so much pillaging and burning, the battleground of so many Frontier wars and skirmishes.

Hundreds of Kafirs had streamed into the little town, on horseback and on foot, to attend the meeting with the High Commissioner. The dusty streets were filled with a seething mass of tribesmen.

How the Bishop must have wondered at the unfamiliar sight of these black people : the brass bangles, beads and blankets : the strange sound of the native language. The High Commissioner was delighted with Gray's timely arrival and introduced him at once to Chief Umhala. (175) Sir Harry experienced some difficulty in making the Bishop's status clear; but solved the problem of explaining Church Hierarchy by means of a characteristic illustration. He took two sticks of different lengths and explained that the larger one represented "the immensely superior height of a Bishop to all other religious officers". (176)

The official proceedings started at noon with the Bishop, the High Commissioner and his staff, all walking in procession to the meeting place to the accompaniment of a British band playing "God Save the Queen". About thirty chiefs and three chieftainesses were present, drawn up in a semi-circle and flanked by their followers. Some of the chiefs were clothed in blankets but a number had decked themselves out in a quaint assortment of military uniforms. Sandile was resplendent in a plaid velvet shooting jacket. Jan Tzatzoe had donned a London bobby's uniform. (177)

Sir Harry launched the programme with one of his customary speeches in which he alternately petted, cajoled and scolded the chiefs. This was followed by the introduction of Bishop Gray. The High Commissioner, after describing the prelate's epic ride, then went on to tell the assembly :

He has been sent out by the good people of England to teach you the religion of the Queen of England. This is the man that teaches me the way to salvation, and he has come to see what he can do for you in teaching you the way to be Christians. This is the Great Chief of teachers, yet still regards the smallest child and the meanest man, who is good, and is a Christian, with the same regard as 'Inkosi Inkuli' (Sir Harry). He wishes to establish schools for the education of your children. Can none of you

assist in any way 7 Can none give a calf or a little corn Shall your daughters go about naked, and lie about in idleness in the bushes, like calves ? (178)

The chiefs remained impassive, however, and greeted these suggestions for their improvement with silence. Sir Harry, determined to raise some response, picked on Jat Tzatzoe - "you who have been to England" - to comment. This chief's reply was evasive. He said : "The Lord Bishop is a great and wise man, and the Great Chief has already remarked that I am a fool. How, therefore, can I give you any evidence on the subject 7 But we certainly require teaching to remove our ignorance".(179)

Bishop Gray was then given an opportunity to address the gathering. He told the chiefs that through education and by becoming Christians, they would greatly promote their own peace and happiness. (180) Little did Gray realize that in ten years time he would be educating many of the children of these selfsame chiefs, in Cape Town. Sandile, Maqomo, Kona and Tzatzoe of the Ngqikas. and Toise and Umhala of the Nohlambes, all of whom eventually had children at the Kafir College, were present at the meeting that day.

After the formalities were over, Bishop Gray had further discussions with the chiefs at Sir Harry's lodgings. The talks were rather unsatisfactory, though, for black and white could only communicate with each other through interpreters. Apart from which, the chiefs were more interested in begging for gifts, such as tiger skins, blankets and spirits, than in weighty discourse on teachers and missionaries. (181)

The Bishop invited Kreli to accompany him to England. The chief refused with the excuse that he was afraid of the sea. The Bishop then offered to educate his son, suggesting that the boy "should come and live with him". But Kreli insisted that if Bishop Gray took his son then he would have to take "father and mother" as well. (182) Although Gray's plan to educate a chief's son came to nought, the germ of the idea of the Kafir College was born at this time.

Despite the fact that nothing positive was accomplished at King William's Town, Bishop Gray was pleased to have established friendly relations with the chiefs, so preparing the way for the

evangelization of the Kafirs. (183) Sir Harry Smith was highly satisfied with the Bishop's participation in the proceedings and later informed Sophy that "he gallops, preaches, confirms, talks, speechifies, all in a breath and all equally well". (184) One can only speculate on the chiefs' evaluation of these events.

The Proposed Mission to Umhala

After making this contact with the Kafirs, Bishop Gray was eager for the Anglican Church to enter Kaffraria; but his plans were frustrated by a lack of funds and staff. He made every effort to persuade the S.P.G. to take on greater financial and spiritual responsibilities in southern Africa. In a letter to the Society, written in 1850, he told them :

From almost the first hour of my landing in the Colony I have been impressed with the conviction that it would become our duty, at no distant day, to seek the conversion of the tribes on our border

The bloody and destructive wars which have so frequently taken place between the Colonists and these noble savages, have tended to alienate them from us and from Christianity. But these difficulties ... should rather stimulate our zeal than damp our ardour. Two courses only seem open to us - their conversion, or their entire subjugation. We know how this last course would terminate They would fade away before us. With these convictions on my mind, I have deeply felt that the Church in this land had a solemn call to preach the Gospel to the Kafirs. (185)

Some Anglicans in the Colony were not content to rely on help from "home", however, and determined to make their own efforts to evangelize the heathen. Early in 1850, Archdeacon Merriman and his clergy in Grahamstown pledged themselves to raise funds toward founding a mission in Umhala's country, about thirty miles east of King William's Town. (186) They would not be trespassing on the territory of rival Societies for there were no other missions in the neighbourhood. Even though Umhala was not himself considered to be a promising subject for conversion, Bishop Gray asserted that he was one of the ablest and most intelligent of the Kafir chiefs. (187) Moreover, Umhala's authority was extensive for his followers numbered about 10,000. (188)

The first step, then, was to obtain Umhala's sanction for the venture. Merriman, whose walking tours of the country became

famous, set off to visit Umhala on foot, with only a Kafir servant for company. His meagre provisions were carried in a haversack because he believed that if the mission was to succeed, "the seeds of it must be sown in sweat and labour, and not in luxury, or even comfort. The craftiest, and perhaps the most hardened chief in Kafirland is not to be won by a dainty approach in kid gloves". (189)

Merriman met Umhala at his kraal near the ruins of Fort Waterloo; and successfully negotiated his purpose. He described the chief as "a'dirty, scrubby-looking savage in an old blanket, red with clay like the rest". (190) Umhala pleaded for a kaross but the Archdeacon explained that the missionaries who were coming were not men of gifts. They would have to be provided with a hut, food and cattle, and would need protection from robbery and injury - all of which the chief promised to do.

Bishop Gray was enthralled by Merriman's account of his visit to Umhala, and, spurred on by Sir Harry Smith's interest, the two clergymen went ahead with their plans to establish the mission. They held very definite opinions on the manner in which the work should be carried out among the Kafirs. They insisted that to make the greatest impression, the missionaries must lead "a hard self-denying life in a Kafir kraal, eating like Kafirs, sour milk and mealies, and working with and for Kafirs, till they have mastered the tongue and acquired influence". (191) They proposed to offer no stipends to the workers. Food and clothing were all that would be provided. Undaunted by these stringencies, both Bishop Gray and Merriman offered themselves as candidates for the work of the first Anglican mission in Kaffraria. (192) But they could not be spared from their positions in the Church.

Bishop Gray made a personal visit to Umhala in August 1850, with the object of selecting a suitable site for the mission. He was returning home through Kaffraria, after completing an extensive Visitation to the Orange River Sovereignty and Natal. (193) Gray camped close by to Umhala's kraal. The Bishop left his tent after dark to make his official call on the chief. He was accompanied by Mr. Fleming, the Military Chaplain of Kaffraria. (194)

The visitors crept through the narrow entrance to Umhala's

reception hall with some difficulty. They found the place crowded with Kafirs, the tribesmen having hurriedly discontinued their beer drink in honour of the Bishop's arrival. The hut was suffocatingly hot and dimly lit. Gray was half-blinded by the smoke coming from a fire in the centre and from the pipes of the people. Umhala sat surrounded by his wives, children, councillors and retainers. He bade the Bishop welcome and seated his guest on a skin on the floor. They were a strange contrast, these two leaders - the Bishop, formally attired in clerical garb, hat and all: the warrior, half-naked, his greased body streaming with perspiration.

Umhala was eager to receive news of the teachers who the Church was sending to live with his tribe. He asked repeatedly that Archdeacon Merriman, to whom he had taken a great fancy, should be sent. He said he knew that the Bishop was too busy to come himself, for he had heard how many places the great Chief of the Church had to visit. Therefore, the Archdeacon, who was also a great Chief, must be his teacher. Umhala would not be placated by the fact that the son of a great English chief, the Hon. the Rev. Douglas, was proposing to leave a life of luxury to work among the Ndhlambe people.

The Bishop was impressed by the "very sweet countenances" of some of Umhala's offspring. The chief informed Gray that he had ten wives and twenty-six children. It is quite possible that Nathaniel, who was later educated at the Kafir College, was one of the sons of Umhala to whom the Bishop gave a present of a knife. The chief was delighted with his gift of a red-striped blanket. He refreshed his guests with sour milk and was a most hospitable host. Umhala lost interest in the discussions, however, when the Bishop steered the conversation to religious subjects, although the chief did ask questions "about the soul coming back after death to visit those who are yet in the flesh". (195) Gray later commented : "Like most of the heathen in this land, he professed to assent to the truth of their being but one God". (196)

At parting, Umhala presented the Bishop with an assegai as a token of their friendship, and promised that there would be no more war; between them. The Bishop was puzzled by the chief's desire for teachers and speculated as to his motives. Gray wondered whether Umhala anticipated that the missionaries would befriend him with the civil power, or improve his people with

worldly knowledge, or give him presents, or bring a 'winkel' (shop) in their train". (197) This, despite the fact that he had been told that the men of God would only teach the things of God. Although Bishop Gray liked Umhala, he yet distrusted the chief. Writing in his Journal, he expressed the hope that :-

this poor savage is not all hypocrisy, however bad his general character may be. We are apt to judge too severely of the heathen. What can be expected from these poor Kafirs? They are brought up generation after generation, amidst scenes of depravity and vice, which could hardly be conceived by those unacquainted with heathenism. They have nothing around to raise and improve them; they have been nurtured amid war and rapine, and have been in deadly conflict with us from childhood. The greater number of Europeans with whom they have mixed, and do mix, have not sought to do them good, but have let them see that they despise them, and regard them as no better than dogs; and it is we that have taught them to drink. It is a sad fact ... that the native population became worse and not better for its contact with civilisation and professedly Christian people. (198)

Bishop Gray's Plans for an Anglican Mission to the Zulus in Natal.

Besides the plans to send a pioneer mission to the Kafirs, Bishop Gray also fostered ambitious schemes for a mission to the Zulus in Natal. These were conceived during Gray's tour of that country in 1850. (199) Britain had annexed Natal in 1844, and was, therefore, responsible for the welfare of the thousands of Zulu refugees who had fled the tyrannical rule of the king, Panda (Mpande), and sought asylum in the neighbouring European colony. The Zulus had settled indiscriminantly among the Boer and English farmers. Black and white intermingled freely, with no dividing line separating them as in the Eastern Province.

Bishop Gray argued that the Zulus were in a transitional state and that the white man had the choice of training them either for good or for evil. Gray maintained that these tribesmen, resident in Natal, were still docile and submissive; and although they had the usual "sickening vices of the Heathen", they were, nevertheless, thrifty and hard-working. (200) The Bishop gave this warning :

Already a great change has taken place among them, which will increase as the tide of emigration extends over the land. The power of the chief, upon which the good government of the people at present

depends, will melt away. What moral influence have we at work to supply the fading powers of the chiefs, which has hitherto been relied upon for restraining this people? Unhappily there is but little. A few foreign missionaries, owing no allegiance to the British government and opposed on principle to our institutions, cannot, however good and zealous they may be, meet the necessities of the case. (201)

Gray prophesied that unless the Church managed to inculcate Western moral values to the Zulus and so transform them into "a religious, loyal and industrious people" (202) there would inevitably be a repetition of the irritation, resistance, and ultimately, rebellion, that had taken place in the Eastern Province. (203) He believed that Natal offered an exciting opportunity for the Church to redeem itself.

The Government was, at that time, planning to settle 10,000 Zulus in ten locations and the Bishop proposed to plant institutions, modelled on the Moravian pattern, in as many of these as possible. A clergyman would be at the head of each missionary community. He would be assisted by suitable educational and industrial teachers. Each institution would include a day-school, boarding-school, home for orphans, the nucleus of a hospital, and a farm. The station would hopefully become self-sufficient. The pupils would receive an elementary education, comparable with English schooling, as well as industrial training. The boys were to learn farming, gardening and certain mechanical arts. The girls would wash, sew and cook, and do other household chores. Bishop Gray hoped that in this way, a considerable number of Zulus would be trained to become "wholesome examples, influential counsellors and religious teachers to their brethren". (204)

The Government planned to raise money from the Zulus by means of a hut tax. (205) The Bishop tried to convince the colonial authorities that such funds could be far more constructively spent on his proposed Institutions than on the roads and bridges which were under consideration, which would benefit the Africans but little for they lived mainly in inaccessible areas and always travelled on foot. (206) Gray contended that it was of vital importance to win the Zulus' confidence and show them "that we do not wish to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water to ourselves". (207) In order to prevent war, they must be raised up from their moral degradation to the same level of civilization as the Europeans. (208)

5. War Interrupts Plans for the Advancement of the Xhosa :
1850-1853

The Causes of the War

The outbreak of the Eighth Kafir War, on Christmas eve, 1850, interrupted both Government and Church plans to civilize and Christianize the Xhosa. Bishop Gray was bitterly disappointed that the imminent planting of the mission to Umhala had to be deferred, particularly as his "friend", the Ndhlambe chief, stood aloof from the hostilities in "dignified neutrality". (209). The Bishop was convinced that the years of trouble, war the political commotion, anarchy, drought, locusts, famine and ruin, were all God's scourges (210) - "God's judgments for our sins, especially during the last two years: nothing could have been more wicked and rebellious than the spirit of the people during that period", he said. (211)

Although Gray accepted that the white man had failed in his duty to the coloured races in South Africa - the Christian to the heathen - he did not believe that this was sufficient justification for the Xhosa rebellion. He held the Kafirs entirely to blame :

We have held military possession of the country - it was essential to our own safety that we should - but we have not interfered with the government of the Chiefs more than was absolutely necessary, and when we have interfered, it has been to protect the oppressed ... our government of British Kaffraria has been wise, just and humane. (212)

Bishop Gray gave Sir Harry Smith's schemes to civilize the Xhosa his complete support. The Governor confidently expected that, through his measures to establish peace on the Frontier, the Kafirs would learn to appreciate all the advantages of British rule. He had a naive faith in the prestige of his name, thinking that he could overawe his black "children" into submission with his "voice of thunder". (213) He failed to realize just how bitterly the tribesmen resented the annexation of their land, the chiefs, the curtailing of their power. The lull in hostilities had only been due to the Kafirs' temporary weakness resulting from years of drought and prolonged war.

The chiefs were not attracted by "the sweets of civilization". (214) Not only did the Government regulations attempt to restrict the traditional social practices, so limiting their freedom, but they were also forbidden "to eat up" their people.

This meant that the chiefs could no longer control their followers through the witchdoctors, and fine's of cattle. They had lost their authority as well as their income, and the Government had failed to institute another system in its stead. (215) The chiefs were opposed to Christianity, too, because the Kafir converts came into direct conflict with the institutions of their country and flouted their tribal rulers' authority. As one chief explained to a missionary : "When my people become Christians, they cease to be my people". (216) And the chiefs' strength was measured in warriors.

The European troops responsible for maintaining law and order in British Kaffraria were assisted by a small Kafir police force. This body of Africans was supplied with uniforms, arms and equipment, and, without "disgusting them or shocking their prejudices" they had supposedly been raised from "a state of barbarism unacquainted with the simplest forms of good order and subordination into disciplined and efficient servants". (217) But even this augmented military force was not sufficient to subdue the Kafirs and implement the Government's policy. The Frontier farmers were soon reporting instances of unrest and warned of the imminent outbreak of war.

The War of Mlanjeni - The Eighth Kafir War : 1850-1853

A Xhosa prophet named Mlanjeni (Umlanjeni) was responsible for stirring up the nationalistic feelings of his people. He told the Kafirs that the English had taken all their land and treated them like dogs. (218) They needed little encouragement to rise up in rebellion. The trouble started when many of the chiefs defied the High Commissioner by failing to appear at a conference called by him in October 1850. Sir Harry Smith took strong action as a result. He deposed -andile, one of the absentees, and appointed Charles Brownlee to the position of Paramount Chief of the Ngqikas, in his place. Brownlee, the son of a missionary, had lived among these people all his life and commanded their respect; but no European could ever occupy the religious position in the tribe of a hereditary chief, and the arrangement was soon abandoned.

The War, which eventually broke out on December 25, 1850, dragged on until 1853, the bloodiest and most costly of them all. (219) Sir Harry, much angered by the Kafirs' revolt, issued a

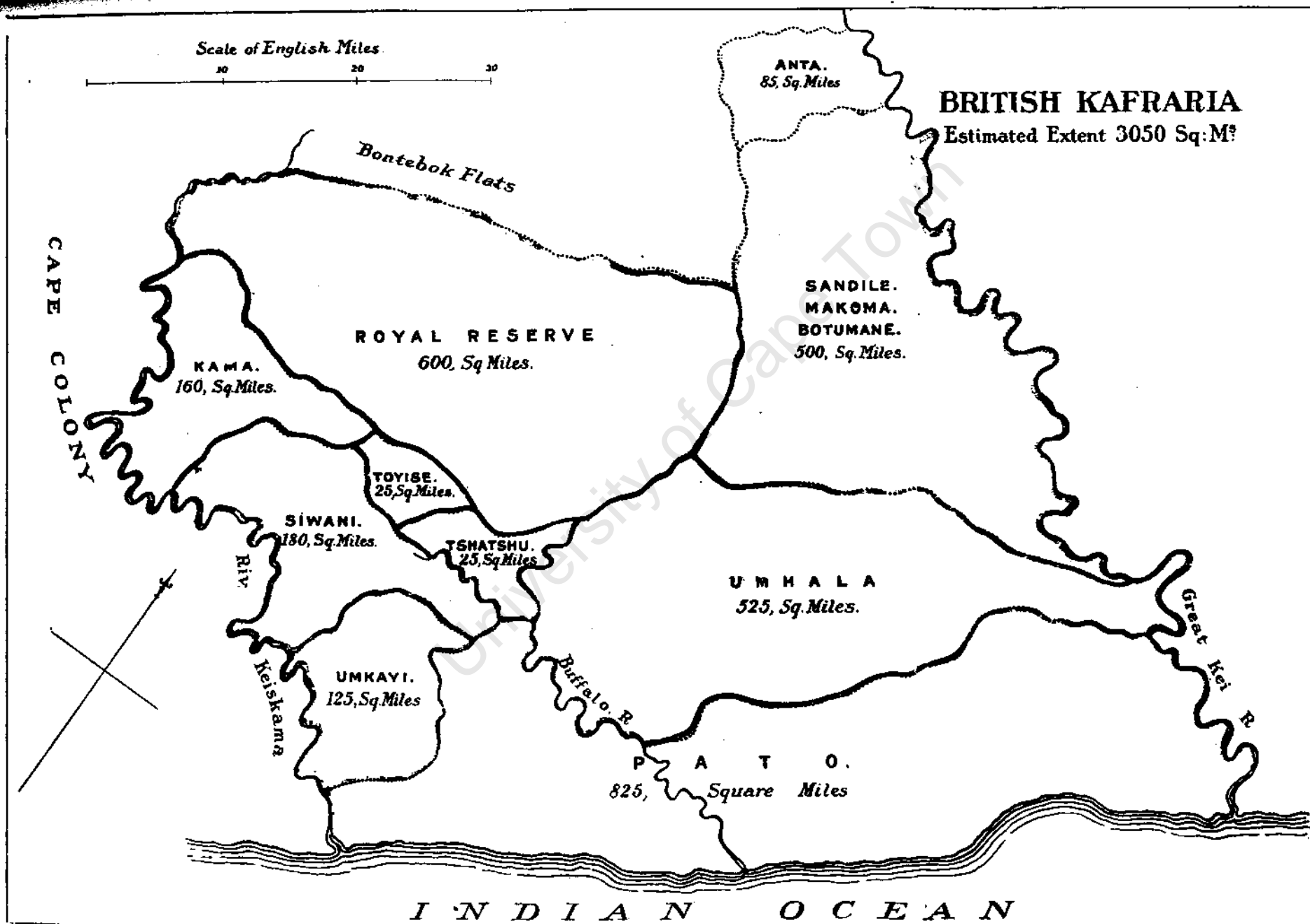
Proclamation at the start of the hostilities in which he called on the colonists to rise en masse to aid the British troops in destroying and exterminating "these most barbarous and treacherous savages". (220) Even the Kafir police force deserted and joined the rebel armies. (221) The Governor was sadly disillusioned by "the awful failure" of his attempts to civilize the Ngqikas. (222) The final blow came when he was relieved of his post in 1852 for failing to show "foresight, energy and judgment in his conduct of the War. (223) He was replaced by Sir George Cathcart.

The period of Sir Harry Smith's Governship had been one of continual unrest, not only among the Xhosa, but also among the Boers in Trans-Orangia, (224) the colonists at the Cape, (225) and the Hottentots. (226) With rebellion facing him on every front - black, white and coloured - Sir Harry had pursued his policy, for an orderly programme of social improvement for the Xhosa, under great difficulties. Following the collapse of his schemes, the British Government now embarked on an overall policy of retrenchment in South Africa. The Colonial Secretary suggested to Cathcart that it might be unwise to make any further attempts to civilize the Xhosa, and that in the future, Britain should restrict her interests to that territory which was needed to ensure the security of the Cape as a naval station - "The British crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominion". (227)

Bishop Gray's Efforts to Raise Funds for Missions: 1852-1853

Bishop Gray was determined to continue with his missionary plans once conditions had settled on the Frontier. He saw the intervening period of war as a propitious opportunity to raise money for his schemes. Because the Colonial Church was too feeble to finance and discharge its obligations to the heathen, he was forced to go to England for his purpose. During 1852 and 1853, he made the first of many tours overseas to raise funds and secure suitable staff.

At the countless meetings which he addressed throughout the country, Gray stood firmly by his standpoint that it was the Kafirs who were the aggressors, not the Government and the colonists, as the British had been led to believe by many missionaries. The Bishop described the conditions of widespread devastation and ruin caused by the successful invasion of



"the savage hordes" into the Colony. (228) He maintained, nevertheless, that these "cruel, treacherous, barbarian people" were no worse than "our pagan forefathers, or that their atrocities are greater than those committed in our own border warfare", and he pleaded for money for the Kafirs' civilization and conversion. (229)

Gray was convinced that the War could have been prevented if the Anglican Church had been more alive to her responsibilities in Kaffraria during the previous twenty years. The Seventh and Eighth Kafir Wars had cost Britain three million pounds, not to mention the loss in manpower. Gray estimated that this sum of money would have been sufficient to maintain 2000 missionaries for a period of ten years. (230)

The British public were concerned at the way in which the Colony continued to be a drain on the resources of the Mother country. As the War dragged on, a number of leading personalities offered their solutions on how to control the Kafirs. The Duke of Wellington, whom Bishop Gray visited in 1853, favoured the building of broad roads through "the Bush" to facilitate troop movements. When Gray tried to explain the extent and nature of "the Bush", and the engineering difficulties and expense involved in such work, the Duke insisted that this system of warfare had proved to be the most effective since the time of the Romans. (231)

Sir George Gray, Governor of New Zealand, was another distinguished leader to offer his recommendations for settling the Africans. These were contained in a despatch, sent to the Colonial Office at the beginning of 1853. Sir George had successfully experimented with the establishment of Government sponsored missionary institutions for the Maoris in New Zealand, and suggested that such a scheme should be carried out on a large scale in South Africa, with liberal Government aid. (232)

Bishop Gray was delighted that Sir George's ideas corresponded so closely with his own. Writing to the New Zealand Governor from London in May 1853, the Bishop told him of the similar scheme which he had drawn up for Natal. He then went on to explain the difficulties of putting such a plan into operation in South Africa. Gray believed that the Home Government would be reluctant to vote money for this purpose although they would probably grant

the land. It was unlikely, too that funds would be forthcoming in the Cape. The first Parliament was due to be elected the following year, (233) and the Dutch, who would probably be in control of the Government, were not sympathetic to missionary operations and could not be expected to vote money for the benefit of the heathen.

A further difficulty was the fact that so many different Missionary Societies were represented in the country, in contrast to New Zealand where the Anglican Church controlled the field. It seemed that the financing of such a scheme would have to be dependent on voluntary effort. This would limit the extent of the operations, and, on a small scale, they would not be effective in exercising sufficient influence over the African tribes. The Bishop expressed a heartfelt wish that Sir George Grey - "were on the spot to aid by your experience, ability and zeal, to bring the noble plan which you propose into actual operation". (234)

6.The Commencement of Anglican Missionary Work : 1854

Resumption of Missionary Work by the Various Societies

At the end of the War, the missionaries of the various Societies returned once more to their abandoned stations to resume their labours among the Xhosa. Although some 1500 converts had taken no part in the fighting, the church workers felt that little has as yet been achieved in reducing the mass of superstition and ignorance. They were determined to intensify their efforts.(235)

The missionaries believed that the State had failed in her attempt to control the Kafirs, unaided, while the Church had not the temporal power to do so. But if political influence could be acquired over the Kafirs through magistrates, and moral and spiritual influence could be gained by the Church, then, with the two working together, the conflicting cultures might at last be reconciled and peace brought to Kaffraria. (236) Brownlee's philosophy typified the missionaries' attitude. He wrote :

Whatever tends to elevate and christianize the natives, whatever tends to diminish the power of the chiefs, whatever tends to increase the immovable or not readily movable property of the natives, tends to diminish the probabilities of war, and decrease its magnitude should it arise, so that even as a matter of self-interest we should do all in our power to promote these objects. (237)

Anglican Missionary Activity

Bishop Gray returned to the Cape at the beginning of 1854, having succeeded in getting his huge unwieldy diocese divided into three, through the generosity of the S.P.G. and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. Grahamstown and Natal were formed as separate sees, with John Armstrong and John William Colenso as their respective bishops. (238) Even though the Metropolitan was no longer personally responsible for carrying out his proposed mission schemes, he had engaged a large number of workers in England to man the missions and groups of clergymen, laymen and laywomen came to South Africa at intervals during 1854.

At last, in October 1854, two teachers "from over the seas" planted the long promised mission at Umhala's kraal; and "the advance guard of the Missionary army" began its attack on "the strongholds of Heathenism" in Kaffraria. (239) Materials for the makeshift temporary chapel were gathered nearby from the ruins of the deserted military outpost of Fort Waterloo. (240) It was not long before they were able to hoist a white flag at the infant mission at St. Luke, this being the signal for Divine Service. (241)

The Bishop of Grahamstown made his first visit to St. Luke's, in January 1855, with some trepidation, for there had been strong rumours of Kafir unrest and yet another outbreak of fighting was feared. Umhala was suspected of being in connivance with Sandile and the authorities now considered him unfriendly. (242) The Ndhlambe chief, despite his earlier promises of co-operation, was already attempting to get rid of the missionaries. Nonetheless, Bishop Armstrong took his family with him on the visit.

Fortunately Umhala, dressed in European clothes, gave them a warm welcome.

Everything at St. Luke's was "very wild and very new". (243) The services had to be held in a half-finished chapel. Mrs. Armstrong delighted the Kafir congregation, Umhala included, with her playing of hymn tunes on the harmonium which they had brought with them. The Bishop was optimistic "that sacred music might become a powerful instrument in influencing and softening the heathen". (244) The missionaries at St. Luke's had been too busy building, and learning the Xhosa language, to start a school. The Armstrong children are accredited with holding the first

Anglican school lessons for Africans. While their father talked to Umhala, they gathered together a group of Kafir children, divided them into classes, and made them repeat "D-O-G, dog" and "C-A-T, cat". Though neither could understand the other's language, they all got on well together.

The Bishop's discussions with Umhala apparently were fruitful. The chief told Armstrong that he and his people preferred missionaries to soldiers, as they believed them to be their friends. He promised to protect the teachers, send the Kafir children to school, and attend church regularly with his followers. (245)

At long last a start had been made in implementing Bishop Gray's plans for evangelizing the Kafirs. His proposals for the Zulus, however, came to nought. Although the Lieutenant Governor of Natal favoured the scheme, he thought that it would be unfair on the other denominations and did nothing to promote it. The Natal colonists, not wishing to see their money spent so unprofitably, actively opposed Gray's plans. (246)

Bishop Colenso, in turn, had his own ideas on how he wished to evangelize the heathen and planned the mission work in his diocese accordingly. He refused to regard the African as a wicked savage and his treatment of the Zulus, as well as his unorthodox and originate theological ideas, and independence of belief, were to become the centre of controversy in the Anglican Church. (247)

Bishop Gray's First Plans to Educate the Sons of Kafir Chiefs

Early in 1854, Bishop Gray became seriously interested in the idea of educating the sons of Kafir chiefs. His concern arose as a result of information received from the Rev. Charles Orpen, M.D.. Orpen, who was stationed at Colesberg, in the north of the Colony near the Orange River, was in constant contact with the African Griqua and Bechuana tribes living in the surrounding area. (248) He wrote to his Bishop to suggest that there was a need for the Church to provide "Christian Instruction for the Sons of Great Chiefs". (249)

Sechele, chief of the Bakwena, had already shown interest in such a project. He had a high opinion of the English and was willing to send his son to such a school. (250) The Bishop promised Orpen that he would educate any such children placed under his charge.

If it were not possible to send Sechele's son to the Diocesan College (then in its seventh year), he would provide a private teacher for the boy. (251)

Dr.Orpen made Bishop Gray's offer known around the country. He received an excited response from John Mokoteri Serian, a member of the "Basotho trib". (252) Mokoteri had learnt English during a six month visit to England. In a letter dated May 31, 1854, and postmarked Griqua Town, he thanked Dr. Orpen for the good news, saying

My heart was exceedingly glad, and, I read to myself after these thing has taken place in this count(r)y through the provedence of God (for to God nothing is imoposeble), what a great change it will make among the Cheefs and there people. (253)

Serian went on to describe the great extent and number of the African nation, with their many tribes, each with its chief. He explained that the superior chiefs lived in the "sun up" or east, while the lower ones lived in the "sunset" or west.

All these Cheefs so far as I know are willing to be taught both by the Englishmen and also by their own countrymen. And they have asked many times this quistion, How is it that the Missionary has been so long a time in this country, upworts to more than 50 years, and yet we have no Minesters, no School Masters etc made out of our on country men? The white man is making a fools of us. They are teaching us only to obey them and for their own conviniances. If so be that we shall alwes be taught and never be able to learn, never come to be like the Englishmen, it is then of no use to learn at all Therefore, My Dear Sir, I am very thankful to you and to his Lordship the Beshop of Cape Town that you are both of this good opinion that there ought to be provided a Christian Instruction for the cause of the Great Cheefs. (254)

Serian then went on to propound his hopes for the future, his vision for the African nation, which were far in advance of the times :

I shall be happy to see among the Bechuana, my on Countrymen and nation, a black Clergyman, black Schoolmasters, black Physicians, black Surgens etc etc and all taught as white Englishmen, Irishmen and Schotsmen, knowing the Lord whom to know is life everlasting. (255)

Serian promised to visit the various chiefs in order to inform them of Bishop Gray's offer. The Metropolitan assured Orpen, once again, "that if the great chiefs choose to entrust their

sons to me I will undertake to educate them". (256) But it is doubtful whether any such scheme would have materialized without the, experise and energetic efforts of Sir George Grey. We shall now make a short study of his background and follow his arrival on the South African scene, as Governor and High Commissioner, at the end of 1854.

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1. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1: ch.3.
2. Ibid , 131 et seq.
3. Ibid., 97.
4. For further information on Tribes of Kaffraria : F. Fleming, Kaffraria and its Inhabitants (London, 1853) 84 et se .; J. Maclean, A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs Mount Coke : Wesleyan Mission Press, 1858 - Facsimile reprint by State Library, Pretoria, 196b) 9 et see.; J.H. Soga, The Ama-Xhosa: Life and Customs (Lovedale, 1931) 17 et seq.
5. It was possible to trace the line of descent of a tribe or clan by noting their royal salutation (isi-kahlelo or isi-buliso) which was only given to those, who by descent, were entitled to it. Some tribes used the name of a common ancestor, but the Xhosa used that of a reigning chief, adding the prefix "Ah" e.g. : "Ah, Sandile" meaning "Hail, Sandile".
6. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 17; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:116f.
7. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:118.
8. See Appendix III for Geneological Table of the Xhosa children of royal blood who attended the Kafir College.
9. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:120f.
10. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 18.
11. "The marks of subordination were : admission of right of appeal to the court of a superior chief, payment of a portion of death duties and fines collected to him, and attendance at his capital for a council, or an army review, or to fight, when called upon by him. Seniority of another chief was acknowledged by giving him the royal salute, but this did not necessarily imply recognition of his authority" - Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:118.
12. For further contemporary and modern information on the Laws of Succession : W.C. Holden, The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (London, n.d. - Struik Facsimile Reprint, 1963) 202ff; Maclean, op.cit., 11ff and 26 et seq.; I. Schapera (Ed.), The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa (Cape Town : Maskew Miller, 1962) 174 et seq.; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 32ff and 47 et seq
13. A precise understanding of these laws is vital for an appreciation of the tribal standing of the various Kafir Collage pupils.
14. Rev. H.H. Dugmore's notes, Maclean, op.cit., 12f.
15. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 97f. The legitimacy of the succession to the leadership of the Barolong tribe of Tsepinare, the adopted son of Chief Moroka, was contested by Samuel (a Zonnebloem graduate), the eldest son of Moroka's "right hand" wife. See Chapter XIV.
16. Maclean, op.cit., 27f.
17. Walker, op.cit., 111.
18. J. Meintjies, Sandile - The Fall of the Xhosa Nation (Cape Town : Bulpin, 1971) 2 et seq.; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 25ff.
19. Maqomo : Maqoma, Macomo, Makomo, McComo.

~~Sandile~~ : Sandili, Sandilli, Sandilla, Zandilla.

21. Meintjies, op.cit., 80, 113, 118ff. A number of children and grandchildren of these rival chiefs were students together at the Kafir College. Although they were related, they were also divided by these traditional quarrels and one wonders whether these inherited intertribal tensions imposed any sort of strain on their relationships with each other. It is doubtful whether their well-meaning benefactors had any conception of the complexity of their background as explained here.
22. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:97f.
23. For further information on tribal government, laws and legal processes : Holden, op.cit., 319 et seq.; Maclean, op.cit., 24 et seq.; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 41 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:121ff.
24. "The court was the public place of the village, where all business was transacted and where gatherings, feasts and wedding dances took place and also where the missionaries would call the people together to preach to them" - G. Mitchell, "Some Account of the Baralong - A South African Tribe", MF, 2.8.1875, 10.
25. Maclean, op.cit., 29f; J.H. Soga, The South Eastern Bantu (Witwatersrand University Press) 98f.
26. Maclean, op.cit., 25.
27. Tyler, op.cit., 7.
28. Maclean, op.cit., 34f.
29. Ibid., 35.
30. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 30.
31. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:126.
32. Fleming, op.cit., 114.
33. S. Mokitimi, "African Religion", Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa (London : O.U.P., 1949) 557.
34. Information given by J. Warner, Agent for the Tambookie Location, Maclean, op.cit., 78.
35. Ancestor Worship : A. Elliott, The Magic World of the Xhosa (London : Collins, 1970) ch.10; Mokitimi, op.cit., 557ff; Schapera, op.cit., ch.11; Sundkler, Bantu Prophets, 21ff.
36. Mokitimi, op.cit., 559.
37. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:127.
38. Ibid., 1:161.
39. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets, 21.
40. J. Xaba, "Kafir Education and Marriage", July 1886, CPM, May 1891. John Xaba, formerly known as John James, worked for a time as catechist for the Society of St. John the Evangelist (Cowley Fathers) Mission at St. Philip's, Cape Town. By reason of his close association with Zonnebloem and its students, and because we believe that his accounts of certain African customs must be amongst the earliest to be written in English by an African, we have elected to use

his version of their social customs. Xaba was ordained deacon at Umtata on Christmas day, 1889, and acted as missionary curate at Umtata Cathedral. He later pioneered a mission to the Tembu tribe. He was one of the first Africans to be ordained priest in the Anglican Church.

It must also be noted that original manuscripts have been deposited in the South African Public Library which were written by Tsekelo and Hlali (George Tlali) Moshesh while they were students at the Kafir College in 1858. The manuscripts, written in Sesuto, include a vocabulary as well as accounts of various Basuto customs.

41. Xaba, CPM May 1891.
42. Mokitimi, op.cit., 558f.
43. Superstitions, Magic and Witchcraft: C. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History (Lovedale, 1896 187ff and 240ff; J A. Chalmers, Ti o So a : A Pa e of South African Mission Work (Grahamstown, 1 44 et seq.; Elliott, op.cit., ch. 7 to 9; Mokitimi, op.cit., 556ff; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, ch.8; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:126ff.
44. Tylden, op.cit., 14.
45. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:269.
46. Brownlee, op.cit., 189f.
47. Warner's notes, Maclean, op.cit., 110ff.
48. The Kafir College pupils customarily called Bishop Gray, Sir George Grey and Warden Glover - "father" - while the girls called Sophy Gray, Louise Glover and Adelaide Ainger, their schoolmistress - "mother".
49. Xaba, CPM, May 1891.
50. For further information on Initiation to Manhood : Ellenberger, op.cit., 280 et seq.; Elliott, op.cit., ch.6; Maclean, op.cit., 100ff and 160ff; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, ch.12.
51. Elliott, op.cit., 64.
52. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 248.
53. Warner's notes, Maclean, op.cit., 103.
54. According to Theal, Gonya Sandile, baptized Edmund, a Kafir College graduate, was not acceptable as heir to the Paramount Chieftaincy of the Ngqixa tribe after his European education, because he had not been initiated according to tribal custom. See Chapter XIII.
55. Moshesh attempted to make a law forbidding circumcision but later withdrew his support and the custom continued to be observed by non-Christians - Tylden, op.cit., 68.
56. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:123ff.
57. Xaba, "Account of Zulus", July 1886, CPM May 1891.
58. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:125.
59. Ibid., 1:160.
60. G. Mitchell, "Some Account of the Baralong - A South African Tribe", MF, 2.8.1875, 92.

61. Polygamy and Marriage : Elliott, op.cit., ch. 3; Holden, op.cit., 189 et seq.; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 34 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:93ff
62. Tylden, op.cit., 14.
63. Xaba, "Kafir Education and Marriage", CPM, May 1891.
64. Lobola: Elliott, op.cit., ch.3; Maclean, op.cit., 113 et seq.; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, ch.13.
65. Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 263.
66. Xaba, "Kafir Education and Marriage" CPM May 1891.
67. Xaba, "Account of Zulus", CPM, May 1891. By the 1880's, money was often given instead of cattle. A suitable dowry would be £20, two cattle, a heifer and a young ox.
68. Xaba, "Kafir Education and Marriage", CPM ,May 1891.
69. The founders of the Kafir College were anxious to educate girls at the Institution in Cape Town, arguing that they would then be "secure from being taken away and disposed of to some Heathen husband, whom they had never seen, and for whom they had no regard" - Chapter I.
70. Brownlee, op.cit., 186.
71. J. Widdicombe, "Fourteen Years in Basutoland", MF, 2.11.1891, 36:42.
72. Tiyo Soga was the son of one of Sandile's councillors. Educated at Lovedale, he was sent by the Scots missionaries to Scotland for further education. He married a Scotswoman, and after his ordination in 1856 returned to his homeland to found a mission station on the Mgwali River near King William's Town, where he ministered to both black and white. He translated the first part of The Pilgrims Progress and portions of the Bible into Xhosa. See Biography of Soga by Chalmers.
73. Quoted in Chalmers, op.cit., 263.
74. Bishop Colenso "found support for his principle in the Epistle to Philemon, which describes how St. Paul returned a runaway slave, Onesimus, to his owner, who was not bidden to set him free but to treat him well". Burnett, Colenso thesis, 63; P. Hinchliff, John William Colenso (London : Nelson, 1964) 65. The Church of the Province has never accepted Colenso's views.
75. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:95.
76. N. Jabavu, Drawn in Colour (London : Murray, 1960) 111.
77. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1t13.
78. F.C. Metrowich, Frontier Flames (Cape Town : Books of Africa, 1968) 89.
79. African Social Laws and Customs : Calderwood, o .cit., ch.3; Maclean, op.cit., 59 et seq.; Saga, Ama-Xhosa, 129 et seq.
80. Brownlee, op.cit., 152ff.
81. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 44f.
82. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:237f.

83. Zuurveld : area between Bushmans and Lower Fish Rivers.
84. 1st Kafir War : Soga, S.E. Bantu, 132ff; Walker, op.cit., 115.
85. 2nd Kafir War : Cory, op.cit., 1:45ff; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 135ff and 151ff; Walker, op.cit., 116ff.
86. 3rd Kafir War : Cory, op.cit., 1:91 et seq.; ~~Theal, S. Since 1795~~, 1:49 et seq.; Walker, op.cit., 130ff.
87. H.E. Egerton, History of British Colonial Policy (London : Methuen, 1813, 4th ed.) 338.
88. 4th Kafir War : Cory, op.cit., 1:238 et seq.; Meintjies, op.cit., ch.3; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:189 et seq.
89. Ndhlambe was spurred on by the prophet Makanna (Makana).
90. 5th Kafir War : Cory, op.cit., 1:378 et seq.; Meintjies, op.cit., ch.3; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 157 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:ch.10; Walker, op.cit., 154f.
91. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 83.
92. 1820 Settlers : Souvenir in Commemoration of the Centenary of the 1820 Settlers of Albany; Cory, op.cit., vol.2; Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, ch.9; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2: ch.11 and 12.
93. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 100.
94. Dr. Philip quoted in Macmillan, op.cit., 97f.
95. Ibid., 99.
96. Ibid., 98.
97. 6th Kafir War : Cory, op.cit., 3:46 et seq.; Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, ch.8 and 9; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 178f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:ch. 20 and 21.
98. Godlonton, "Care of the Colonists", Fleming, Appendix III, op.cit., 139.
99. Ibid., 137.
100. Ibid.
101. Province called after the wife of William IV of England.
102. Great Trek : Cory, op.cit., 3: ch.9; Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, ch.16; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2: ch.27; Walker, op.cit., ch.8.
103. Quoted in Walker, op.cit., 19b.
104. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, ch.14-16.
105. Ibid., 271.
106. Quoted from a dispatch, Secretary of State, 3.9.1836 - Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 211.
107. Ibid., 285.
108. Meintjies, op.cit., 127.
109. 7th Kafir War : Appleyard's Journal, The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible; Chalmers, op.cit., ch.4; H.H. Dugmore, The Reminiscences of an Albany Settler (Grahamstown : Grocott and Sherry, 1858) ch.4; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 222 seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3: ch.34.

110. Appleyard's Journal, 79.
111. Ibid.
112. Cory, op.cit., 5:100f.
113. Ibid., 102.
114. Cory, op.cit., 5:103ff; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:52f.
115. Cory, op.cit., 5:105.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., 109f.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:267.
121. Cory, op.cit., 5:114f.
122. Gray to Williamson, 20.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:166.
123. Gray to C. Gray, 1.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:158.
124. Gray to Williamson, 20.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:166.
125. Gray to Miss Cole, 29.3.1848., C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:161.
126. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:163.
127. Gray to C. Gray, 2.5.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:177.
128. Du Toit, Earliest S.A. Documents, 20.
129. Impey to Smith, 22.10.1850, Ibid., 87.
130. Smith to Grey, 7.1.1848b, Ibid., 17.
131. Government Circular to Missionaries, 17.4.1848, Ibid.
132. Calderwood, op.cit., 134.
133. Read, junior, to Southey, June 1848, Du Toit, op.cit., 24.
134. Missionaries replies to Government Circular : suggestions on Normal schools and Seminaries - Ibid., 41f, 45, 60, 67, 70, 74f.
135. Lovedale re-opened with 30 European and 20 African pupils, Ibid 24.
136. African opposition to Western education - Ibid., 41, 48, 74, 79.
137. Niven to Southey, 2.10.1848, Ibid., 80ff.
138. Bonatz to Smith, 15.6.1848, Ibid., 65. Bishop Gray was to insist that all Anglican mis Mi stations be established near the most powerful chiefs' kraals.
139. Ibid., 39.
140. Warner to Mackinnon, 22.5.1848, Ibid., 84.
141. Niven to Southey, 2.10.1848, Ibid., 84.
142. Warner to Mackinnon, 22.5.1848, Ibid., 56.
143. Niven to Southey, 2.10.1848, Ibid., 84.
144. Although the Kafir College was founded for the children of African chiefs, Bishop Gray later admitted English boys to aid in the Africans' Anglicization.

145. Calderwood, op.cit., 137. See also Soga, S.E. Bantu, 209ff.
146. Holden, op.cit., 487.
147. Missionaries suggestions on trading - Du Toit, op.cit., 40, 48, 53, 64, 72f, 76f.
148. Ibid., 43 and 57f.
149. Ibid., 24.
150. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 302f.
151. Extract from CCM quoted in SACM and Eccl., NS, July 1855, 3:215f.
152. Report by Col. G. Mackinnon, Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, 2.7.1848, Du Toit, op.cit., 24.
153. Missionaries recommendations on Native Agriculture - Ibid., 23, 43, 47f, 54f, 63, 72, 77f. Bishop Gray included an Agriculturalist on the staff of all the pioneer Anglican missions.
154. Dugmore to Mackinnon, 30.6.1848, Ibid., 73.
155. Ibid.
156. Missionaries comments on Kafir clothes and huts - Ibid., 24, 48, 54, 60.
157. Niven to Southey, 2.10.1848, Ibid., 68, 76.
158. Ibid., 48.
159. Bonatz to Smith, 15.6.1848, Ibid., 65.
160. Laing and Weir to Southey, 6.6.1848, Ibid., 63.
161. Holden, op.cit., 486.
162. Ibid.
163. Read, junior, to Southey, June 1848, Du Toit, op.cit., 69.
164. Kropf to Smith, B.5.1848, Ibid., 41.
165. Warner to Mackinnon, 22.5.1848, Ibid., 52.
166. Ibid.
167. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:86.
168. Grey's Hospital was established, for the treatment of Africans, at King William's Town in 1856 under Dr. J.P. Fitzgerald.
169. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:86.
170. Gray to Miss Cole, 10.9.1847, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:129.
171. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:347.
172. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:161, 170, 237; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 95ff.
173. Bishop Gray's Visitation Journal, 1848, (31 et seq.), quoted in C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:197ff.
174. Ibid., 1:197.
175. Umhala : Umhalla, Mhala.
176. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:198.

177. Bishop Gray's account of the meeting with the chiefs, Visitation Journal, 1848, quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 40.
178. The South African, 8.10.1848; Book of newspaper cuttings concerning the Bishop of Cape Town, 1848 - 1851, MR.
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid.
181. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:199.
182. Kitton, "Chapters on the History of the Church of England Missions to the Heathen in South Africa - more especially in their relation to the Kafir Tribes", CCP, July 1880, 1 no. 3:68.
183. Census of 1848 gave the total number of Kafirs as 210,000 - 70,000 each of the Tambookies, the Gcalekas, and the Ndhlabhis and Ngqikas together. It was estimated that 35,000 of these were warriors - Brownlee's notes, Maclean, op.cit., 151.
184. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:198 n.1.
185. Gray to Hawkins, 5.2.1850, Ibid., 1:271f.
186. CCP, July 1880 1 no.3:68.
187. "Umhala is a usurping son of Hlambi, and not being the true nor elected 'consensu majorum', he cannot legally exercise all the prerogatives of a Chief; thus he cannot decide a dispute between the Chiefs". Maclean, op.cit., 170.
188. Bishop Gray's Speech at York, Jan.1853, 22. Also C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:266.
189. CCP, Aug. 1880, 1 no.4:97f.
190. D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthews (Eds.) The Cape Journals of Archdeacon Merriman, 1848 - 1855 (Cape Town : V.R.S., 1957) 100ff.
191. Gray to Hawkins, 5.2.1850, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:274.
192. Gray to Hawkins, 5.2.1850, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:272f; Gray to Williamson, 12.2.1850, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:267 and MR; Gray to Williamson, 6.1.1851, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:329 and 1:273, 329.
193. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:290; Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 29 et seq.
194. Bishop Gray's account of his visit to Umhala is given in the Journal of his Third Visitation, 1950, quoted in C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:307ff.
195. Ibid., 1:308.
196. Ibid. This assertion is not surprising considering the Xhosas' religious beliefs.
197. Ibid., 309.
198. Ibid.
199. Bishop Gray's Plans for a Mission to the Zulus : Gray's Speech at York, Jan.1853, 23ff; C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:288 et seq.; SACM and Eccl., 1855, 3 no.7:220f.

200. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:294.
201. Bishop Gray quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 308.
202. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:291.
203. bishop Gray's Speech at York, Jan.1853, 24.
204. Fleming, op.cit., 133.
205. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:227.
206. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:292.
207. This refers to the Boers' attitude to the Africans.
208. Bishop Gray's Speech at York, Jan. 1853, 25.
209. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:310.
210. bishop Gray's Pastoral Letter "To the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town", 15.11.1851, Ibid., 1:350.
211. Gray to Williamson, 6.1.1851, Ibid., 1:328.
212. Ibid., 1:337.
213. Meintjies, op.cit., 196.
214. Cory, op.cit., 5:132f.
215. Brownlee, op.cit., 182.
216. Calderwood, op.cit., 210f.
217. Cory, op.cit., 5:132f.
218. Meintjies, op.cit., 190.
219. 8th Kafir War - War of Mlanjeni : Chalmers, op.cit., 51 et seq.; Cory, op.cit., 5: ch.7, 9, 10; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 229 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:ch.37.
220. Meintjies, op.cit., 204.
221. Cory, op.cit., 5:309ff.
222. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 321.
223. gory, op.cit., 5:444.
224. British troops under the command of Sir H. Smith defeated a Boer Commando at the Battle of Boomplaats in 1848 - Cory, op.cit., 5:134 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3: ch.50.
225. Anti-Convict Agitation at the Cape - In 1849, the British Government proposed to use the Cape as a penal settlement. The plan failed, due to colonist agitation, and the convicts on board the "Neptune" were not allowed to disembark at Cape Town. The ship was eventually sent to Tasmania. See Cory, op.cit., 5: ch.5; Thetl, S.A. Since 1795, 3:68 et seq.
226. Hottentot Rebellion : Cory, op.cit., 5: ch.8.
227. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 323.
228. Bishop Gray's Speech at York, Jan. 1853, 15f.
229. Ibid., 20ff.
230. Ibid., 21.

231. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:360f.
232. Gray to Grey, 3.5.1853, LB3:55.
233. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:134.
234. Gray to Grey, 3.5.1853, LB3:55.
235. Brownlee, op.cit., 192f.
236. Armstrong, op.cit., 119.
237. Brownlee, op.cit., 194.
238. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 43ff.
239. CCP, Oct. 1880, 1 no. 6:163f.
240. Fort Waterloo, built during the Kafir War of 1834-5, was abandoned in 1836 after the Province of Queen Adelaide was disannexed. It was re-occupied in 1847, but only for a short time, after the annexation of British Kaffraria - Cory, op.cit., 3:185, 229 and 5:107n.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 2:119 149 and 3:56.
241. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 249.
242. Cory, op.cit., 6:6, 25.
243. CCP, Nov. 1880, 1 no. 7:236.
244. Ibid., 237.
245. For a detailed description of Bishop Armstrong's visit to Umhala - "Journal of Rev. J. Armstrong, D.D.", SACM and Eccl., NS Jan. 1857, 5 no. 50:78 et seq.; CCP, -OV. 1-80, 1 no. 7:229 et seq.
246. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 31).".
247. Hinchliff, John William Colenso.
248. Dr. Charles Orpen accompanied Bishop Gray to South Africa in 1847 and was ordained deacon at Colesberg in 1848. Cory, op.cit., 6:149 n.1.
249. Gray to Orpen, 30.3.1854, LB 4:14.
250. Serian to Orpen, 31.5.1854, S.P.G. Archives, quoted in "Plans for Bantu Education in Africa Eighty Years Ago", CZ, 1936, 3:67f.
251. Gray to Orpen, 30.3.1854, LB 4:7.4.
252. Serian to Orpen, 31.5.1854, CZ, 1936, 3:67.
253. Ibid.
254. Ibid., 68.
255. Ibid.
256. Gray to Orpen, 21.7.1854, LB 4:87.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY'S SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE - CIVILIZING THE AFRICANS : 1854-1857

1. Sir George Grey's Native Policy in Australia and New Zealand

The appointment of Sir George Grey as Governor of South Africa was greeted by the colonists with much enthusiasm. With his reputation for being a man of ability, who had successfully dealt with "a savage, barbarian" people in Australia and New Zealand, the colonists anticipated that here, at last, was an administrator of experience, who would be able to solve the native problem and bring peace to the country.

Before discussing Sir George's plans for civilizing the Africans, we will first make a short study of his previous experience, for his South African native policy was almost identical to that which he had followed in settling the Aborigenes and the Maoris. His educational measures, which depended on the Church co-operating with the State, have a particular interest for our study, more especially Grey's collaboration with Bishop Selwyn in providing schooling for the sons of Maori and Polynesian chiefs. This development will be dealt with in some detail for it inspired Grey to attempt a similar scheme in the Cape Colony - the Kafir College in Cape Town.

Sir George Grey was born in Lisbon on April 14, 1812, shortly after his father had been killed in action at Badajoz during the Peninsula War. He was educated in England, and after attending the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, began his military career in Ireland. During the next four years, he was moved by the desperate poverty of the Irish peasantry to become interested in political liberation movements and the new opportunities which colonial emigration offered to the poorer classes. (1)

Australia

- In 1837, Grey began his long association with the British colonies in the Southern Hemisphere, when he undertook to explore the north west coast of Western Australia. He called at the Cape in HMS Beagle, en route to this assignment. The expedition was poorly planned and nearly ended in disaster. But although it achieved few tangible results, Grey emerged as a natural leader and the following year was offered the post of Resident Magistrate

of Albany. There, he met and married his predecessor's daughter. Grey's new duties included the oversight of the Aborigenes in his district, and he became fascinated with their customs and tribal organization. Appreciating the difficulties which impeded their advance in civilization, he formulated principles of native administration which were to guide him in his successive Governorships. (2)

Grey's next appointment, in 1840, took him as Governor to South Australia. He was only twenty-eight. In order to bring the bankrupt colony to a state of economic self-reliance and prepare it for responsible government, he embarked on a programme of austerity which made him very unpopular with the colonists. His native policy, assigned to Europeanize the Aborigenes, incurred their further displeasure. He believed that through Government protection and missionary teaching, the natives could be rescued from their heathen and barbaric state and equipped to fit into a modern Christian society. (3) His efforts to bring this about so impressed the colonial authorities that he was appointed Governor of New Zealand, five years later.

New Zealand

Grey's new post was a formidable challenge. Colonization of the country had commenced in 1839 and the Maoris had fiercely resisted European occupation of their land. The powerful New Zealand Company had sold the land speculatively in England and the unsuspecting immigrants had been plunged into land disputes with the original inhabitants from the time of their arrival in New Zealand. War and bloodshed had been the unhappy result. (4) Grey's first task was to settle the disputes between the warring factions in both the North and South Islands. He took a firm line with the conflicting parties and managed to restore order without involving the Government in punitive campaigns which were a drain on British resources, as was then the rule in South Africa. (5)

The tension between the two race groups remained, however, and it was mainly due to Grey's personal influence with the Maori chiefs that peace was maintained during his Governorship. But the colonists resented his autocratic administration of the country. They were dissatisfied with their share of the settlement and were continually pressing for further grants of land. (6) They complained that Grey constantly ignored their demands and used

delaying tactics in granting them responsible government. (7) The Governor was also criticized by many for exaggerating the Maori menace in order to coerce the British Government into accepting his policy. (8)

Grey defended his actions, reasoning that it was essential for him to retain control of the country so that he might direct Maori affairs and see his Native policy brought to fruition. He, in common with most interested observers, foresaw that the Maori race was doomed to extinction in the presence of European colonists. (9) At the same time, he wished to save Britain a heavy expenditure in men and money. Although Grey's requests were considerable, he managed to persuade the British Parliament to support his schemes. He argued that his demands for a large grant, £31,000 per annum, and additional troops, would, in the long run, be justified as a saving to the Mother country, for the mere presence of a strong military force would overawe the Maoris and open the way for attempts to bring about their civilization. His argument offered the salvation of a native people. It was one which Grey was to use again successfully in ordering South African affairs. (10)

Grey's Native Policy

Grey's Native Policy, financed by Imperial funds, was based on the formula which had already been tested on the Aborigenes in Australia. Its aim was the Europeanizing of the Maoris. The Governor maintained that segregation and the encouragement of their tribal customs would perpetuate their inferiority. He believed that the Maori people could be preserved by becoming part and parcel of colonial society, without any distinction of caste or colour. (11) He founded his policy on his faith "in the civilizing effect of Christianity in daily life, and a Victorian belief in the value of hard work as a character-builder". (12) But its success was dependent on his ability to establish and maintain law and order.

Besides employing British troops, Grey created a mixed police force of Europeans and natives. He also prohibited the sale of arms and ammunition to the Maoris. British law was intended to replace tribal law, so that the natives could be protected from violent tribal punishment and the two race groups could live under the same legal system. (13) In reality, the Magistrates

Courts proved effective only where Maori custom was not too deeply involved, for slavery still survived, and witchcraft was widely believed in, being punishable by death. (14)

The unique aspect of Grey's Native Policy was his direct approach to the chiefs and their close personal attachment to him.(15) He encouraged their trust by guaranteeing to honour the Treaty of Waitangi and promising that the Government would not dispose of any of their land without the chiefs' consent (16) - in contrast to the British policy in South Africa.

Grey learnt the Maori language so that he could have private discussions with the chiefs without having to use interpreters. Incidentally, he alienated the missionaries, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society who had enjoyed their former status as the natives' political advisors, in addition to being their spiritual leaders. The missionaries rejected the Maori traditions and customs as being pagan and obscene; but the Governor took a keen interest in preserving their culture and collected together what material he could, publishing it under the title - Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race. (17)

As far as the furtherance of his policy was concerned, Grey was fortunate that the power and tribal authority of the chiefs was already diminishing and that it was not necessary to break it down deliberately, as was later the case with the Xhosa. The Maori chiefs were given small salaries, and, although the Governor consulted them and used them to some extent as an instrument of government, their chieftaincy was titular and they had little authority as tribal leaders in the old style. In a speech delivered at a Maori gathering in November 1845, Grey promised :

Every effort shall be made to promote your religious instruction, and to enable you to obtain these comforts or civilised life which have become so necessary to you, for it is the desire of the Queen, that the chiefs of the country should become as wise and wealthy as the chiefs of England. (18)

The Governor's social and economic plans involved employing the Maoris on public works, in minor Government positions and in working for Europeans. (19) His road building policy delighted the Duke of Wellington. (20) Roads were needed to open up the

country for settlement and trade, as well as to facilitate troop movements, and large numbers of natives were employed on their construction. In this way, they would be taught habits of discipline and hard work, the nature of money and thrift, European skills, and the European way of life. The Maoris were also employed on settler farms where they learnt modern agricultural methods, and, at the same time, provided the farmers with cheap labour. A considerable proportion of the native population was gradually incorporated into European settlements, where they enjoyed complete freedom.

It was evident, however, that the Maori population was on the decline. Not only was their health endangered by their old diseases, which came from bad living conditions, but also from new diseases introduced by the Europeans. Grey attempted to remedy the situation. He encouraged the natives to wear proper clothes, build better homes and eat more nourishing food. His health programme included a system of preventative medicine and the provision of hospitals. (21)

Grey's educational policy is of particular interest. He insisted that the native children were to be educated under a system where "they might have a prospect of standing on terms of equality with the European race". (22) Rather than establish a new system of State schools, the Governor decided to seek the co-operation of the Church and subsidize existing mission schools. But he was adamant that there should be increased emphasis on industrial education, more teaching of English, and a system of inspection. (23) Each boarding school was to be staffed by a clergyman, carpenter and agricultural instructor; and other industries and handicrafts were to be taught where possible. (24)

The Industrial Institutions were financed by grants from the British Imperial funds. Grey was determined to be fair to all denominations and the subsidies were allocated proportionately to the various missionary organizations then at work in New Zealand - Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist. (25) Grants of land were also made in order that the school farms could become self-supporting as well as providing for agricultural instruction. The Governor persuaded the Maori chiefs to donate the land as an educational endowment. St. John's College, an Anglican Institution at Auckland, was one such school to benefit under this scheme. (26)

St John's College, Auckland

The college of St. John the Evangelist was founded on January 6, 1843, by Bishop Selwyn, the first and only Bishop of New Zealand, soon after his arrival in the new diocese. (27) The school, which started with seven students and two clergymen as tutors, was first established in the Church Missionary Society buildings at Waimate North, where the Bishop had his headquarters. (28) Selwyn hoped to educate chiefs' children there, planning to board them as private pupils with the Masters. (29)

The following year, a legacy enabled the Bishop to buy a large acreage of land at Tamaki, about six miles from Auckland and the College was transplanted to its new home in November 1844. (30) The property was later augmented by a donation of five hundred acres of land by some chiefs. Selwyn envisaged that the College site would eventually house a complex of institutions - a theological school, schools for Maori and European girls and boys, a hospital, a hostel for newly arrived immigrants, and a farm, which would enable the community to be self-supporting.

Even though this scheme was only partly realized, St. John's was, from the start, an integral part of the Anglican missionary organization in New Zealand. (31) The Bishop was determined to use natives for the evangelization of their people and he sent selected students, including the sons of chiefs, to be trained at the Anglican Institution at Auckland. The first native deacon, who was ordained in 1853, was a product of the College. (32)

Sir George Grey, a keen churchman, (33) became a close friend of Bishop Selwyn's and was an enthusiastic supporter of this work. Together they planned to extend the scope of St. John's and take civilization and Christianity beyond the bounds of New Zealand to the islands of the South Pacific. (34)

By a strange quirk of fate, a clerical error in Selwyn's letters patent had assigned the northern limits of his see as 34° 30' north, instead of south, a mistake which gave the Bishop the additional spiritual oversight of hundreds of Pacific islands. (35) Selwyn made his first tour of inspection in 1847. This marked the start of the Melanesian Mission. But the difficulties which impeded its development were tremendous.

The islands, which included Tonga, Fiji, New Guinea, Tahiti, the Loyalty Group and the Solomon Islands, were legion. Almost every island had its own language, sometimes more than one. The climate was unsuitable for European occupation. The people, most of whom practiced cannibalism, were primitive and cruel, constantly warring with each other and aggressive toward visitors. The Bishop saw that the spread of the gospel could only take place through the agency of trained native teachers, that each island must draw upon its own resources, that students must be brought back to a central station in New Zealand, St. John's, taught in a common language, and then sent back to their own homes and people, to pass on what they had learnt.' (36)

Sir George Grey was delighted with this scheme and proposed to extend it further. He hoped to persuade Britain to unite the islands into a Southern Ocean Island Empire, (37) and he envisaged that St. John's, already established as a College for chiefs' sons, could become a connecting link and serve the purpose of State as well as Church.

With this great archipelago under the flag of England, the children of the kings and chiefs might be educated in New Zealand, and sent back to their island homes to rule their people wisely beneath the control of English law and English power. Thus civilization would spread its humanising influence over these vast stretches of the mighty ocean. (38)

The Governor visited the islands and became friends with many of the principal chiefs. They supported his Federation plans and were disappointed when the British Government turned the scheme down. (39) But even though they were not absorbed into the British Empire, Sir George persuaded them to allow their children to be educated in New Zealand. (40) He provided endowments at St. John's for the "royal" students' support. (41)

Selwyn risked his life in making a succession of visits to the islands to secure students, the Pacific cruises being carried out in a schooner provided by the newly-formed Australasian Board of Missions. The first five scholars were brought from Lifu, Mare and New Caledonia in 1849. They were followed by a batch of four in 1850 and thirteen in 1851. (42) The first chief's son came from Mai in the New Hebrides. He was a promising pupil for he spoke a language akin to Maori. (43) By 1854, the Bishop

had visited more than fifty islands and had received forty students speaking ten distinct languages. (44)

The first step in the new boys' education was to teach them Maori (not English), to turn them instantly into "a living dictionary and grammar" so that they could communicate with their teachers.

(45) The ship acted as a floating school until the island pupils could be transferred to St. John's to continue their training.

(46) Once at College, they were taught to read and write, in preparation for religious instruction, as well as being given lessons "in industry and self-control". (47) Because of the language difficulties, the missionaries had to demonstrate all the work that had to be done, whether it be milking the cows, digging, or washing up cups and plates. In this way the school functioned as a community, a closely knit Christian Family. (48)

Unfortunately the Auckland winter weather was found to be too severe for the boys' delicate constitutions and schooling at St. John's had to be limited to the summer months. But the nearest island home was three weeks sailing distance away and it was a laborious, dangerous and costly experience to shuttle the students to and fro every half year. And so, in order to avoid this interruption in their education, winter schools were held on warmer islands nearer to New Zealand. A permanent school was eventually set up on Norfolk Island, when the headquarters of the Mission were established there in 1867. (49)

On completing their education, the graduates were expected to serve a probationary period as teachers to their people. Those that had progressed well were later admitted to the ministry.

(50) The first islander to be ordained deacon, in 1868, had never seen a white man before the landing of Bishop Selwyn on his island ten years earlier. (51)

Sir George Grey Leaves New Zealand

Grey was more than satisfied with the results of his Native Policy, as can be seen from his official report to the Colonial Office in 1849 :

Won by their (the missionaries') teaching the natives have almost as an entire race embraced Christianity, and have abandoned the most revolting of their heathen customs. Instructed by their missionaries probably a greater proportion of the population than in any European country are able

to read and write; and encouraged by the precept and example of the same gentlemen they have in all parts of the islands made considerable progress in the rougher branches of civilized life. (52)

No wonder that the British authorities were hopeful that Sir George would achieve similar results in South Africa. Before he left New Zealand, in December 1853, the Governor wrote the Maori people a letter of farewell, in which he told them :

The hopes of many natives hang upon you For the first time, it has in this country been seen, that ignorant and heathen men may become good citizens and real brothers of the Europeans... Some yet doubt this; the time you have behaved well is yet too short to prove this truth; .. But oh, do you prove it to be the truth, for the sake of your children, for your own sakes, and for the sake of these countless tribes of poor ignorant men whose fate ... hangs upon you. (53)

But Grey had relied on his personal influence with the chiefs and left no native administration to continue his work. The colonists were critical of his native policy and were not prepared to carry on with his programme. (54) Friction soon developed between the two race groups and war broke out in 1860. (55)

2. Sir George Grey's Native Policy in South Africa

The Situation in South Africa in 1854

We have seen how the vacillating policies of successive Governors had done little to improve relations between the conflicting societies in South Africa. On the Eastern Frontier, confrontation, spanning a period of seventy-five years, had erupted into repeated outbreaks of fighting. Sir George Grey, who assumed duty in December 1854, not long after the end of the Eighth Kafir War, inherited a situation of uneasy peace, with the prospect of little support from the British Government.

Britain was then involved in heavy commitments on the Crimean front (1853-6), and was anxious to shed costly liabilities in South Africa. She was determined to limit her responsibilities to protecting her colonists and keeping the frontiers safe.(56) In pursuance of this policy of retrenchment, responsible government was granted to the Cape Colony in 1854, the first Cape pp Parliament meeting on June 30. In the Transvaal, the signing of



the Sand River Convention in January 1852, had already guaranteed the emigrant frontiersmen freedom to manage their own affairs without interference from the British Government. (57) While the Free State Boers gained their independence in 1854, as a result of Britain's decision to abandon the Orange River Sovereignty. (58) The Orange River was restored as the northern boundary of the Colony and the British colony of Natal was now completely separated from the Cape. (59)

Despite the fact that Britain had limited her dominions, the unrest in the interior, on the Eastern Frontier, and in Zululand, continued to threaten the security of the Cape Colony. There was the ever present danger that Panda would generate further upheavals among the Zulus, which could spread once more across the country. In Trans-Orangia, land disputes between Basuto and Boer continued to lead to incessant conflict. In 1849, the Warden Line had attempted to divide the warring parties by demarcating the boundary of Basutoland. (60) Moshesh, dissatisfied with his allotment, had persisted with repeated claims for more land. Receiving no redress, the Basuto chief had challenged Britain's authority. This led to the Battle of Berea in December 1852. The Government, unwilling to squander men and money on subduing the superior Basuto fighting force, ordered the withdrawal of the Imperial forces, an ignominious defeat. (61) Following the settlement of peace, a triumphant Moshesh was left to maintain law and order between Basuto and Boer. Not surprisingly, friction, marked by the cattle rustling expeditions and retaliatory commando raids, continued.

On the Eastern Frontier, the settlers lived in a perpetual state of anxiety, wondering when the next war would start. The Africans were equally fearful that the frontiersman would find yet another pretext for taking more of their land. The boundary had by now been pushed one hundred miles eastward, from the Great Fish to the Great Kei River. The tribes, both within the Colony and beyond its border, had been left in a state of confusion and distrust, congested and unsettled, not knowing where they would next be pushed or what new orders they would have to obey.

Cathcart had adopted a policy of segregation and non-intervention. (62) Military control, not colonization, was his purpose. Under his administration, troops were deployed to keep the peace but the Kafirs were otherwise left to rule themselves in their own

reserves. The chiefs were given back their powers and allowed to govern their people by tribal custom under European guidance.

(63) Cathcart was convinced that, in time, European influence and the Kafirs own "innate sense of justice and truth ... would break down their evil customs". (64)

Sir George Grey was expected to continue with this policy. As Governor of the Cape, his duty was "to sponsor colonial self-sufficiency and self-defence". His task at High Commissioner was "to keep the frontier tribes quiet, supervise the affairs of Natal, preserve amicable relations with the Boer republics and maintain a state of peace which would permit the speedy withdrawal of the British troops". (65)

Grey's Native Policy

Grey, triumphant from his successes in New Zealand, formulated a Native Policy for South Africa that was in all essential points identical to that which he had implemented for the civilization of the Maoris - and the antithesis of the wishes of the British Government. He believed "that a great nation had a higher calling than that of fighting with a noble race of savages living on its borders". (66) His vision was of an integrated society where black and white mixed freely and harmoniously together. Grey's ready-made plan was presented in little more than two weeks after his arrival at the Cape, on December 22, 1854.

The plan I propose to pursue... is, to attempt to gain an influence over all the Tribes included between the present North Eastern boundary of this Colony and Natal, by employing them upon public works which will tend to open up their country, by establishing Institutions for the education of their children, and the relief of their sick, by introducing among them institutions of a civil character suited to their present condition, and by these and other like means to attempt gradually to win them to civilisation and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our present unconquered and apparently unreclaimable foes, into friends who may have common interests with ourselves. (67)

Grey estimated that the cost of his proposed projects - public works, schools, hospitals and civil institutions - would amount to £45,000 a year. But he argued that it would be cheaper to civilize the Xhosa than exterminate them. He reckoned that the Colony would be able to provide £5000 and asked the British

Treasury for the balance. (68) Sir George's hand was strengthened by the fact that his arrival coincided with fresh rumours of war. He used this impending crisis to urge the necessity of constructive action.

According to Bishop Gray, who had been taken in to Sir George's confidence right from the start, it was the Governor's belief -

That the Government will hesitate before they refuse to pay, for a few years, the cost of a single regiment, in attempts to civilize permanently races which have already cost us so vast an amount of blood and treasure - whose spirit is far from broken - and whom it seems almost impossible to subdue by the power of the sword.(69)

Britain, then engaged in an European war, could ill afford to send a large body of troops to South Africa. Nonetheless, it says much for Grey's personality and reputation that the Government was persuaded to reverse its policy, agree to support his schemes and meet his financial demands - "Grey was armed with a powerful sedative, that was to act like oil on the ruffled waters of the Kafir nation, viz. an Imperial grant of some £40,000 per annum". (70)

Ultimately, Grey depended on the colonists' co-operation for the implementation of his ideas. He was fortunate that his period of office corresponded with a time of prosperity in the Colony. The rapidly expanding sheep farming industry and resultant wool boom, contributed toward the escalation of the Colonial Government's revenue. The Cape Parliament, assured of a healthy exchequer, readily gave their support to his schemes, which promised security against future Kafir aggression. (71)

The Governor made a visit to-Kaffraria at the beginning of 1855, in order to collect on-the-spot information from the missionaries, settlers, colonial administrators, and the Kafirs themselves. At his first meeting with the Gcaleka and Ngqika chiefs (including Sandile and Maqomo), Sir George relied on personal diplomacy to win the African leaders' confidence, using tactics which had proved effective with the Maori chiefs. (72) After this reconnaissance, Grey, equipped with the facts and assured of the funds, was ready to put his plan into action.

The Implementation of Grey's Plan for an Integrated Society on the Eastern Frontier

In common with previous Governors' policies, Grey's first goal

was to establish and maintain law and order on the Eastern Frontier. A show of armed force was to act as a deterrent, military control being considered of primary importance in bringing the tribes peacefully under control. The British troops were augmented by locally raised forces. The Fingo Police and the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police were both reorganized and a Burgher militia was formed. (73) But this was only the beginning as far as Grey was concerned. In his address to the Cape Parliament in March 1855, he elaborated on his plan :

Our ultimate frontier defence would be a fertile and populous country, filled with a large population, partly European, partly native - the Europeans, reared in the country, acquainted with its inhabitants, and their mode of warfare; the natives, won by our exertions to Christianity, trained by us in agriculture and in simple arts, possessing property of their own, and a stake in the country, accustomed to our laws, and aware of their advantages - attached to us from a sense of benefits received, - respecting us for our strength and generosity. (74)

Grey's plan spelled the abandonment of Cathcart's segregation policy, a complete reversal in strategy. Sir George decided that in order to implement his programme, the large tribal territories must be broken up, that groups of Kafirs must be removed from British Xaffraria, that they must be concentrated in village settlements where they could be controlled by European leaders, and that white farmers must be allowed to settle on the erstwhile Kafir land. (75) This ordered resettlement of the races would remove the threat presented by a large bloc of hostile Kafirs. The whites would be able to offer their black neighbours employment. The Kafirs, through their discipline and training as labourers, and by following the European example, would eventually become civilized. (76) Grey's first scheme to settle English pensioners in the area, failed, however, through lack of support.

Grey, fired with enthusiasm for civilizing the Kafirs, ignored all the promises that had been made to the chiefs by his predecessors. Further, he failed to appreciate the significance of the land question as the root cause of the frontier trouble. The persistent European advance had left the chiefs clamouring for more land and they bitterly resented being transplanted to new congested areas, away from their tribal homelands, their rights either ignored or denied. (77) This territorial displacement and betrayal of trust, boded ill for the future. So also did the

administration's undermining of the Africans' cultural identity and systematic efforts to break the power of the chiefs, which were all part and parcel of the Governor's native policy.

Grey believed that in order to bring about a society where the two races could live harmoniously together, it was necessary to destroy the tribal system, for it stood in the way of the Africans' progress toward civilization. This viewpoint was shared by the frontier officials. As Warner, the Tambookie agent, said :

The sword must first - not exterminate them, but - break them up as tribes, and destroy their political existence; after which, when thus set free from the shackles by which they are bound, civilization and Christianity will no doubt make rapid progress among them; for they are a noble race, no wise deficient in mental capacity, and well worthy of all the labour and expense which the Imperial Government is bestowing upon them. (78)

The tribal government was to be totally replaced by British law. There could be no modification of the cultural practices of the Xhosa. Grey held the chiefs responsible for the continued frontier unrest. He was convinced that only evil could result from their rule, as, aided by the witchdoctors and prophets, they wielded tyrannical powers over their terrified subjects. He failed to understand the provisions of their tribal law, whereby the councillors and headmen were able to restrain the chief's actions; and their different values, which demanded that the chief's wealth in cattle be evidence of the prosperity of the tribe as a whole, with the chief acting as the custodian of their wealth.

Although Grey took great interest in the African languages, lore and customs, and went to considerable trouble to have them recorded for posterity, (79) he yet failed to appreciate the implications of their traditions: the sacred powers of the hereditary chiefs, their role in ancestor worship, and the veneration in which they were held by their followers. His plan was based on the assumption that the tribesmen would welcome the presence of white magistrates, who would administer British law and give them Government protection, so freeing them from the hold of their despotic rulers. But he underestimated the discontent that was to result from the removal of the chiefs' authority.

The first step in the Governor's scheme was to subsidize the

chiefs and make them dependent on the Government. They were no longer to receive fines in cattle but were to be given fixed monthly salaries instead. The fines were to be paid in money into the territorial treasury. In addition, loyal headmen were to be chosen and placed on the payroll. British officers, civil and military, were to be appointed as Government agents. They would serve as resident magistrates at the chiefs' kraals, acting as assessors at trials and gradually introducing the new laws. (80)

The chiefs were understandably suspicious of the proposed system and it took endless hours of discussion, hours of patience and perseverance on the part of the frontier administrators, before they could be convinced of the benefits both they and their people would enjoy under the new system. Many of the tribal councillors predicted the Xhosa nation's doom. (81)

But the chiefs were eventually all won over. The minor ones, such as Pato, Kama and Toise, who were friendly with the English, and had less to lose, gave in first. The leading chiefs - Kreli, Sandile and Umhala - who had always been hostile, followed more reluctantly but were finally lured by the promise of money. (82) The regular income was providential for their cattle and horses were dying in their thousands, victims of lung sickness and "horse-sickness", epidemics which had spread from the Colony. (83)

The new government of British Kaffraria, modelled according to Sir George Grey's design, came into force on January 1, 1856. The magistrates were selected with care. Grey directed that they should be "talented and honourable European gentlemen", who would interest themselves in the improvement of the tribes and gain an influence over the natives. (84) His explicit instructions were -

to treat the councillors or headmen in such a manner as to win them from their chiefs to the Government, and by their instrumentality win the people to us, and overthrow the chiefs who had always been such a source of anxiety, danger, and loss to the whole country and to the Imperial Government. (85)

Civilizing the Kafirs

The Governor-cum-High Commissioner had shown his strength. With abundant funds at his disposal, he could afford to be generous.

Large sums of money were spent on developing the resources of Kaffraria and civilizing the Kafirs. Strategic roads were a priority for military purposes and road building, as in New Zealand, was a fundamental feature of Grey's plan. In this way, employment was provided for large numbers of natives. Sir George believed that this type of work, carried out under European supervision, would benefit the Africans both morally and materially. Through habits of industry they would acquire civilized tastes, such as wearing clothes. Work was also begun on building a harbour at East Condon, and pilot irrigation schemes were laid out on demonstration plots at some of the leading chiefs' kraals. (86)

The Governor erected hospitals, in the hope that European medical skills would not only reduce sickness and disease but would also counteract the influence of the witchdoctors, so weaning the Kafirs from their beliefs in superstition and magic in relation to illness. (87) Grey Hospital in King William's Town, named after its benefactor, was the first hospital in South Africa to cater for natives. Here, black and white received identical treatment. This work was pioneered by Dr. Fitzgerald, Sir George's friend from New Zealand. (88)

Missionaries were a vital link in Grey's plan. Through their teaching of Christianity they kept up a relentless war against superstition and idolatry, brought about changes in social conditions - morality, decency and cleanliness - and the improvement of the status of women, with an end to polygamy. Added to this was their valuable contribution in pioneering Britain's new colony. They opened up new channels for commerce - the converted savage becoming an industrious labourer and consumer of British goods - and prepared the way for the settlement of large numbers of British emigrants. (89)

The missionaries' co-operation was also essential for the long term programme of civilization which was to be realized through industrial education. (90) As in New Zealand, Grey's policy was to give financial aid to the existing missionary institutions as well as encouraging the various Societies to found new schools. This scheme absorbed a large slice of the Imperial grant.

Grey criticized the teaching in the mission schools as being too bookish. He insisted that the State-supported institutions should concentrate on educating the native youth in industrial occupations. They were to be equipped to serve as interpreters, schoolmasters, evangelists and tradesmen, among their own people.(91) Hopefully, the African apprentices would soon be able to run their- own businesses, so setting an example in self-reliance to their fellow tribesmen.(92)

Many of the frontier mission stations had either been damaged or destroyed during the Eighth Kafir War and the missionaries welcomed the Government aid which enabled them to rebuild and expand. In addition to the grants of money allowed for teachers' salaries, buildings, equipment, stock and agricultural development schemes, Grey also assisted the different denominations with grants of land. The heavy expenses were justified to the British Government with the argument that the industrial institutions would become self-supporting in a few years time. (93)

Scots, Congregationalists, Methodists and Anglicans, all benefited from the scheme. Lovedale acquired an industrial department and were able to offer instruction in a wide range of trades - carpentry, blacksmithing, masonry, wagon-making, and agricultural training. Printing and bookbinding were added later. (94) The Congregational mission station at Peelson developed a flourishing farm.(95) The veteran Methodist missionary, John Ayliff, was awarded a generous grant to found an institution for Fingo boys and girls at Healdtown, in the Fort Beaufort district.(96)

Grey's educational scheme was launched in 1855. At that time the Anglicans had only the one mission station, St. Luke's at Umhala's kraal. But they were pressurized by Sir George to embark on an ambitious missionary programme. As this prepared the way for the founding of the Kafir College in Cape Town, three years later, it is dealt with in detail in the next section. (97)

Grey's Policy Toward the Africans Living Beyond the Colony's Borders

Grey's vision of civilizing the Africans extended to those tribesmen living in the territories beyond the Colony's borders. He believed that the native problem concerned the whole of South Africa, even though Great Britain was no longer responsible for

the Republics north of the Orange River. As soon as Sir George had settled affairs on the Eastern Frontier, and initiated his schemes in Kaffraria, he turned his attention, to the Free State, Basutoland and Natal, setting off on a tour of inspection in September 1855. (98)

Moshesh had shown a lively interest in the Colony's new Governor from the start. The Basuto chief had sent a welcoming letter, penned by his French missionary friend, the Rev. Casalis, to Grey on his arrival at the Cape. In this letter, Moshesh referred to Sir George's reputation for having taken an interest in "the natives of a far distant land" and of his known desire to benefit the black tribes of South Africa. (99) The chief had then expressed the wish that the High Commissioner might "find time to inquire minutely into the condition and wants of the different communities living in this country, and will after due investigation be enabled to do them all much good, and to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants of South Africa ". (100)

But although Moshesh had assured Grey that he wished for peace, his subjects, who far outnumbered the Free State Boers, had continued to raid their white neighbours' farms and settlements. (101) The ever present danger of war was a continued threat to the Colony's security. Grey offered to mediate and a peace treaty was eventually signed by President Boshof and Moshesh at Aliwal North, in October. (102) Both parties promised to recognize the Warden Line as their boundary. Grey was well-satisfied with his statesmanship but the Boers took a pessimistic view. With their past experience of Moshesh's broken promises and clever diplomacy, they accepted the treaty as only a temporary lull in hostilities.

Sir George's peace mission was followed by proposals for civilizing the Basutos. The French missionaries, whom Grey met at Aliwal, were encouraged to establish a school in Basutoland which would provide industrial training as well as educating teachers and evangelists. Grey promised financial aid. The missionaries accepted the offer and obtained a site from Moshesh. But they took so long about getting their school going that by the time they needed the money, it had been expended in Kaffraria. (103)

Sir George Grey's visit to Natal brought about drastic changes

in that colony's native administration. The High Commissioner was horrified by Shepstone's policy of segregating the Zulus from the Europeans into tribal areas, where they were ruled by their chiefs. He directed that the policy be reversed and he initiated measures for civilizing the Zulus, similar to his Kaffrarian scheme. (104) There was one significant difference, however. There was to be little interference with the chiefs' authority and no attempt to demolish tribal organization. (105)

3. The Establishment of the Anglican Kafir Industrial Mission : 1855-1856

Sir George Grey's Kafir industrial education programme presented the Anglican Church with demands which they could not afford to ignore, .a challenge which forced them to make great efforts to extend their mission to the Kafir heathen.

The Anglican Pledge

The Governor, determined to be fair to all the denominations, allocated the grants of money and land in proportion to the scope of their work. But the Anglicans had only the one Kaffrarian mission station, a sorry example to be set by the Church of the Government. Sir George pleaded with Bishop Gray for greater co-operation and assistance in carrying out his plans. "The Church", he said, "has now an opportunity of retrieving her character, of recovering lost ground. She will greatly embarrass my Government, if she .does not rise up to her duty". (106)

The Bishop was enthusiastic about Sir George's grand design for the Africans and was anxious to assist him in every way. The two leaders had found an immediate rapport. Bishop Gray was unstinting in his praise of the Governor, whom he described as "a very good Churchman, a religious man, and very pleasing ... he has realised principles, and he is the man for me". (107) But the primate's good intentions to co-operate with the Government were frustrated by a lack of funds.

At the Governor's insistence, Bishop Gray wrote home to the Mother Church and S.P.G., stressing that it was a time of crisis for the Anglicans in South Africa. The Church must respond to the challenge and send men and money to Kaffraria . "My conviction is", wrote the Bishop, "that he (the Governor) would have more

confidence in the work, if undertaken by Churchmen, than by members of other religious bodies". (108)

Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown realized that the Church's whole existence in his diocese was at stake and was determined to accept the challenge. He had several interviews with the Governor during Grey's visit to the Frontier in February 1855, and was well aware that if the Anglicans were only "to nibble at this opportunity and enter on a feeble work", Sir George would give the grants of money and mission land to other denominations who were eager to do the work. (109) Consequently, he pledged that the Grahamstown diocese would undertake a large-scale missionary programme, so as to secure a substantial share of the aid. (110)

The Anglican field of operations was carefully chosen so as to avoid clashing with the other religious bodies. It was focussed on the territories of the leading chiefs who had been without missionaries since the recent War. Armstrong committed the Church to establishing four stations in Kaffraria and a school in Grahamstown.

A central school and outpost was to be developed at the infant mission among the Ndhlabes at Umhala's kraal (St. Luke's). Mission stations, which included farms and industrial schools, were to be planted at Kreli's among the Gcalekas across the Kei (St. Mark's), at Sandile's among the Ngqikas (St. John's), and one among the Fingoes in the Crown Reserve at Keiskamma Hoek (St. Matthew's). The Kafir location at Grahamstown was to be provided with an industrial school (St. Philip's). (111)

The project was launched with a grant of £4,200 from Sir George for the erection of buildings. (112) The S.P.G. contributed a further sum of £1,500. (113)

The Founding of the Missions to the Leading Chiefs: 1855

Bishop Armstrong's first step was to secure permission from the chiefs concerned. Both his journal: and letters to Sir George, whom he kept regularly posted of his progress, provide valuable descriptions of the tribal leaders. Sandile, whom he met at Dohne, was then about thirty-five years old, and, according to Armstrong :

A fine tall young man, though injured in appearance by a withered leg. He had, not a strong, but a good-

tempered countenance and was certainly to be ranked among the Kafir dandies. His head seemed to be studded with rhubarb pills, that is the wooly hair pomatured as it were with red clay, had been twirled and twisted into small balls. (114)

Sandile expressed pleasure at the prospect of missionaries coming to his tribe. The Bishop, however, was wary of the chief's promises. Sandile had a reputation of being rather weak and very unreliable. (115)

Armstrong next visited Kreli - "both in stature and in bearing he was evidently the prince among his people". (116) The Gcaleka chief lived with his 60,000 followers beyond the Kei and was independent of British rule. Nonetheless, he readily agreed to the Bishop's proposals. During the discussions, Armstrong was nonplussed by the quizzing of one of Kreli's young followers.

You missionaries, he said, are always preaching against war, and telling us to listen to you. Now Why do not the English listen to you themselves, and give up war 2 (117)

Protracted negotiations delayed the founding of Kreli's mission. (118) It was only after several visits that Archdeacon Merriman finally persuaded the reluctant chief to allow the station to be situated near his Great Kraal. (119) The mission party, led by the Rev. T.H. Waters, arrived in their ox-wagon on September 17, 1855. Further lengthy discussions followed before a suitable site was ultimately agreed on.

A leading councillor cross-questioned Waters as to his motives in coming. "You see", said the tribesman, "that we are very happy in this land; we have plenty of cattle and good country. What are you going to do to make us happier than we are 7" To which the clergyman replied : "I have come to tell you of a World to come, and of a judgment day, when everyone shall give account of his life in this world, and be rewarded or punished accordingly". And the chief, impressed with these words, rose, and pointing to a spot near the White Kei River, said "Hah I that is why you have come I There is your place". (120)

And there St. Mark's was built. (121) The place promised well for the establishment of a missionary community settlement. The area was densely populated with tribesmen, and the flat well-watered plain surrounded by timber clad mountains, offered ideal

farming conditions. The mission land was likely to attract African settlers; and they could then be taught Western methods of agriculture, an essential part of the Governor's plan. (122)

St. John's, the mission to Sandile, was founded at the same time but in markedly contrasting conditions. The Ngqika chief allocated an isolated site on the fringe of his location, on the west bank of the Kabousie River. There were few people within easy reach, and the country, a bleak exposed treeless plain, was unsuited to agriculture. (123)

St. Matthew's, the station at Keiskamma Hoek, was situated in an excellent farming area below the Amatola mountains. A large acreage of land was soon brought under cultivation, irrigated from a watercourse cut by the mission staff. (124) The Reserve, once the haunt of hostile Ngqika warriors, had been resettled with loyal Fingo refugees who were eager to learn from the Europeans. The mission settlement grew apace. Not so St. Luke's, the mission to Umhala, which was troubled by a shortage of staff and struggled to keep going.

The Mission Staff

The men and women who manned the missions had dedicated their lives to taking the gospel to the black heathen. But, fresh from Victorian England, they were ill-prepared for life in Kaffraria. For a start, they had to endure the discomfort of an ox-wagon journey through wild unknown country. Their destination once reached, they were dumped in the bush with their few belongings and left, inexperienced as they were, to fend for themselves. They were exiled in lonely, unfriendly, often dangerous surroundings. They were alien to the people around them, who spoke **a** different language, practiced horrifying "barbaric" customs, **ane** were stolidly indifferent to their comings and goings. The missionaries had to suffer great hardships in their efforts to teach the Africans "the common arts of civilized life" and their vocations were sorely tested. (125)

The Governor's industrial education policy required that the mission staff be made up of a number of specialists. At the head was an ordained clergyman. His particular responsibility was "the Religious teaching and Instruction in the Doctrines and practices of Christianity". (126) He was assisted by a qualified

agriculturalist, who was in charge of all farming operations and other industrial activities; and a schoolteacher, male or female, who held classes for adults as well as children wherever they were willing to attend. Because the Kraals were widely scattered, schools were opened in every direction. If no hut was available, the teacher would assemble his class in- the shade of a tree, his pupils being summoned by the African school bell - a piece of old iron wagon wheel struck by a stone.

A matron supervised the household affairs of the mission. She also had the care of the boarders - African children entrusted by their parents to the missionaries, to be brought up and educated in the Christian faith and Western way of life. Besides attending school, the boys helped on the farm and the girls worked in the house. The staff became devoted to their young charges, treating them as their own family. Friends in England were kept regularly informed of the young converts' progress and were encouraged to aid in their support. (127) But in the beginning, their numbers were few.

The African interpreter was an indispensable member of the pioneer mission staff. All intercourse with the tribesmen had initially to take place through him. The difficulty was that there was a dearth of Christian interpreters who could be relied on to give accurate translations of religious teaching. The Kafirs, too, were distracted by the continual interruptions for translations during a sermon. "Talk to us yourself", said a Ndhlambi tribesman to the clergyman in charge of St. Luke's. "If you employ an interpreter we are deaf". (128) And so the missionaries made

every effort from the start to learn the Kafir language. They were greatly assisted by the Methodist Kafir grammars and translations of religious works. They found that as they became fluent in Kafir, their work became more efficient, their preaching more effective.

Once the missions were established, the most urgent need was for black catechists-cum-schoolteachers to man the many out-stations that were to be planted at outlying kraals in the surrounding countryside, so as to extend the work of the mother station. We shall see how the Kafir College became primarily concerned in fulfilling this need of the Church. How, after completing their F. training, the black students including the children of chiefs,

were sent home to work among their people, under the supervision of the European staff at the various mission stations.

The Progress of the Missions : 1856

By the end of the first year, Bishop Armstrong had fulfilled four-fifths of his pledge to Sir George Grey. As promised, four stations had been established in the tribal territories. Only the Kafir school at Grahamstown remained unbuilt. This was not begun until 1857. But the early work of the infant missions was beset by many difficulties and progress was painfully slow. After a year in the field, the first mission reports made no mention of conversions, baptisms or other direct spiritual results of their work, much to the Governor's disappointment. He looked for quick returns on his large investment in Anglican mission operations and was impatient for visible results of his civilizing programme. (129)

The only part of Sir George's scheme to achieve marked success at all the stations, was in the provision of employment for Africans. The missions got all the labour they needed, to work on the farms and buildings. Armstrong reported, rather optimistically, that the Kafirs showed "a great readiness to take up the plough and the spade, instead of the gun and the assegai", so changing into being "the peaceful, industrious friend of the Colonist". (130)

The missionaries, with little to show on paper, were discouraged by their apparent lack of advance on heathenism. Eager but inexperienced, they found difficulty in coping with the foreign behaviour of their flock. They were particularly irked by the irregular proceedings they were forced to follow when dealing with the African. Because of the great fluctuation in numbers attending church services and schools, they were not able to carry out the type of systematic work that would be possible in an European population. (131)

Staffing problems compounded their difficulties and limited the range of their activities. By the middle of 1856, no school had been started at St. John's and that at St. Luke's had closed for want of a teacher. The mission district of St. Mark's could boast of a network of schools, however, the Tambookie and Gcaleka tribes being served by three white and five black teachers. The

Governor, delighted with Waters' work, promised St. Mark's further financial help. (132)

The work among the Fingoes forged ahead and St. Matthew's was soon requesting a boarding school, which Sir George agreed to subsidize. (133) Industrial training was shortly added to the primary education offered there, instruction being given in wagon-making, the tin-smith's trade, and carpentry. Printing was included later. (134)

Bishop Armstrong, in an official report to the Colonial Secretary in 1856, commented on the disparate progress of the different Anglican missions and attempted to justify the slow results of the Kaffrarian stations :

The difference of carrying on either spiritual or industrial occupations, between natives mixed up with the English, like the Fingoes, already half civilised, much indebted to the English and much under their influence, and the pure, wild Kafir in his own wilderness, must be obviously great. The one body see and feel the advantage of schools and regular labour, and being more acquisitive and thrifty than the Kafir, are more easily brought under systematic trainage. The other, as a warlike people, ever threatening us with war, and unused to regular toil, have to be persuaded of the advantages of either of schools or work, while they have a starting sort of dread of falling under the English influence. (135)

.Relations with the Chiefs

According to the missionaries, the presence at the Great Kraals of white men of their standing, was considered an honour, a status symbol for the chiefs concerned. (136) Some of the chiefs became friendly with their respective clergymen. Kreli was very attached to the Rev. Waters; and even though the chief complained that the missionaries "made him sick", he attended church and did not meddle with the work of the station. (137)

Umhala, too, always showed great kindness to his missionary. But he never attended the services, alleging sickness. He sent a number of councillors and members of his family in his stead, who then reported on all they had heard. (138)

Sandile, on the other hand, appeared to take a personal dislike to his missionary and was soon stirring up trouble. He demanded rent for the land, and when this was refused, attempted to blackmail the mission staff by withholding food supplies. The threatening behaviour of his followers terrorized the white women and

children at St. John's, and they lived in fear of their lives.
(139)

All the chiefs were jealous of their authority over their tribesmen and even the friendly ones became antagonistic toward the missionaries as their influence grew. The chiefs only condoned the church workers' continued presence because of their political importance. They were a direct link with the Government, they had the ear of Sir George Grey. The Governor encouraged the missionaries to make frequent reports of their progress for not only did he learn of their advancement but he was also able to receive regular up-to-date information on conditions in the tribal territories. (140) As 1856 wore on, recurring reports of unrest predicted further trouble on the Frontier.

Bishop Gray meets the Chiefs : July 1856

The sudden death of Bishop Armstrong in May 1856, was a severe setback to missionary operations. Bishop Gray was forced to visit the bereaved and leaderless Grahamstown diocese at once. Accompanied by Sophy, he set off on a tour of inspection of the stations to superintend the large number of young and inexperienced clergy and staff at work there. (141)

Their journey was an anxious undertaking overshadowed by the ever present fear of war. There were constant rumours of a fresh outbreak. Alarming stories were circulating about a prophet who had risen and was exciting the Kafirs into a strange hysteria with his startling revelations and extraordinary commandments to destroy their corn and kill their cattle. The frontier settlers were alarmed and apprehensive for they always suspected trouble when their black servants deserted and returned to their homes. On their way, the Grays passed many such native travellers as well as Boer farmers trekking to safer pastures. Burnt out buildings testified to the seriousness of the situation.

During his visits to the various Anglican stations, the Bishop challenged the chiefs to explain the goings on. The loyal Fingo chiefs were not at all reassuring; but Umhala, who welcomed the visitors warmly, insisted that he knew nothing about war. Sandile and his brother, Dundas, were less friendly. They denied the rumours and politely refused to discuss the subject of the prophet. Gray, reporting on these meetings, wrote in his Journal :

"It is both strange and sad that, after all our intercourse with the Kafirs, we should not understand them - not know whether they were for peace or war, whether we ought to trust or distrust their word". (142)

Despite the chiefs' denial, the Grays were well aware that even as they travelled through the Kafir country, slaughtering of cattle was taking place among both Umhala's and Sandile's people. (143) The Bishop feared for the safety of his staff and hoped that the chiefs would honour their promises to care for the missionaries in the event of war.

4. The Kafir Nation Disintegrates

Tribal Discontentment

Although the chiefs had appeared subdued by Grey's system of administration, they were unwilling subjects of British rule. Their main grievance was the curtailment of their power brought about by the resident magistrates. They could not be reconciled to their diminishing influence in the tribe. Their resentment of this interference in their traditional rights soon erupted into active hostility.

Chief Mditshwa later explained their predicament. He described how when he had come under Government rule, he had brought his tribe as a woman carries a child on her back. They were his people and he was their voice. He had much resented the new order, in which his tribesmen ran past him to the new Supreme Chief, the magistrate, taking their complaints to the court-house instead of to the tribal court, ignoring their traditional arbitrator. (144)

Although the weaker member of the tribes appreciated the security ensured them under English law, the majority shared their chiefs' discontentment and fretted at the curb on their independence. They distrusted the white man's interference in their tribal customs. The Christian converts caused further tension in the tribe, as their new loyalty inevitably clashed with their traditional allegiance to their chiefs.

When a prophet appeared in their midst, the tribesmen followed his commands with a fanatical fury born of frustration, defeat, disillusion, and despair. They felt that they had little to

lose - with their homelands taken away from them, their traditional way of life in jeopardy, and their cattle and horses dying in tens of thousands from strange diseases, for which they blamed the Englishmens' witchcraft.

The authorities were convinced that the chiefs were forcing their people to destroy all their food in order to bring the Xhosa nation into such a state of desperation that they would fight fiercely for their freedom, their nationalistic feelings incited to fever pitch by the hopelessness of their situation.

In the end, the Xhosa were chastised by a rod wielded with their own hand. (145) It was fortunate for the Government that the new administrative system was sufficiently well established to control the extraordinary situation that developed as the Cattle Killing Delusion escalated.

The Cattle Killing Delusion

There are many different versions of the National Suicide of the Xhosa brought about by the Cattle Killing Delusion. Conflicting stories of what happened and differing opinions as to who was to blame for the disaster. (146) The Xhosa had in the past repeatedly turned to a prophet to lead them in their time of crisis. Now the new prophet Mhlakaza (Umhlakaza), a councillor of Kreli's, using his niece Nonquase as a medium, spoke of visions, supernatural voices, and promises of miracles.

Sir George Grey, in his official report to the Colonial Secretary in January 1857, recounted the strange happenings in Kaffraria :

A prophet had been exercising a considerable degree of influence, ... promising that dead should rise again, (147) that a new race of cattle should appear in Kaffraria in countless numbers and be divided amongst those who believed in him and fulfilled his commands, and the English and European races should on the appearance of the newly arisen dead, be swept before them into the sea. The fulfilment of these predictions was however to be contingent, upon the Kafirs having in the first instance destroyed all their own cattle and corn, and having refrained from cultivating the ground, so as to leave themselves wholly without the means of subsistence. This extraordinary delusion spread rapidly through the Country, and the singular spectacle has been some time presented of whole races exciting themselves energetically to destroy their own property, and to reduce themselves to a state of starvation. (148)

The prophecies coincided with a flare up of hostilities in Basutoland and Grey was certain that Moshesh was behind the Kafir trouble. The Governor wrote to all the leading chiefs imploring them not to kill their cattle, and threatening to punish them if they persisted. (149) The magistrates, too, did all they could to prevent the disaster. But eventually even those chiefs who initially remained aloof, gave in to national pressure and joined in the movement.

After several postponements, February 18, 1857 was finally nominated as the appointed day for the prophecies to be fulfilled. The Governor, foreseeing disaster and anticipating that a starving people would threaten the Colony's security, took measures to prevent disorder. When the day passed without any miracles taking place, the Xhosa were faced with the horror of their delusion. They turned to the colonists for help.

Sir George declared martial law. He took charge of the situation with troops at the ready to protect the colonists, police measures to control stealing, a relief scheme to alleviate the famine and an extension of the public works programme to absorb large numbers of labourers. Even so, the tragedy that followed was indescribable, as thousands of Xhosa died of starvation. (150)

The Aftermath

"The first cry in the morning and the last cry at night was the endless cry for food". (151)

The Anglican missionaries who had been helpless witnesses of the killing powerless to restrain or interfere, remained at their posts and were active in giving succour to the starving people. (152) Fuhds designated for improvements to the Industrial mission: were used to feed the children: (153) "the animated skeletons" who were handed over to the missionaries by desperate parents. (154)

A Kafir Assistance Society was organized by Bishop Gray. He told Sir George that he could "no longer sit still and do nothing for these poor famishing souls". (155) But the Governor disapproved of this public relief fund, preferring that the authorities should deal with the situation entirely. (156)

"The proudest people on the face of the earth" were a broken Nation. (157) Tribes and families, already divided by the

prophecy into "believers" and "unbelievers", were now decimated by death. Kaffraria, whose population had been escalating, even in defeat, (158) now became denuded of people as the starving survivors moved to the Colony to offer work in exchange for food. (159)

The Rev. Waters gave a graphic description of the devastation in his district :

The country is nearly empty, literally. All things are changed, everything dead; dogs crawling about mere skeletons, others being picked by vultures - hunger has driven the people away, and they have become servants in the adjoining colony. The chief (Kreli) himself is wandering in desert places, picking up a precarious living How changed the Kraal The dancings and shoutings, the cattle and crowds of people, all gone I (160)

National Suice of the Xhosa: "God's Providential Dealings"

"The continued existence of the Kafirs, as a nation, has become problematical". So wrote the Rev. Tiyo Soga, who had returned to his homeland after completing his studies in Scotland, in 1857 : "Many of those who have left Kafirland, will never return. But upon those who may return ... various influences will have been brought to bear, tending to modify their habits and customs as a people". (161)

Religious and military leaders in the country, who had despaired of resolving the African problem peacefully, now saw that the Xhosa had themselves destroyed their own power. Through the voluntary destruction of their cattle and food, they were the means of sweeping away their traditional habits and customs. They, themselves, had brought about their National Suicide. Bishop Gray described the turn of events as "God's providential dealings", a sentiment shared by the colonists. (162) The Chief Commissioner of Kaffrnria summed up the significance of the developments in his official report, as follows :

At a comparatively nominal expense, and without loss of blood on our part, and not only without the devastation of the frontier districts, but with advantage to the Colony, the natives have, as a result of their own acts, suffered greater loss than by war; and become more humbled and easy of control; while they have laid a foundation both for their own improvement, and for a better tate of things, such as never could have been expected. (163)

The Boost to Sir George Grey's Plans

Sir George Grey was quick to recognize the fact that the Cattle Killing offered fortuitous possibilities of promoting his African policy. "Unprecedented and disastrous as this whole affair has been", he told the Colonial Secretary, "and unaccounted as the delusion was ... there can be little doubt, that great ultimate good will flow from it". (164) And in his address at the opening of the Cape Parliament in April 1857, he said : "There is now a greater hope than at any former period that civilization and Christianity may be successfully introduced among the Kafir races". (165)

Indeed the Governor's whole scheme for civilizing the Xhosa, through employing them on farms and public works, now received a tremendous boost. Whilst the tribesmen were bent on working in order to keep alive, Sir George intended to teach them habits of industry, and, at the same time, expose them to the European way of life. The magistrates were instructed to recruit labour in the territories, employment being offered on roads, bridges, farms and buildings in the Colony.

The work of the Church expanded rapidly too. (166) As the Rev. Soga pointed out : "There is nothing-that softens the heart as much as affliction". (167) Multitudes flocked to the missions. The African clergyman believed that the Cattle Killing was a means of salvation for his countrymen. The Anglican stations functioned as refugee centres, Xhosa families being allowed to settle there and work on the farms provided they built themselves decent huts, placed themselves under Christian instruction, sent their children to school, and discontinued "the immoral practices common among the heathen". (168)

As a result of the de-population of Kaffraria, Sir George Grey was now able to implement his plans to bring about an integrated society. He had originally promised the British Government that the troops deployed on the Frontier, as a show of force, were only a temporary measure and that a large body of white settlers would be moved into the area as a permanent means of security, as soon as possible.

Grey's first scheme of settling English pensioners had failed. The new plan was to settle a large group of immigrants drawn from

the British German Legion, a corps that had been raised for service in the Crimea and disbanded at the end of the war, in 1856. (169) Native lands were confiscated and surveyed for farms; but the soldiers lacked agricultural expertise and this scheme also foundered. (170) Eventually, a group of German farmers and their families were introduced into British Kaffraria with more success. The towns and villages which they founded bear names evocative of their homeland. (171)

The Chiefs' Downfall

The downfall of the chiefs, as a result of the Cattle Killing, was of far reaching importance to the solution of the Frontier problem. Their tribal influence had been considerably reduced before the event, dependent as they were on Government salaries for their living and their authority diluted by the magisterial system. But their desperate schemes to retain their former power and glory, now ended in their humiliation and disgrace.

The starving tribesmen were forced to abandon their chiefs and desert their homelands in order to survive. The tragedy of their destitution dissolved the ties that had bound them to their tribal leaders. In the course of a short time the chiefs had nothing but "the name of that authority". (172) They, alone, remained in Kaffraria, surrounded by the sick, the aged, and the children - the dead and the dying. (173)

Their late conduct, (reported Grey) has irretrievably destroyed that portion of their influence which was still left to them and henceforth we may govern the country ourselves, the chiefs being mere dependents on us ... they can never hereafter exercise an influence over their race, which they have hitherto almost always employed for evil. (174)

The chiefs' downfall was complete.

5. The Chiefs' Power is Broken

Sir George Grey had played a waiting game while the Cattle Killing built up to a climax. He had forbidden his administrators to indulge in any action which might provoke the chiefs into hostility. Only when they were too destitute to offer resistance, did he move in to crush them.

Even though the Governor fully realized that the Xhosa were a broken people, the chiefs, a shadow of their former strength, he nevertheless determined on taking stern measures to stamp out

any possible cause of future trouble on the frontier. His resolve for strict control was further strengthened by the fact that at this critical juncture, he was obliged to deplete his forces at the Cape. On Government orders, he sent his best regiments to India with a couple of thousand horses, to put down the mutiny of the Indian Army sepoys which had broken out in 1857. (175) He could not afford to risk a situation developing in which he would have to depend on military strength.

The Governor's emergency measures were, therefore, purposefully severe, designed to break the last vestiges of the chiefs' power once and for all. They called for "the submission of every chief of consequence; or his disgrace if he were obdurate", and for the dispersal of the remaining tribes. (176)

Grey saw to it that "the warlike and treacherous" chiefs were caught, humiliated and punished. Many were imprisoned in the King William's Town, Grahamstown and East London gaols, convicted of treason, murder or receiving stolen cattle. Those who were considered to be more dangerous were banished to Robben Island.

(177) Lesser chiefs and councillors, who remain recalcitrant and refused to co-operate with the Government, had their salaries withdrawn and were replaced by "good" men. (178)

Kreli, Sandile, Umhala and Maqomo, were singled out as the ring-leaders behind the Cattle Killing, seeing that the distress had been greatest among their followers. Orders were given for their arrest and public disgrace, as an example to their people. (179)

Maqomo

Maqomo was then nearly sixty years old. Whilst still in his prime, as regent for Sandile, he had been renowned as a brave warrior and clever politician. But, ravaged by drink, his power had declined over the years and he now wielded little influence. Settled in the Fort Beaufort district, and in receipt of a Government salary, he had shown every evidence of accepting British rule. He had even invited the missionary, Calderwood, to minister to his tribe. (180) Although he listened to the Christian teaching, however, he was never converted.

With the rise of the prophet, Maqomo followed his every command and became an ardent supporter of the Cattle Killing. He

challenged his magistrate's jurisdiction by levying fines in cattle from the "unbelievers" in his tribe. He further annoyed Sir George Grey by making little effort to control the criminal activities of his followers. (181) An opportunity for the "notorious" chief's (182) arrest came in August 1857, when he "wandered in to the Colony" without a pass. (183)

Maqomo was initially sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the Grahamstown gaol. He was subsequently found guilty, along with a number of his tribesmen, of murdering a petty chief who had refused to destroy his cattle, and was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment on Robben Island. He suffered the dreadful disgrace of transportation, regarded by the Xhosa as a kind of death. (184) During his exile in Cape Town, he was, however, "treated as a prisoner of State ... and not as a convict, - allowed the company of his favourite wife and many other indulgences". (185)

Sandile

Sandile, the much revered Paramount Chief of the Ngqika clan, was, by all accounts, a weak character, irresolute and not very intelligent. (186) During the Cattle Killing, he tried to curry favour with both camps, pleasing neither.

Sandile soon came under the influence of Krell, the driving force behind the Xhosa nationalist movement, and, after initial indecision, was eventually persuaded to join the rebel side. (187) Outwardly, though, he professed obedience to the Government and continued to draw his salary, much to Kreli's disgust. Sandile ordered his people to obey the prophet's commands; but there was great dissension among his followers and the chief had not the fanatical drive of his fellow ring-leaders to force them to comply. Even though the slaughtering was not carried out entirely, the tribe suffered terribly in the famine that followed and was completely broken up. (188)

The chief and his leading councillors were driven by poverty to seek an amnesty with the authorities. Sandile, awed by Maqomo's fate, begged for forgiveness and even offered to serve as a policeman in an effort to save his skin. (189) The Ngqika leaders were required to make a public confession, an humiliating experience for these warriors. They had to promise that in the future they would "act wholly under the orders of the Government,

obey all its directions, and keep their people quiet". (190) The chief managed to appear suitably penitent and Sir George, satisfied by his humbling, granted him a pardon.

Sandile was stripped of his power and most of his possessions. He was given a portion of his former location on which to live, the land being a mere fraction of his original grant of five hundred square miles (in the region of present day Stutterheim). (191) As a paid servant of the Government, he was allowed a salary of £8 a month but he was divested of all authority. (192) His magistrate was made responsible for all judicial matters and was given supreme authority over the tribe. (193)

Umhala

Umhala was a fanatical nationalist and zealous in carrying out the prophet's instructions. He terrorized his tribe, threatening the "unbelievers" with death if they refused to kill their cattle and destroy their corn. Disobedient members of his family were accused of witchcraft and had to flee to safety. The chief was incensed when his resident magistrate intervened to defend the innocent, so splitting the tribe into two factions. (194)

Umhala, determined to rid his country of the white men, decided that his divided people could only be forced to unite and fight the enemy by driving them to starvation point. (195) Seeing that many of his followers appeared reluctant to do his bidding, he arranged that Nonquase, the daughter of his witchdoctor, should reveal further prophecies so as to incite them to action. (196) When the plot failed, he pleaded that he "had been deceived by the false words of a female"; but there is abundant evidence of his complicity. (197)

As a result of the Delusion, the Ndhlambe tribe was dispersed and became practically defunct. The survivors left their homeland to search for work, many of them being employed on the construction of the harbour at East London, the nearest town. (198)

The chief, abandoned by his followers and denied a Government salary, had no means of support. He roamed the deserted countryside at the head of a robber band, forced to steal to survive. Umhala, living a life of "crime and misery", had to keep constantly

on the move, hiding in the rocks and thick bushes in order to evade capture. (199) His plight received scant sympathy from the authorities who were resolved to bring him to trial.

"He is the embodiment of unscrupulous Kaffir cunning", wrote the Kaffrarian Chief Commissioner, "and his counsels - always eagerly sought after by the rest, have at all times been against us". (200)

Bishop Cotterill, newly appointed to the Grahamstown diocese, made a tour of the mission stations at this time and was appalled by the desolation in Umhala's territory - the kraals stood empty, the cornpits were bare, not an animal was in sight. The chief - old, feeble and subdued - begged Cotterill to ask the Governor for help. (201) But Sir George Grey turned a deaf ear to these intercessions and complaints of victimization. (202) The fugitive was finally run to earth and arrested, by a black policeman, early in 1858. (203)

Umhala was tried on a charge of treason at a Special Court at King William's Town. Found guilty, the Ndhlambe chief was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island. (204) Grey also confiscated his extensive territory. The remnants of his people were settled in a location on the banks of the Bashee River, the present district of Idutywa. (205)

Kreli

Kreli was the prime mover behind the Cattle Killing. His country, though lying beyond the Kei River boundary, had become overrun with Europeans, and, fearful lest his right of occupation to the land would not be honoured, the Gcaleka chief determined to drive the settlers away. It was under his patronage that the prophet revealed his visions. (206) It was he who initiated the work of destruction, he who co-ordinated the activities of the other chiefs, alternately cajoling and threatening them when they faltered. As a result of his fanaticism, it was his people who suffered most, his following being utterly depleted by death and destruction.

Bishop Cotterill, who met Kreli at St. Mark's in July 1857, was most impressed with the Gcaleka leader's dignified and intelligent bearing - "like that of a well-bred English gentleman". (207)

Kreli admitted his folly and asked the Bishop for advice.

It was somewhat painful, (wrote Cotterill) to see a great chief so fallen; and his frank confession ... made me feel a sympathy with him in his troubles He said he was in a very bad state, very poor ... he had lost his oxen, his corn, his people, through his own foolishness, like a man without eyes. (208)

The Rev. Waters offered Kreli and his councillors refuge at the mission. But when the chief learnt that he would be expected to work on the lands, he held up his hands and laughed, saying : "These are not hard. I cannot work". (209)

The remnant of the Gcaleka tribe stayed loyal to their chief, choosing to die of starvation rather than go and work in the Colony. Although Kreli gave the Governor his word that he was "dead", (210) his depleted force still showed spirit and took part in an outbreak of fighting among the Tambookies. This time, the Governor refused to show compassion, and, ignoring Kreli's signed confession and pleas for food, gave orders for his arrest, or, failing that, his banishment from the borders of British Kaffraria. (211) The Gcaleka warriors, warned of the commando's approach, managed to evade capture and fled to Bomvanaland where they settled on a small tract of land offered them by Kreli's unole. (212)

The Governor planned to fill the evacuated territory with white settlers and the Press suggested that the proposed new colony should be called Greyland. Sir George's plans were frustrated, however, by the Home Government, who disapproved of the scheme and refused to advance the money. That part of the Transkei remaineu empty, under police surveillance, until 1865, when Kreli was allowed to return from exile and occupy a portion of the coastal land. (213)

The rebel chiefs' power had finally been broken. According to a Cape Argus report of March 18, 1858 : "Nothing has struck terror into the Kafirs more than the wholesale deportation of their chiefs and people". (214)

The hovel Chiefs' Fate

Those chiefs who remained loyal to the British Government had to face the formidable opposition of the rebel leaders. They rode out the storm of Xhosa nationalism fortified by Sir George Grey's promises of rewards for good behaviour.

The Ndhlambe chief, Toise, settled on the Nahoon River ten miles east of East London, recieved a Government salary of £60 a year. (215) Then in his thirties, he was said to be "a volatile man" without "the dignity natural to the Kafir chiefs". (216) But he impressed the authorities with his neat English-style dress.

Toise was accused by Sandile of being a traitor after he fought as a British ally in the Eighth Kafir War. At the time of the Cattle Killing, Toise expelled those of his people who followed the prophet and was able to hold most of his tribe together. (217) His neighbour, Jan Tzatzoe, petty chief of the Amantinde clan, was considered to be suspect as an ally. Nonetheless he also opposed the Killing and managed to keep his following intact. (218)

Whereas many of the great chiefs' tribes were broken up, loyal chiefs, such as Siwani and Kama, found their tribes expanding following the Delusion. They became centres of refuge for the "unbelievers", who flocked from all parts of the country, bringing with them what cattle they could save. The Fingoes, who, despite expectations to the contrary, took no part in the movement, flourished, and were granted further large tracts of land to accomodate their swollen numbers. (219)

Even though the loyal chiefs were not crushed like their rebel colleagues, their power under the new European administrative system was very limited. Saddled with the extra responsibility of feeding the refugees, they became ever more dependent on Government support. Pensioned off on farms, they were left with little authority, the magistrates assuming complete control in their areas. (220)

The Peaceful Settlement of the Frontier

Grey's plan for solving the Xhosa problem was now complete. The Kafir Nation was broken, the tribesmen having brought about their own teat. Their society had disintegrated. Leaderless, they followed the bidding of their new masters. The colonial authorities were able to reorganize the tribal fragments and settle them in villages in new locations, with Government paid headmen in charge.

The levying of taxes caused further social disintegration, for the men were forced to migrate to the Colony to find work in

order to earn money to pay rent for their huts. (221) Low wages ensured their continued servitude. At the same time, the migratory labour system fulfilled Grey's purpose, for "large numbers of Kaffirs were brought into contact with civilization on colonial farms, where they were trained in the best possible manner to become useful to themselves and the country generally". (222)

"The long harrassed farmers of Albany", now secure from the Kafir threat, were at last able to move into the promised land, the territories confiscated from the rebel chiefs, which they had coveted for so long. (223) But Grey's settlement of the Frontier, though it brought peace in his time, sowed the seeds of discontent among the Xhosa which were to grow into the problems which still remain unsolved to-day. (224)

6. Impetus for Education as a Result of the Cattle Killing The Difficulties of Teaching the Children in the Early Days

Up to this time, the missionaries and their families had formed small isolated Christian communities at their various stations, set apart from the Africans whom they served. All the mission work was carried out from these centres, the staff visiting the kraals in the neighbourhood, preaching and teaching wherever and whenever the opportunity arose. Day schools were limited to those who lived sufficiently near at hand. Even then attendance was sporadic. Little could be achieved besides instruction in the most elementary subjects and simple principles of religion. Under this system, the Kafir children remained "wild heathens with only the first elements of knowledge". (225)

The missionaries wanted the children to come and live with them so that they could be kept apart from heathen influences, and be trained as Christian men and women. But the African family was a closely knit unit and the Xhosa parents resisted all such suggestions and entreaties. There were few who could be persuaded to part with their offspring, least of all the chiefs. At the time of the Cattle Killing, the Rev. Waters told Kreli that a benefactress of St. Mark's had offered to bring up one of his daughters. "No, no, she is the child of my bosom", replied the chief, hugging his chest, "I cannot part with her". (226)

The Effects of the Cattle Killing

The appalling conditions of want, which followed in the wake of the Delusion, broke up the Xhosa families and completely altered the pattern of mission work in Kaffraria. As Bishop Gray told the Governor, in July 1857, "the unwillingness which the Kafirs have hitherto shewed in contracting their children to the Missionaries is at length yielding to the presence of famine in Sandilli's country and in Umhalla's the difficulty appears to be entirely removed". (227)

The destitute Kafir parents were driven by despair to deliver their children to the missionaries' care - "they were almost thrown upon their hands to feed and clothe and provide for". (228) The mission stations were ill-equipped to handle such an invasion, and, crowded together, it was a major task to keep the children alive. Many were too emaciated on arrival to survive, and the death-toll was high. (229)

By the end of 1857, there were more than three hundred children living at the Anglican stations. The expense of caring for them was very great and the missionaries were desperate for help. Sympathizers in England sent boxes of clothes, the S.P.G. increased its support, (230) and Sir George Grey responded to requests for assistance with further grants. The Rev. Waters was singled out for special consideration and received £1,250 in 1857. The Governor maintained that St. Mark's had "from the first been conducted in a manner which entitles it to every support". (231)

The New pattern of Education

With the stations functioning as boarding establishments, mission work had to be restructured and organized to cope with the new demands of educating and caring for the destitute children. The future programme was patterned on Sir George Grey's educational formula with particular emphasis on industrial training. This specialized instruction was to be carried out by the white lay staff. African catechists and teachers were urgently needed to fill their places in the classrooms.

The pupils were to be taught trades such as carpentry, printing, shoe-making and tailoring, so that they might eventually become qualified to earn their own livings. (232) Agriculturalists,

indispensable members of the pioneer missionary teams, were generally dispensed with as farming had in most instances proved a failure. (233) The Governor undertook to subsidize the industrial teachers and additional staff were speedily recruited in England.

Bishop Cotterill insisted that the newcomers become conversant in the African language as quickly as possible. He was convinced that "the power of reaching the hearts and minds of the Natives" could only be achieved in their own tongue. (234) All services were to be conducted in the vernacular, English being allowed only in special cases. The Bishop reasoned that "the gulf between the English Christians and heathen African is too wide to be crossed by any divided efforts". (235)

A Movement in the Direction of Christianity

St. Mark's flourished under the new regime and great was the rejoicing when "the first fruits of the harvest were thankfully gathered in". (236) Twenty converts were baptized in January 1858 - ten men, seven women and three boys. Ninety men were then receiving instruction in preparation for baptism. One of Kreli's leading captains was the first to receive the sacrament and the missionaries were optimistic that his example would make a great impression on his fellow tribesmen.

The Governor was visiting the Frontier at the time and the Rev. Waters made a special journey to Grahamstown to give him the good news. Sir George was delighted with the report of the missionary's progress, gratified that the large portion of Imperial funds which he had invested in his civilizing scheme was at last yielding dividends. He observed :

It is by far the most decided movement in the direction of Christianity that has yet taken place in Kaffraria and ... it may be the commencement of a change in the Kafir natives as remarkable as that which has brought the New Zealanders into the Church of Christ. (237)

The Chiefs' Children

The Rev. Tiyo Soga was soon able to report similar successes. As a newly ordained member of the United Presbyterian Mission, he started work in Kaffraria in 1857, at the height of the Cattle Killing. He was the son of one of Sandile's most trusted

councillors and was given the spiritual care of his own Ngqika tribesmen. Accompanied by his Scots wife, he established a station on the Mgwali Stream, thirty miles from King William's Town.

Soga was greatly encouraged by the interest which Sandile took in his work. The chief was obviously impressed with the achievements of this black South African, the first to avail himself of the opportunities offered by European education and train as a minister. So much so, that Sandile, while on a visit to the Mgwali mission, impulsively asked the missionaries to take and educate his four eldest children. (238) This was a significant step. It showed that the Kafir chiefs' resistance to the advances of Western civilization had at last been broken down, and that they were prepared to accept the inevitable march of European progress. The Governor was quick to capitalize on the opening and managed to obtain custody of two of Sandile's children, a girl and a boy, in order that he might have the oversight of their education and upbringing. (239)

Sir George Grey had long since planned to provide special facilities for educating the Kafir chiefs' children, under the auspices of the Anglican Church, much as he had done for the Polynesians and Maoris at St. John's College in New Zealand. But the reluctance of the Xhosa parents to part with their offspring had obstructed any such plans. Now, seeing that as a result of the Cattle Killing, the chiefs were willing to release their sons and daughters, the establishment of an Industrial Institution for the children of African chiefs became a logical development of the Governor's civilizing programme. And with Bishop Gray's co-operation, the Kafir College was founded in Cape Town in 1858.

This College, however, was not the first of its kind in South Africa. Bishop Colenso, with financial assistance from Sir George Grey, had founded an Industrial Institution for the sons of Zulu chiefs at his mission station at Ekukanyeni, in Natal, two years earlier. It is of interest to our study, therefore, to examine the way in which Colenso managed to secure his royal students : to see how he won the confidence of the Zulu chiefs with the help of Theophilus Shepstone; and, through patience and perseverance, obtained their co-operation in his plans for their childrens'

education.

The establishment of the "Kafir Harrow", the Natal Bishop's school at Ekukanyeni, is dealt with in some detail for much of Colenso's approach to evangelizing the heathen was in marked contrast to that of Bishop Gray's. Their different attitudes had a direct bearing on the education offered at the two Institutions and allows for a useful comparison. In general it might be said that Grey aimed to produce graduates with the stamp of black English gentlemen whereas Colenso wished to preserve at least part of his students' African identity.

The school at Ekukanyeni closed after five and a half years. Because it functioned for so short a time, the evaluation of its work is limited. Consequently, the comparison of the two Institutions must be confined to the achievements of the pioneer period: to the manner in which Gray and Colenso introduced Christianity and civilization to their heathen students and to the way in which their pupils responded to this teaching.

7. Ekukanyeni - Bishop Colenso's "Kafir Harrow" for the Sons of Zulu Chiefs

Colenso's Missionary Objectives

Bishop Colenso established his headquarters in Natal in 1854. He was granted 8,500 acres of Crown land, six miles outside Pietermaritzburg, the capital of the colony. Here he founded his mission station and called it Ekukanyeni - "The Place of Light".
(240)

For a start, Colenso planned to concentrate missionary efforts at this central station under his personal supervision. He was determined to be his own chief missionary and direct all missionary operations in the diocese as well as supervising the parochial work. Ekukanyeni was to be a model mission station with farm, school, chapel, theological college, hospital, orphanage, printing-press, carpenter's shop, smithy and brickfield. The community was to be partly self-supporting, produce being provided by the farm.
(241)

Those natives who accepted the rules of life on the station, would be assigned plots of ground and taught to cultivate the land. They would also be trained in various trades. As they learnt the habits of civilized life, they would gradually find

their place in the Christian community and be drawn into the Church. Once established, Ekukanyeni would be the nerve centre of a network of missions reaching to the far corners of the diocese, feeding the outposts in the native reserves with catechists, teachers and other trained black Christian personnel. (242)

The Evangelization of the Heathen

It has been said that whereas Colenso came to Natal to convert the Zulus, he was converted by them. The Bishop found that in his efforts to explain the Church's teaching to the Zulus, he was forced to question the accepted theological teaching of the time. The unorthodox views which he developed, and which he published in a number of commentaries, were an attempt to show how the gospel should be preached to the heathen. (243) His interpretation of doctrine, as expounded in his missionary gospel, led to a theological controversy which eventually compelled Bishop Gray to bring about Colenso's excommunication from the Anglican Church in South Africa.

Colenso refused to accept the popularly held view that the heathen African was a wicked savage. He maintained that the Zulu already knew a good deal about God and that the missionary ought to build on this knowledge. (244) He believed that "both conversion and baptism were in the last resort meaningless". (245) His contention was that "baptism is the symbol of the belief that infants are from their birth-hour children of God". (246) Colenso taught that "the heathen Zulu is redeemed before he has heard of Christ, to preach is to place before him the pattern of Christ's love". (247)

Colenso abhorred hell-fire evangelism. He held that "to offer the heathen a choice between conversion and a dramatic picture of eternal damnation was to attempt to frighten them into faith". (248) He was very critical of such preaching by the other missionary societies then at work in Natal, particularly the Americans, and consequently found fault with their missionary methods. The Natal Bishop regarded the missionary's task -

as that of leavening the whole social system of the African with the light of the Gospel, and not merely converting detribalised individuals and training them into black Europeans. He hoped to retain what was good in tribal life, particularly their sense of mutual responsibility, and to sanctify it with the gift of the Holy Spirit. (249)

Colenso's plan was to scatter the Zulu converts among their tribesmen. Starting with one kraal, they were to transform them into neat, civilized Christian cottages, so bearing individual testimony to Christ in the midst of heathen kraals. He argued that the morality in this condition was far superior to that in mission stations. Though the temptations and trials of the converts might be greater, these would tend to strengthen and confirm them in the Faith. (250) This was in striking contrast to the system advocated by Bishop Gray and adopted in Kaffraria, where the converts were contained in an enclosed Christian settlement, isolated from any contact with their heathen fellow tribesmen.

A School for the Sons of Zulu Chiefs

Bishop Colenso made a short survey of his diocese in 1854 and then returned to England for a year to collect men, money and materials. (251) He had only recently taken up permanent residence at Ekukanyeni when Sir George Grey visited him there in November 1855. The Governor, set on extending his civilizing schemes beyond the borders of the Cape Colony, granted Colenso £500 to erect an industrial school for the Zulus, (252) and promised further contributions as the scheme developed. (253)

The original plan was to establish the Institution at the kraal of Ngoza (Ungoza), chief of the (Ama) Gonya tribe, as part of a mission to his people. The chief was an intelligent man, a friend of the authorities, and progressive too, having bought his own wagon and plough. (254) Although his followers only numbered 2100, he had several petty chiefs under his control, as well as a large number of refugees from Zululand, making a total of 6000 in all. Colenso planned, that, besides preaching the gospel to the tribesmen, he would teach them how to cultivate their land more effectively with crops such as cotton, indigo and sugar. (255)

The Bishop's scheme had the enthusiastic support of his great friend Theophilus Shepstone, secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, champion of the Zulu people, and himself the son of a Wesleyan missionary. Together they made a visit to Ngoza to pave the way for the mission. But there they met with a setback, for the chief's kraal was found to be inaccessible. Situated in the Umgeni River valley at the foot of Table Mountain, it was not far distant from Ekukanyeni, but there was no road through the

thick bush and there was not sufficient land for large scale farming operations. And so this project had to be abandoned.

Colenso and Shepstone, compelled to revise their plans, decided that the Native Industrial school must be planted at Ekukanyeni and that the chiefs would have to be persuaded to send their sons there to be educated. This was a revolutionary concept to the natives. A matter which had to be discussed a length, involving a succession of conferences with the chiefs and headmen. The tribal leaders were naturally suspicious of the white men's real intentions. They were nervous that the children would be taken by the Government as hostages and sent to England, and fearful of opposition of the witchdoctors and prophets. They were affectionate and careful parents too, and loathe to part with their little ones. (256)

Shepstone was most persuasive in his arguments. He explained that the Queen had sent a chief Induna (Sir George Grey) to Natal to see what could be done for them. They had seen his face (the Governor had inspected a review of Ngoza's warriors) and listened to his words. He had now gone away for a time but he had left directions to set up schools throughout the land for the instruction of the black people. The Governor wished them to be taught "to be like the white men, to use the hammer and the saw, to cultivate the ground, and to build houses like the Europeans, and to read and write". (257)

Shepstone attempted to illustrate the benefits of education to the chiefs. He told them that whereas one chief sent messages to another by the mouth of a messenger, who then knew all his leader's mind and might betray his secrets, the Englishmen had only "to write his mind on a bit of paper, and no one else is the wiser, but he who writes and he who receives it". (258)

An even more telling argument in favour of educating the chiefs' sons, was the fact that the Zulus had been warned to come in line with Western farming methods or lose their right to occupy the Crown Lands. The Governor had threatened that unless the tribesmen cultivated and improved the ground over the next few years, the Kafir locations would be handed over to industrious white settlers when the other unoccupied Crown Lands were exhausted. Such improvements in tribal farming could only be carried out under trained native leadership.

The native administrator urged the chiefs to co-operate with Sir George's plans for their improvement. They were old people, and settled in their old native habits, but they must seize the opportunity of having their children educated. They must send them to the Bishop, the Great Missionary of the Church whom Shepstone called "Uyise wa bantu - u Sobantu" or "Father of the People". (259) The school was not far away, the parents could visit their children when they pleased. Shepstone ended off his appeal by saying that he hoped that many of the pupils would become good Christians; but that their object was "not to take them by force, and baptize them, and so make Christians of them; but to educate, to teach, and train them". (260)

After innumerable lengthy discussions, Ngoza was finally won over. He agreed that "his two boys should come (even) if no one else did, for he wished to be the last fool of his race". (261) His example was followed by Zatshuke, a visiting chief, and a number of headmen. All promised to send their sons to "Sobantu". Shepstone, much excited by the potentialities of this great experiment, predicted that the school would eventually take five hundred children. (262).

The Founding of the "Kafir Harrow"

Colenso went ahead with preparations to receive the promised pupils at Ekukanyeni. The Rev. Fearne came from his parish at Richmond to act as chaplain and two Kafir-speaking catechists were appointed as assistants. But, as week after week passed with no sign of the children, the churchmen were forced to face the possibility of failure, of being the laughing-stock of the colony. No such attempt had ever been made among the tribes in South Africa. Laymen and missionaries were pessimistic and pronounced the thing impossible. They voiced their distrust of the chiefs, certain that the Kafirs had deceived the white men "with lying promises, as usual". (263)

Ten weeks elapsed and Colenso had almost given up hope when a large party of Zulus arrived at the station on February 1, 1856, and, in the presence of Shepstone, voluntarily surrendered nineteen boys to the Bishop. The children were accompanied by about one hundred men and women, and the ceremony was marked by speeches and feasting, an ox being killed for the occasion. One

induna told of the heart searching among the tribesmen which had preceded this momentous step. The formalities over, the parents departed the following morning after making their affectionate, and somewhat sorrowful, farewells. (264)

Colenso, who, after going down from Cambridge, had been a mathematics master at Harrow, dubbed the school his Kafir Harrow. The boys' ages varied from six to fourteen, but the majority were eight or nine years old. They were washed immediately on arrival, and, for some strange reason, clothed in dresses and flannel petticoats. There were no classrooms or dormitories, however, and the pupils were crowded into one room for their lessons. (265) This room was later enlarged to become the mission kitchen when the scholars were moved to the newly erected chapel.

The chapel was a temporary wooden structure with gothic porch, thatched roof and white painted walls. It served the pupils every purpose. They ate here, slept, studied and prayed. They were very cramped and desperately in need of proper quarters. Even so, two further batches of boys were admitted to the school a few months after its founding: 'These new boys were brought by their parents of their own accord. The enrolment now reached a total of thirty-three. (266)

The Introduction of Christianity and Civilization

The boys settled down well. At the end of the first three months the Bishop reported that they had made "very sensible progress in civilization, and, in the reception of the elementary truths of Christianity". (267) They had begun to read in Kafir and could sing hymns, rounds and melodies. Their repertoire included "God Save the Queen", in Kafir. Four pupils had started lessons in carpentry. They had all been taught to say their prayers, and grace at meals. Attendance at Divine Service on Sundays, held in Kafir, was compulsory.

Of particular note is the fact that Colenso chose to teach his pupils in their home language, in order that they might retain their identity with their own people. This, in contrast to the Kafir College where the education was carried out entirely in the English medium. The greatest drawback to this course of action was the total lack of any books in Zulu for educational purposes.

None of the books used in the Grahamstown district were of any use, for although the language was fundamentally the same as Xhosa, it was essentially different in dialectic development.

Colenso was forced to start on the very laborious work of preparing elementary books to meet the school's requirements. These were printed on the mission press, a slow and comparatively expensive process. (268) With financial aid from the Governor, (269) he eventually published a profusion of books - a Zulu-English Dictionary (of 552 pages and more than 10,000 entries), a Zulu Grammar, Zulu reading book, the Liturgy, a revised version of St. Matthew's gospel, and translations of the entire New Testament and the Book of Genesis, Exodus and Samuel in the Old, besides readers in Geography, Geology, History and Astronomy. (270)

The chiefs promised to leave the boys at school for at least five years, time enough for them to make sufficient progress so that they would not take up their wild heathen habits when they returned home. (271) Though the pupils were separated from any close contact with their tribes they were nonetheless allowed to remain in touch with their families. This, again, was in contrast to the Kafir College where the pupils were purposefully removed to Cape Town, a far distance from their homes and a complete severance from their "heathen and barbarous" backgrounds.

The Zulu parents and relations were allowed to visit Ekukanyeni at all times, and were often accompanied by friends, curious to see the Institution. The missionaries encouraged these visits for they believed that familiarity with the work of the station would break down the heathens' fear and superstition, and remove their prejudice against a close acquaintance with the Christian teachers. (272) At first the tribesmen came frequently, bringing the youngsters presents of "amasi" (sour milk) and other Kafir delicacies. After a time, they seemed satisfied that their children were being properly cared for and only came occasionally. The Sunday afternoon divine service, held in Kafir, became a popular time for family reunions and there was always a large turn-out of men, women and children from nearby kraals. (273) One thing that puzzled the teachers was as to how the parents learnt when their sons were ill, for they would materialize at the mission almost immediately, covering long distances to be at their boy's bedside. (274)

The boys were well-behaved and apparently happy - with one exception. This lad was disconsolate from the start, and, though diligent in his studies, he remained moody and at length asked if he might return home. He had to endure teasing from his friends, who called him "a woman", and intimidation from the chiefs, Ngoza and Zatshuke, who threatened to hang him from the nearest tree if he did not cheer up. One night he ran away, and, after evading capture by the school's messenger, reached home. His father, disappointed by his son's defection, promised to replace him with another one - which he could well afford to do for he had about thirty sons, three of whom were already in the Institution. (275)

The First Year's Progress : 1856

By the end of the first year, Colenso had cause to be well satisfied with the outcome of his experiment in education. The account of his pupils' progress, which he presented to the Governor in a comprehensive report at the beginning of 1857, is of great value as a comparison with similar reports of the Kafir College, which we will shortly be studying.

There are a number of considerations, however, which must be borne in mind when evaluating such information. In particular, the possibility that the clergyman in charge could have been writing from a biased standpoint and might have given exaggerated accounts of the fruitfulness of his work. There was a temptation to impress: either for reasons of an understandable pride, or, more likely, in order to elicit financial support from sympathizers by demonstrating the success of Anglican missionary methods.

Indeed, these two Institutions exposed the Church of the Government to much criticism, and even ridicule. The purpose of these novel educational experiments was questioned by many and their results were watched closely by their critics, both within and without Church circles. Naturally Colenso and Gray were anxious to prove, to Church and society, the worth of their schools, to justify their founding and their continued existence, at such great expense.

The greatest source of pressure upon the Bishops came from the State in the person of the Governor. And an even greater likelihood of misrepresentation could have stemmed from the fact that

the prelates wished to present the progress reports in such a way as to inspire Sir George's enthusiasm, so ensuring his continued co-operation in the development of their respective schools.

Both the Kafir Harrow and the Kafir College could only be maintained by means of generous Government subsidies. Sir George Grey made it quite clear that further financial assistance was 'conditional upon the effectiveness, either potential or realized, of their work. The Governor obviously wished to receive good news. He wanted immediate and dramatic results, both for his own gratification, as proof of the validity of his vision, and for positive evidence to place before the British Government as justification for the large outlay involved in carrying out his civilizing programme.

The heads of the two Institutions were charged, therefore, with the tremendous responsibility of ensuring that their pupils were receptive to their efforts to introduce and implant the tenets of Christianity and the mores of civilization; and, of producing tangible evidence of the Kafir childrens' satisfactory response. Those in authority over them had every reason to present glowing accounts and gloss over any difficulties or set-backs. Yet their reports, which they were required to present to the Governor at regular intervals, give every evidence of integrity, and we must accept them as honest accounts of their pupils' progress. We can but sympathize with the churchmens' manifest thankfulness that their work was, according to their standards, blessed with such success.

Colenso's pride in his Zulu students' advancement is very evident. (276) After twelve months tuition most of the children could read the Kafir gospels more or less fluently, and many of them could write a fair hand. The first class were advancing in English reading and were able to write and spell, in Kafir, from dictation. This group had progressed to the point where they had recently been exercised in putting their own thoughts on paper. Their first essays were found to be, in almost every case, an account of their being brought from home to the institution - of the proceedings at their respective kraals, the ox that was killed the night before they left, by way of giving them a parting feast, and the talk which their fathers had had

with them about the object for which they were going to school.

In arithmetic, the elder boys could work out a sum correctly in simple multiplication and the rest were making proportionate progress. All the pupils enjoyed singing and were commended for their rendering of English and Kafir hymns, chants and rounds. Several of the boys had begun to draw creditably too, under the tuition of Mrs. Colenso. None of the children had as yet been baptized but they were regularly instructed in "the truths of Christianity" and joined daily, morning and evening, in the Liturgy of the Church, portions of which (including a selection from the Psalms) had been printed in Zulu.

Industrial training was an important part of the curriculum and the entire student body was expected to help with the practical work of the mission station. The older boys were gradually being introduced to the various trades and received elementary lessons in the carpentry shop, smithy, printing press and brick-field. But one and all had to labour on the farm. (277)

Colenso was determined to teach these future Zulu leaders how to cultivate the soil. properly and not rely on cattle, as in the past - an urgent necessity at that time as the tribesmens' stock were being decimated by lung sickness. The Bishop was then experimenting with a number of crops at Ekukanyeni, growing cotton, sugar, oil-flax, hemp and indigo, with varying degrees of success. He impressed on the children that farming was a man's work, a concept totally foreign to the African culture, for field work was traditionally the womens' task. Some of the boys protested at carrying out their new tasks but Colenso took a firm stand from the start and was not averse to brandishing the birch. A superior catechist was given a demonstration of the dignity of labour, by the Bishop, who stripped off his jacket to lay bricks. (278) Through his dogged perseverance and enthusiasm, Colenso managed to succeed where Bishop Gray later failed. We shall see how all attempts to develop the agricultural side of Zonnebloem College were a fiasco, for the students adamantly refused to take part in what they considered to be degrading work.

The Natal Bishop's efforts to teach the boys the art of ploughing is given as an example of the strict discipline he exacted from his pupils. As yet they were all too young to manage the whip,

let alone the plough itself and could only lead the oxen. He made it a school rule that the first class take their turn as "voorlopers". One of the senior lads who failed to do this duty immediately, when requested, was punished at once. This case was cited as the most serious instance of disobedience. (279)

Indeed Colenso was full of praise for the boys' docile and tractable behaviour. He disclosed that during the first year, the staff had never had occasion to punish one boy for any serious offence such as stealing, lying, or even quarrelling. The teachers were amazed to find how little trouble their pupils caused and how entirely free they seemed to be of those faults which "many supposed to characterise universally the heathen and the savage". (280)

The Bishop delighted in the childrens' sense of "fun and frolic". He described how they entered with enthusiasm into "the usual English games - especially cricket, at which their early practice in flinging the assegai gave them a great advantage, for they rarely fail to strike down the wicket from a distance". (281) The boys of the English school, which Colenso had founded in Pietermaritzburg, had gathered at the station for their annual Christmas feast. The Zulu scholars had watched the festivities timidly at first but were eventually persuaded to join in the fun and games, their exemplary conduct being acclaimed by all present. (282)

The Kafir Harrow staff was headed by a lay superintendent - "to whose tact and perseverance the institution is mainly indebted, under God, for its present state of efficiency". (283) He was assisted by one of the mission ladies and three Kafir catechists. These young men had been brought up on various American Mission stations and had come to Ekukanyeni as much in the capacity of pupils as Teachers, to be trained for higher duties. Colenso envisaged that it would be a special part of the work of the central institution -

to raise up either from such young men as these, or from the boys themselves, a body of intelligent Kafir teachers, who shall be planted out as schoolmasters among the numerous Kafir villages which will everywhere surround our stations, so that they would be, of course, under the direction of the resident missionary, and receive his support and encouragement. (284)

The necessity of white superintendence over the fledgling teachers was a concern shared by Bishop Gray. We shall be considering the difficulties which the educated Christian Africans experienced in readjusting to tribal conditions, in considerable depth, at a later stage. It is sufficient at this point, to observe that because Colenso's students had been encouraged to retain their identity as Africans, in contrast to the Kafir College students, there is every reason to believe that their re-entry into life amongst their people was less traumatic than their counterparts. Colenso considered that one of the most gratifying achievements of his Kafir Harrow.during the first year, was the way in which the mission staff had gradually gained the confidence of the parents. The Bishop appreciated the fact that it had been a momentous act of trust for the chiefs to voluntarily hand over their sons to the white men, to be brought up in an unknown and conflicting tradition. The chiefs had had to face much opposition, even abuse, from their tribesmen. Ngoza, who had lately suffered a severe illness, firmly believed that he had been poisoned because of his actions. He felt well rewarded for his courageous leadership, however, when, while on a visit to the station at the beginning of 1857, he heard one of his sons read a passage from the Kafir New Testament, at the afternoon service, in the presence of all the refugee Zulu chiefs.

All will go well now, the told the Bishop).Now the people had not a word to say when he spoke to them about the children: they were quite silenced: they began to see what it all meant - they no longer called him a "mad man" ('uhlanya'), as they did at first. (285)

Baptisms

After a year's religious instruction, a number of the boys were considered to be suitable candidates for baptism; but Colenso held firm to his view that "it would not be right to baptize them under their present circumstances without the consent of their parents". (286)

when, early in 1857, Undiane, the eldest boy in the senior class, went to the Bishop and "in great sincerity and simplicity" asked that he might become a believer, Colenso insisted that he must first obtain his parent's permission. (287) The father of the boy was the influential Chief Zatshuke, and it required some persuasion before he could accept that there was nothing wrong in

this request. His consent was eventually gained and Undiane was baptized the Sunday after Easter. (288) Colenso duly told Sir George Grey about this encouraging development. The Bishop expressed the hope "that in due time, the whole School might be baptized in one body". (289)

By the end of 1858, Skelemu, another senior pupil, was also thought ready to be received into the Church. A bright well-behaved boy, he excelled in his knowledge of Gospel History. After three years at school, he had become an accomplished artist and was one of the main printers at the station.

As it so happened, Skelemu's father, Magwaza, visited Ekukanyeni in December. Colenso seized this opportunity to discuss the subject of the boy's proposed baptism. The Bishop later transcribed a full account of their talk together, in his diary, giving details of his reasoning and the chief's replies. (290) We believe that this extract is a valuable exposition of Colenso's views on baptism, showing the way in which he believed the gospel should be presented to the heathen. It is also a unique record of an African chief's initial reaction to Christian teaching, showing a reconciliation with his own beliefs.

The conversation between Colenso and Magwaza started off with an exchange of the usual pleasantries. The chief then took his stand and declared that he refused to allow Skelemu to be baptized. He was getting to be an old man and he did not wish his son to forget and forsake him. He wanted Skelemu to obey Sobantu (the Bishop), but he insisted that it was right that his son should obey his father too.

Colenso then expressed his surprise at the Zulu chief's viewpoint, at his lack of appreciation of a Christian's duties, particularly to his parents. Colenso reasoned that the converts on the station, and he named each one, had none of them forgotten their fathers since becoming Christians. Indeed, he had refused to allow one of the girls to get married until she had travelled a hundred miles to the home of her tribe, to see her father and get the approval of her family.

The Bishop explained that one of the first things the mission teachers laid down, as God's law, was the Fifth Commandment, "Honour thy father and mother", etc. He made Skelemu read the Zulu translation aloud, from the Prayer book which the boy himself

had printed. This teaching impressed Magwaza. "I like these words very much", he said. "It is just what I wish my son to be taught". The Bishop then went on to expound the duties of a baptized person, to make clear how a convert was bound by such words as these. They were not Sobantu's words, but the words of Dio-Nkulunkulu (God). (291) The boy must be taught that in all right things he must obey his father in the first place, not Sobantu, for this was the will of God. As a Christian he had to learn that he was duty-bound to do such things.

Skelemu was then asked to read the other commandments. William Ngidi, the "intelligent Zulu" who assisted Colenso with his work of translating (and was largely responsible for inspiring Colenso to reinterpret the gospel), enlarged upon their meaning. He could talk more freely and glibly in his native tongue than his teacher. Magwaza listened intently and was enthusiastic in his approval.

This is exactly what I teach my children, (he said). I say to them, Do not harm anyone; do not take anything belonging to another; let all your blankets, clothes, etc. be properly bought. I wish very much that I could write in a book all my words, that I could set down this, and this, and say, 'Now this is my word to my children'. And then, if my child disobeys, I can turn to it, and say, 'Now you have broken this command of your father's'.

Colenso, delighted with the chief's response, told him that he was unfortunately too old to learn to write - his fingers were too stiff; but that Skelemu could write his teaching down for him if he wished. He then went on to try and prove to the African that his words to his children were inspired by God.

You see you know these things yourself, and they are good; and the reason of this is, that Nkulunkulu is teaching you as well as us; and though you have not these things written down in a book, as we have, yet you black men are taught by His Spirit to know things good and evil. Now, your boy is young, and ought to be bound by these words, as we all are, and ought to promise that, with the help of Nkulunkulu, he will do all these things which are good; and then Nkulunkulu will promise to help him; and this is what is meant by being baptized.

This argument seemed reasonable to Magwaza and he gave his consent. What is more, he promised to give the missionaries his full support. In turn, he asked that they ensure that his son should continue to honour his father. Magwaza said, in his reply :

I am quite willing now that my boy should be baptized; and you must now take him into your hands; and you may depend upon it that I shall not screen him in doing anything wrong. I give him up to you; and you must tell him, whenever you chide him, that his father laid down this and that law. You must give them to him in a book written down, all things that are good, as my commands. You must not let him forget and forsake me in my old age.

Skelemu was duly baptized on Christmas day. But not without a last minute drama, for the Bishop and the boy could not agree on the choice of his new Christian name. Colenso normally preferred to retain the convert's old name, if its meaning was not improper to the sacred rite. This was impossible in Skelemu's case for his name was a corruption of the Dutch word "skelm", meaning "rascal". His father's name had to be rejected too, for it meant "stabber" or "bloodthirsty". The missionaries had found great difficulty in choosing native names that would sufficiently meet their feelings as Christians; and on this occasion, Mr. Shepstone had promised to send a list of suitable appellations. But his letter had gone astray and as the time drew near for the service, they still had not reached a decision.

The two African catechists were detailed to talk to the boy and find a solution. After an hour, they reported that Skelemu had rejected all their suggestions. He would only be content with an English name, and had fixed on three - Peter, Joseph and John. Colenso was dismayed. He maintained that it was an uncouth practice to give Hebrew or other foreign names to the Christian natives. He argued that they were generally unpronounceable to native lips and soon appeared in some grotesque form or corruption - Joji for George, Dokotela for Doctor, Kalistofolo for Christopher. They had reached an impasse. The chapel bell had rung, their time had expired. The Bishop had almost decided to give in and accept John (incidentally his first name), when suddenly he had an inspiration. He had thought of a native song of praise of Dingane (Dingaan), where Mageha was mentioned as a famous induna. This name was speedily modified to Magena and pronounced fit for the purpose. The service proceeded forthwith. (292)

The story of Skelemu's baptism highlights the differences between Colenso's and Gray's mode of thought. In contrast to the Zulu boys, the Kafir College pupils were given either biblical or

English names at baptism. This was believed to be a significant symbol of their conversion, a sign of their elevation to a civilized state. Further, whilst the Natal Bishop set great store in retaining the parents' trust and support, the aim of the Cape Town school was to remove the children of the Xhosa chiefs away from their fathers' influence. This purpose is understandable, when one recalls the history of the conflict between the two cultures, in their homelands. Nevertheless, we believe that Colenso's method of education helped to minimize the sense of alienation which these Africans experienced on their return home.

The Student Son of the Zulu King Mpande

As far as Sir George Grey was concerned, the most significant development at the Natal Institution was the arrival in June 1857, of Mkungo (Umkungo), a son of the Zulu King Mpande (Panda, Umpande). The boy was given asylum at Ekukanyeni after having fled his home in Zululand, his life endangered by the supposedly evil intentions of his brother Cetshwayo. Mkungo was, according to Colenso, his father's choice as heir, (293) but this claim was not corroborated. Nonetheless, his coming to the school to be educated. promised to have far reaching political implications.

Mpande had, in fact, not yet chosen his "great wife". (294) He had indicated, however, that his successor was still "among the calves", that is, one of his young sons. (295) As a result, Cetshwayo, son of his "first wife" and chief contender for the throne, instigated continual unrest amongst the Zulu tribesmen in his attempt to acquire power and secure the standing of heir apparent. His claim was contested by the brothers and their struggle for the succession came to a climax at the Battle of the Princes, a bloody battle fought at the Tugela River mouth in December 1856. Six of Mpande's sons were killed in the engagement, (296) Cetshwayo triumphantly annihilating the following of his main rival, Mbulagi (Umbulazi). (297)

Despite Cetshwayo's victory, the Zulu King still refused to nominate him as his heir, and this placed Mkungo, Mbulazi's brother and the last surviving son of Mpande's favourite wife, in an extremely vulnerable position. His father, fearful for his young son's safety, sent a bodyguard of indunas to bring him to the "great Kraal". But when the party crossed over into Northern Natal, it was intercepted by a farmer and Mkungo fell into the hands of the Boers who possibly wished to use him as a political pawn.

The refugee boy eventually gained the protection of the colonial police, and the Government took charge of his welfare. (298) With Shepstone's connivance, he was handed over to Colenso for safekeeping, to be educated at the Kafir Harrow. (299)

Mkungo arrived at the Institution accompanied by a party of followers, men and women. These were sent away, as the prince's guardians had no intention of granting him any special privileges. He was to be "knocked about, under proper surveillance, like a young Luke at a public school in England". (300) The lad was then between ten and twelve years old and exceedingly fat, like his father. (301) He soon firmed down under Colenso's rigorous regime and after six months at school, the Bishop was able to report to the Governor, that :

The young Zulu Prince is very much improved. He came to us a rather heavy-looking, obese, boy, though there was always something intelligent and hopeful in his face. But he has now grown to be quite of moderate dimensions, and has drawn in his belt 7 or 8 holes, reducing it each time with great satisfaction, for, he says 'he does not wish to be like a Dutchman'. (302)

Mkungo was the son of one of the most powerful chiefs in Southern Africa and Sir George Grey took a lively interest in the boy's progress. Colenso's letters to the Governor, during 1857 and 1858, make frequent mention of the royal student's steady advancement in civilization. By November 1857, Mkungo could read sufficiently well to take his turn in reading a sentence of the Harmony in the Morning Service. (303) He showed an aptitude for carpentry (304) and was being trained in printing as well. (305) The boy was particularly fond of horses and made sure that he was at hand whenever the Bishop returned home from a visit, so that he could take charge of Sobantu's mount and ride it to the stable. (306)

Mkungo's response to his schooling augured well for the future of this type of experiment. At the beginning of 1858, the Zulu prince sent an urgent message to his father asking him to arrange for a party of about twenty children, consisting of his half-brothers and the sons of leading chiefs, to join him at the station and be brought up by the missionaries. This good news was speedily relayed to Sir George. The Bishop, who had more than likely prompted this manoeuvre, predicted that : "There is, in fact, no limit to the influence which might be expected for good by this Institution over the whole of this part of Africa". (307)

Colenso's optimism was apparently well founded. He shortly learnt that he had won Mpande's confidence, that the Zulu King was desirous that his other children should be educated, and that both he and Cetshwayo were willing to allow the Anglican missionaries to settle in their country. (308) Plans went ahead at once to found a new missionary diocese in Zululand, the Bishop even contemplating resigning Natal to head the venture. (309) Colenso toured the territory in 1859, taking Mkungu with him; but after completing his survey, he decided that conditions were still too unsettled and dangerous to allow of widespread European occupation. The missionary thrust was limited to the establishment of a single station, at Kwamagwaza, under the leadership of Mr. Robertson. (310)

Although Cetshwayo was virtually the ruler in Zululand during his father's declining years, he only came to the throne in 1873. Ever anxious about his inheritance, he kept a watchful eye on the activities of his half-brother in Natal. He was highly suspicious of Colenso's intentions and wary lest the Bishop try and interfere in the Zulu succession. He made repeated demands that Mkungu be given up to his people, but the young prince's guardians declared that he was under the care of the Queen of England and that she would never agree to such a disgraceful thing. (311) Cetshwayo, thwarted in his plans, became belligerent. We shall later see how fears that Mkungu might be abducted from Ekukanyeni precipitated the sudden closing of the school in 1862.

The Achievements of Ekukanyeni : 1858 - 1859

The early years at Ekukanyeni were overshadowed by the constant struggle to make ends meet. The colonists were antagonistic towards the Bishop's work at the Industrial Institution, objecting to his training the young Africans in skilled trades; and the Natal Government refused, at first, to offer any financial assistance. It was only as a result of Shepstone's persistent demands that they finally agreed to make Colenso a grant. (312) The Bishop received some support from the Church in England but he was largely dependent on Sir George Grey's generosity for the fulfilment of his schemes. (313)

By 1858, the boys' Institution was firmly established. Colenso now planned to open a similar school for girls. He realized that even though it had been hard for the chiefs to part with their

sons, it would be an even greater sacrifice for them to bring their daughters to Ekukanyeni. (314) Nevertheless, his aspiration was soon achieved for the first seven girls were admitted into residence in 1858. (315) Mrs. Colenso, assisted by a lady mission worker, supervised their education for a start. (316) When Alice Mackenzie joined the staff the following year, she was made responsible for their training. The girls were given instruction in domestic subjects, in addition to the elementary school courses, and through their washing and needlework, were able to contribute toward reducing the expenses of the school. (317) Their number rose to twelve in 1859, bringing the total enrolment up to fifty-four. (313)

At that time, the curriculum included reading, in English and Zulu; writing, both copies and dictation; arithmetic, geography and religious instruction. (319) Colenso was well satisfied with his pupils' achievements and convinced that the school was attaining the ideal for which it had been established. "I cannot doubt", he told Sir George Grey, "that these studies ... have a decided effect in humanising them, and making it, under God, impossible that they should wish to settle down in a Kafir kraal again". (320)

The Rev. C.S. Grubbe was appointed Superintendent in 1858. Fresh out from England, his first reaction, on arriving at Ekukanyeni, was one of astonishment that so much had been done in so short a time: that the boys, who less than three years back had been "little naked savages", were so far advanced. He praised their obedience and good behaviour, and testified to their fondness for learning and aptitude in their studies. In a letter to the S.P.G., he described his feelings when he attended the native service with his pupils for the first time :

When I saw these forty boys, besides several girls, .. and some adults (working on the farm), gathered together in the chapel, joining with great quietness and order, and much apparent devotion, in the service of our Church, in this foreign land, and in a strange tongue; and when I reflected that but for this mission those present would, in all human probability, have been still naked and wild savages, such as I had already seen in the country, living in all the darkness, superstition, and degradation of heathenism, I could not but feel that something at least had really been achieved. (321)

The clergymen's appraisal of the achievements of the Kafir Harrow is of particular note for purposes of comparison with the early work of the Institution at Cape Town. As we follow the history of

the establishment of the Kafir College, we will see how the Xhosa and Basuto students made similar advancements in their studies, in their adaptation to civilization, and in their acceptance of Christianity, to their Zulu counterparts. Their mentors applauding their achievements with equal gratification - and surprise.

We must draw attention to the teachers' response to their pupils' progress because it establishes the nature of their bias, the presuppositions for their judgments: their reports, from which we have to draw many of our conclusions about the work of the Colleges, being evaluated accordingly. Always remembering that Colenso was an exception to the norm.

It becomes apparent that the average Englishman's preconceptions concerning the barbaric customs of the clack heathen, created a barrier which prevented the teachers from appreciating the cultural traditions of their charges. Because the scholars' tribal background contrasted so strangely with the Victorians' mode of living (and the multitude of lurid descriptions contained in mission reports testify to the church workers' repugnance), little credit was given to socially acceptable attributes from the African childrens' traditional upbringing. Patterns of behaviour, such as obedience and respect for their elders, which were wrongly considered the prerogative of Europeans, had, in fact, been inculcated since infancy in the tribe and should not be accepted as entirely new products of the pupils' Western education.

Colenso's empathetic attitude to the heathen, however, is very evident and contrasts with that of his colleagues. His attempts to break down the barriers between the differing cultures and to find areas of agreement on which to base his presentation of Christiahity; his attempt to reconcile much of the gospel with the Africans' own beliefs, singles him out as a man far out of step with his time.

As we now turn to consider the founding of the Kafir College, we believe that it is important to bear in mind the experiences of Ekukanyeni for the comparison illuminates the paths that were open and the choices to be made.

1. J. Rutherford, Sir George Grey, K.C.B., 1812 - 1898. A Study in Colonial Government (London :Cassell, 1961) ch.1 - Early Life and Education.
2. Ibid., ch. 2 - Experiences in Western Australia.
3. Ibid., ch. 3 - 7 - Governorship of South Australia.
4. Ibid., ch. 4 - New Zealand in 1845.
5. Ibid., ch. 5 - Northern Rebellion and Southern Wars.
6. Ibid., ch. 9 and 10 - Land Claims. Grey made huge purchases of land from the Maoris for the Government, but as all but 2000 of the 80,000 Maoris lived in North Island, where three quarters of the colonists had settled, the land disputes continued - see ch. 13 and 14.
7. Ibid., ch. 12 and 17 for the 1846 and 1852 Constitutions.
8. Ibid., 285.
9. Ibid., 237f.
10. Ibid., 146f. Grey asked for £40,000 in 1855 for his Maori Native Policy.
11. Report to British Parliament, 4.6.1848, quoted in Rutherford, op.cit., 206.
12. Ibid.
13. Grey to Rauparaha, 16.2.1846, quoted in Rutherford, op.cit., 211.
14. Ibid., 214f.
15. Ibid., 209.
16. Ibid., 210.
17. W.L. Rees and L. Rees, The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B. (New Zealand : - Auckland, 1832) 105.
18. Grey's Speech at Kororareka, 28.11.1845, quoted in Rutherford, op.cit., 210.
19. Ibid., ch. 16 - Native Policy.
20. Rees, op.cit., 102.
21. Rutherford, op.cit., 215ff. Dr. Fitzgerald, who pioneered the Wellington Hospital, later accepted Grey's invitation to pioneer the hospital for natives at King William's Town.
22. Ibid., 218.
23. Ibid.
24. "Schools in New Zealand", G.C. Henderson, Sir George Grey, (London : Dent, 1907).
25. The initial distribution was £1000 to Anglicans, £800 to Methodists, £600 to Roman Catholics - Rutherford, op.cit., 218.
26. Bishop Selwyn persuaded the Ngatitōa, Ngatiraukawa and Atiawa to give 500 acres of land to St. John's College - Ibid., 219.
27. For Biographical details of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn

55. "Neither in New Zealand nor in Cape Colony could Grey work miracles. In the long run, both colonies would develop just those native policies which colonial opinion approved and colonial taxpayers were prepared to pay for". - Rutherford, op.cit., 233.
56. "Our policy should be to keep our frontier safe from hostile attacks and to protect our own Colonists. If beyond that frontier the natives choose to slaughter each other, and the Boers and Missionaries choose to assist them, we can't prevent their doing so; by meddling we should do no good but generally make enemies of all parties". Sir William Molesworth (Minute 7, Oct. 1855, Colonial Office 47/367) quoted in Rutherford, op.cit., 292.
57. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:367ff; Walker, op.cit., 253.
58. Cory, op.cit., 6: ch. 4; Egerton, op.cit., 348ff; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3: ch. 48.
59. Natal became a Crown Colony in 1856.
60. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3: ch. 46.
61. Cory, op.cit., 5:480f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 327 et seq.; Walker, op.cit., 255f.
62. Rutherford, op.cit., 312.
63. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:180f.
64. Walker, op.cit., 286.
65. Rutherford, op.cit., 292.
66. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB 6:305.
67. Rutherford, op.cit., 313.
68. Cory, op.cit., 6:9 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:181 et seq.; Rees, op.cit., 187ff; Rutherford, op.cit., ch.21.
69. Gray to S.P.G., 23.12.1854, SPG, 1855, xcif.
70. "Zonnebloem", Sir Langham Dale, Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.
71. Some people attributed the boom to British military expenditure - Rutherford, op.cit., 293ff.
72. Cory, op.cit., 6:10f; Rutherford, op.cit., 313f.
73. Rutherford, op.cit., 299f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:142f.
74. Quoted in Meintjies, op.cit., 235f.
75. Grey's Native Administration - Rutherford, op.cit., ch.23.
76. Ibid., 381.
77. This was in contrast to Grey's policy in New Zealand where the Maori land rights were respected by the Treaty of Waitangi. For a discussion of Grey's handling of Xhosa land rights - Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 340f. For a map showing the settlement of Kafir chiefs in British Kaffraria - theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:180f.
78. Warner's Notes, Maclean, op.cit., 112.
79. The missionaries, one and all, were encouraged by Grey to record the different African languages and customs. Their manuscripts and books were placed in a special collection

at the South African Public Library, by the curator, Dr. W.H.J. Bleek - Rutherford, op.cit., 302. For Dr. Bleek's correspondence with Grey, see GC.

80. System of magistrates - Cory, op.cit., 6:23f; Rees, op.cit., 188f; Rutherford, op.cit., 330 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:181f.
81. Cory, op.cit., 6:23f.
82. Rutherford, op.cit., 335f.
83. Cory, op.cit., 6:24; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:145f, 190.
84. Quoted in Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 339.
85. Chalmers to Fitzgerald, 3.11.1856.
86. Civilizing the Kafirs - Rutherford, op.cit., ch.22; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:182f.
87. Florence Nightingale offered Grey her suggestions on native education and health - GC for correspondence.
88. Rees, op.cit., ch.25; Rutherford, op.cit., 321; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:263.
89. "Sir G. Grey on Missionaries", MF, 1.1.1860, 5:12 et seq.
90. Compare with Sir H. Smith's plans for civilizing the Xhosa.
91. Loram, op.cit., 49; Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 378.
92. For a contemporary missionary point of view - Calderwood, op.cit., 138 et seq. For a modern criticism by an African - Credo, op.cit., 294. Credo criticizes Grey for educating the Xhosa in European-style arts and crafts so turning out "tame black Britishers".
93. Industrial education - Cory, op.cit., 6:15f; Loram, op.cit., 48f; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:260ff.
94. The Glasgow Missionary Society was granted £1800 as a first instalment. Later grants brought the total up to £4900 and in 1858, 600 to 1000 acres of land were added to their endowment - Rutherford, op.cit., 320. Also Shepherd, op.cit., 22f; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:261f.
95. The Congregational mission was given grants of land, £5000 for a girls' boarding school and £175 for stock and dairy - Rutherford, op.cit., 318.
96. The Methodists received £2000 in 1855 - Rutherford, op.cit., 318f; Cory, op.cit., 6:15f.
97. The Kafir College eventually became part of the State-supported Industrial Education System operating on the Frontier.
98. Rutherford, op.cit., 340 et seq.
99. Casalis to Grey, 25.1.1855, Theal, Basutoland Records, 2:138f.
100. Ibid.
101. Basutos numbered about 70,000 in 1851 - Becker, op.cit., 177. There were about 13,000 settlers in the Free State in 1955 - Rutherford, op.cit., 340.
102. Cory, op.cit., 6:18f, 137f; Rutherford, op.cit., 340

- et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:432.
103. Ellenberger, op.cit., 99; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:19,
 104. Rutherford, op.cit., 344ff.
 105. Letters Patent 1848, by which Natal became a separate colony, laid down that there should be no interference with Native law and custom except in so far as these were repugnant to the principles of humanity. In the Cape, the restricting clause was that Native law and custom should not be repugnant to the law of England - Loram, op.cit., 54.
 106. Gray to S.P.G., 23.12.1854, SPG, 1855, xcii.
 107. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 5.1.1855, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:385f.
 108. Gray to S.P.G., 23.12.1854, SPG, 1855, xcii.
 109. Armstrong to S.P.G., Nov. 1855, SACM and Eccl., 3 NS : 331ff.
 110. Ibid.
 111. CCDG, Dec. 1880, 1 no. 8 : 263 et seq. and Jan. 1881, 2 no. 1 : 2 et seq.; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 252 et seq., 531f.
 112. Rutherford, op.cit., 318 n. 5.
 113. CCDG, Jan. 1881, 2 no. 1:5.
 114. CCDG, Dec. 1880, 1 no. 8:265.
 115. Armstrong to Grey, 15.3.1855, GC.
 116. CCDG, Dec. 1880, 1 no. 8:267.
 117. Ibid.
 118. Armstrong to Grey, n.d. (1855), GC; Gray to Grey, 26.3. 1855, GC; also Varley and Matthew, op.cit., 218 et seq.
 119. Knowing how fearful the chiefs were of any interference with their own authority, Archdeacon Merriman urged that it was Krell and his councillors whom the missionaries were anxious to teach - "We wished to teach his people obedience to their own chief as part of the doctrine of God's word, and if we settled far off, discontented and turbulent subjects would come to us setting their chief's authority at defiance, and how were we to prevent this?" - Varley and Matthew, op.cit., 223.
 120. Rev. Waters' account of his meeting with Krell, CCDG, ,:July 1881, 2 no. 7:200f.
 121. The first batch of Kafir College pupils were gathered together by the Rev. Waters at St. Mark's.
 122. CCDG, Dec. 1881, 2 no. 12:361.
 123. CCDG, July 1881, 2 no. 7:196.
 124. "St. Matthew's College", CZ, Aug.1945, 12 no. 3:97f.
 125. Greenstock to S.P.G., n.d., CCDG, Aug. 1881, 2 no. 8 : 225 et seq.
 126. Ibid 228f.
 127. Ibid., 230f.

128. Ibid., 233.
129. The Governor granted a total sum of £5127 10s to Anglican missions in 1855: Buildings, £2055; Agriculture, £1288; Native Labourers, £673 10s; and the rest on Salaries etc. - CCDG, Sept. 1881, 2 no. 9:266f.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid., 264.
132. Rev. Water's Report on St. Mark's Mission, CCDG, Dec. 1881, 2 no. 12:361f.
133. Armstrong to Gray, n.d., SACM and Eccl., Feb. 1856, 4Ns:41, Armstrong to S.P.G., n.d., CCDG, Aug. 1881, 2 no. 8:234.
134. CCDG, Sept. 1881, 2 no. 9:266f.
135. Armstrong to Rawson, 14.4.1856, SACM and Eccl., Aug. 1856, 4 NS:34.
136. CCDG, Dec. 1881, 2 no. 12:367.
137. Rev. Water's Journal, CCDG, Aug. 1881, 2 no. 8:232.
138. Ibid., 233.
139. Allen to Bishop Gray, 15.5.1856, GC.
140. Sea letters from missionaries to Grey, GC.
141. Bishop Gray's Journal of 1856 Visitation to Eastern Province - CCDG, Oct. 1881, 2 no. 10:296 et seq.; Nov. 1881, 2 no; 11:330 et sea.; Dec. 1881, 2 no. 12: 360 et seq.
142. CCDG, Nov. 1881, 2 no. 11:333.
143. Sophy Gray to her children, 18.8.1856, MR.
144. G. Callaway, South Africa from Within (London : S.P.C.K., 1930) 118f.
145. Chalmers, op.cit., 137.
146. Cattle Killing Delusion - A.W. Burton, Sparks from the Border Anvil (Bloemfontein, 1950); Brownlee, op.cit., 135 et seq.; Chalmers, op.cit., ch.9; Cory, o .cit., 6:25 et seq.; Credo, op.cit., 290 et seq.; Maclean, o .cit., ch.9; Rutherford, op.cit., ch.24; Saga, Ama-Xhosa, ch. Theal, S.A. Since 17 5, 3:190 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:257ff.
147. "Chief Sandile said he did not like this doctrine, because if his elder brother came to life he himself would "be nobody" and his favourite wife, who had been a widow, might be claimed". - 200 Years of S.P.G., 307.
148. Grey to Labouchere, 27.1.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
149. Grey to Umhala, Sandilli and Krell, 27.9.1856, BK1, CA.
150. ^{kaffrarian} census figures showed a drop in population from - 105,000 in January 1857 to 37,000 in July. Sandile's clan was reduced from 31,000 to 3,700; and Umhala's from 23,000 to 6,500 - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:197f.
151. Mrs. Brownlee's account of the Delusion, Chalmers, op.cit., 125 et sea.

152. "Church Work in Kaffraria", TN, 1.11.1868, 161.
153. Gray to Cotterill, Bishop of Grahamstown, 4.2.1858, GH 18/4, CA.
154. Chalmers, op.cit., 138.
155. Gray to Grey, 12.6.1857 and 9.8.1857, GC.
156. More than 25,000 were assisted at a cost of £3000 up to January 1858 - Rutherford, op.cit., 368.
157. Chalmers, op.cit., 138.
158. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:253.
159. 33,000 tribesmen were removed by the end of January, 1858, representing nearly 1/3 of the native population - Rutherford, op.cit., 368.
160. Waters to S.P.G., 1858, 200 Years of S.P.G., 308.
161. Soga to Anderson, 7.8.1857, quoted in Chalmers, op.cit., 139.
162. Gray to Williamson, 31.7.1857, MR.
163. Chief Commissioner's Report, CCDG, Sept. 1822, 3 no. 9: 265f.
164. Grey to Labouchere, 12.3.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
165. "A restless nation, who for years have harassed the frontier, may now, to a great extent, be changed into useful labourers. Those who have hitherto destroyed the resources of the colony, whenever they appeared about to expand, may now be made the means of giving to those resources, by their industry, a greater development than they have hitherto attained". - Grey's Address at the Opening of the 4th Session of the First Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope. Government Gazette No. 2813, 7.4.1857.
166. This is dealt with in more detail in Section 6.
167. Chalmers, op.cit., 140.
168. Bishop Cotterill's Journal, 1.7.1857, CCDG, Jan. 1883, 4 no. 1:13.
169. Cory, op.cit., 6:ch.2; Rees, op.cit., ch. 28.
170. Population census figures for British Kaffraria, 1858 : 1144 connected with German Legion. 2994 other Europeans, 38,559 Kafirs and Fingoes - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:211.
171. e.g.: Berlin, Potsdam.
172. Soga to Anderson, 7.8.1857, Chalmers, op.cit., 139.
173. Rutherford, op.cit., 368.
174. Grey to Labouchere, 25.3.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
175. Cory, op.cit., 6:60; Rutherford, op.cit., ch. 26.
176. Rutherford, op.cit., 367.
177. Robben Island situated in Table Bay, Cape Town. Cory, op.cit., 6:42; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:203 et seq.
178. Grey to Maclean, 26.5.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
179. As a result of the chiefs' downfall, it was possible for the Governor to take custody of a number of their children and send them to Cape Town to be educated, the Kafir College being founded for this purpose.

180. Calderwood recorded Magomo's invitation, in 1856 : "You must come at once; time is passing - people are perishing. Some will receive the word - some will refuse it : we are not all alike. You must have patience. You must not expect to do the work all in one day. The rock is hard. You may not be able to break it all in pieces, but you must hammer away, and you will get bits off it". Calderwood, op.cit., 98.
181. Grey to Maclean, 31.8.1857, GH 8/32, CA.
182. Grey to Labouchere, 3.10.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
183. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:202f.
184. Rutherford, op.cit 366.
185. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 203.
186. Cory, op.cit., 6:32; Maclean, op.cit., 137; Soga, S.E. Bantu, 219ff.
187. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:201f.
188. Chalmers, op.cit., 125 et seq.
189. Meintjies, op.cit., 261.
190. Rutherford, op.cit., 380.
191. Grant made by Sir George Cathcart, Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:201.
192. Grey to Labouchere, 3.10.1857, GH 23/27, CA.
193. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:201f.
194. Burton, op.cit., 94; Rutherford, op.cit., 356; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:204.
195. Mr. Fynn's evidence to Chief Commissioner, 10.10.1881, Burton, op.cit., 92.
196. Burton, op.cit., 75 et seq.
197. Bishop Cotterill's Journal, 1857, 32f, CCDG, March 1883, 4 no. 2 :68f.
198. CCDG, Jan. 1883, 4 no. 1:7.
199. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 204f.
200. Chief Commissioner's Report, 30.9.1857, GH 8/48, CA.
201. Bishop Cotterill was to tell the Governor : "Umhala was a great Chief, but now he is fallen, from having been deceived, through a desire of seeing those that were dead, and he begs the Governor to help him". CCDG, March 1883, 4 no. 2 :67f.
202. "It was Umhalla who told the people to kill their Cattle hence they are now starving - hence they steal. Umhala sent messages to all the Chiefs from Kreli. Umhalla encourages bad prophets in his own country. Umhalla who brings war upon the country. My advice is that he should now strive to retrieve the evil he has committed by preventing his people from stealing, and by advising those who are in want to take service in the Colony on employment on public works". Grey to Umhalla, 13.3.1857, BK1,CA.

203. The policeman was the son of Makana, the prophet of the 5th Kafir War - Cory, op.cit., 6:41; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:205.
204. Umhala arrived on Robben Island, 28.10.1858, Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:205.
205. Remnants of the Ndhlabi tribe totalled 1,750 people. Ibid.
206. "There is a thing which speaks in my country, and orders me and my people to kill our Cattle, eat our Corn, and throw away all our witchcraft wood, and not to plant, and to report it to all the chiefs in the country". Kreli to Grey, 3.11.1856, GC.
207. Bishop Cotterill's Journal, 1857, 20ff, CCDG, March 1883, 4 no. 2:61.
208. Ibid.
209. Ibid., 62f.
210. Ibid., 64.
211. Kreli's confession to Mr. Crouch, a trader, Oct. 1857 : "I this day place myself in the hands of the Governor, I am willing to come to any terms the Governor may think fit to dictate to me. I wish to be subject to the Governor If he does not assist us, we must all die of starvation". Cory, op.cit., 6:41.
212. Brownlee, op.cit., 183; Burton, op.cit., 75; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:201.
213. Burton, op.cit., 93f; Cory, op.cit., 6:75f.
214. Cape Argus, 13.3.1858.
215. Varley and Matthew, op.cit., 122f, 216f.
216. Maclean, op.cit., 134f.
217. Rutherford, op.cit., 358; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:205. Toise's son Arthur was among the first batch of Kafir College pupils, as was Henry Duke of Wellington Tzatzoe (Tshatshu), son of Jan.
218. Maclean, op.cit., 138f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:205.
219. Burton, op.cit., 46; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:206f.
220. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, ch.18.
221. Ibid.
222. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:207f.
223. Ibid.
224. "The manifest iniquity of the final settlement made this conquest in truth no more than a prelude to the long drama being played out in our own day". Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 347.
225. Cotterill to S.P.G., n.d., CCDG, Jan. 1883, 4 no. 1:11.
226. Ibid., 9.
227. Gray to Grey, 7.7.1857, GH 18/4, CA.
228. Cotterill to S.P.G., n.d., CCDG, Oct.1883, 4 no.9:319.

229. Of 177 children received at St. John's, 24 died and 5 returned home - Smith to S.P.G., n.d., SPG, 1857, 80f.
230. S.P.G. granted an additional £1500 in 1855 and further increases in 1856 and 1857. More than £4000 was given in 1858.
231. Grey to Gray, 7.7.1857, GH 18/4, CA.
232. Bishop Cotterill's Instructions to the Mission Staff, 22.7.1857, CCDG, Oct. 1883, 4 no. 9:315ff.
233. Hardie to S.P.G., n.d., SPG, 1857, 78.
234. CCDG, Oct. 1883, 4 no. 9:317.
235. Ibid.
236. R=V. Waters' Report, Jan. 1858, CCDG, May 1884, 5 no.5: 135ff.
237. Cotterill to S.P.G., Ibid., 137.
238. Chalmers, op.cit., 152f.
239. Gonya (baptized Edmund) and Emma Sandile, Cape Argus, 27.2.1858.
240. Hinchliff, Colenso, 62.
241. Ibid., 68.
242. B.B. Burnett, "The missionary work of the first Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt. Reverend John William Colenso, D.D., between 1852 - 1873". (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1947) 18.
243. J.W. Colenso, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view (Ekukanyeni, 1861) and The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined (Longmans, 1862 - 1872, 7v.)
244. Hinchliff, Colenso, 64; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 161, 313.
245. Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 84.
246. Hinchliff, Colenso, 175.
247. Ibid., 80.
248. Ibid., 81.
249. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 40.
250. "Zululand", 200 Years of S.P.G., 334.
251. J.W. Colenso, The colony of Natal - a Journal of Ten Weeks' tour of visitation among the colonists and Zulu Kaffirs of Natal, 1853.
252. The first legislation regarding Native education was passed by the Natal Legislative Council and approved by the Secretary for the Colonies in 1856. This ordinance made it possible both to establish and maintain schools for the education of Natives and to contribute to the support of Native schools otherwise established. The subjects of instruction were to be religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language. The ordinance, however, remained largely inoperative, due in part to the opposition of many of the settlers - Loram, op.cit., 55.

253. Colenso to Grey, 8.12.1855. GC. Sir George Grey contributed £4550 toward Colenso's mission expenses between 1855 and 1858 - Burnett, Colenso thesis, 23.
254. Ngoza was one of Shepstone's "appointed chiefs, who had expressed his willingness to follow the diplomatic agent to his proposed Kafir state beyond the Umzimkulu - Burnett, Colenso thesis, 25.
255. Colenso's Report to Gray, SACM and Eccl., Feb. 1856, 4NS no. 51: 42ff.
256. "Commencement of a Zulu School", Colenso to S.P.G., 5.2.1856, MF, 1856, 1:157 et seq.
257. ., 159.
258. Ibid.
259. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 26.
260. MF, 1856, 1:161.
261. Ibid.
262. Colenso to Grey, 8.12.1855, GC.
263. MF, 1856, 1:163.
264. "Ekukanyeni Mission Station", Colenso to S.P.G., n.d., SPG, April 1857, C:3.
265. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 44.
266. "Zulu School at Natal", Colenso to S.P.G., n.d. MF, 1856, 1:231.
267. Ibid.
268. Ibid., 231f.
269. See Letters from Colenso to Grey, GC.
270. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 45f; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. 161.
271. Colenso to Grey, 1.2.1857, SACM and Eccl., May 1857, 5NS no. 53:179.
272. - SPG, April 1857, C:3.
273. SACM and Eccl., May 1857, 5NS no. 53:179.
274. "Ekukanyeni Mission", SPG, April, 1859, cviii:2.
275. 1856, 1:232.
276. "Natal Missions", Colenso to Grey, 1.2.1857, SACM and Eccl., May 1857, 5NS no. 53:178 et seq.
277. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 30; Hinchliff, Colenso, 68; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 161.
278. Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 45 and Colenso thesis, 30.
279. SACM and Eccl., May 1857, 5NS no. 53:180.
280. Ibid., 181f.
281. The similarity in action is questionable but it must be remembered that cricketing rules were not yet formulated and that the M.C.C. only legalised over-arm bowling in 1864 - Hattersley, Social History, 213f.

282. SACM and Eccl., May 1857, SNS no. 53:181f.
283. Mr. W. Baugh, the Superintendent was shortly ordained, Ibid., 180.
284. Ibid., 181.
285. Ibid., 180.
286. Ibid.
287. S.P.G. Report., 1858, 84.
288. Ibid.
289. Colenso to Grey, 9.9.1857, GC.
290. The account is taken from an extract of Bishop Colenso's Diary, SPG, April 1859, cviii, 2f.
291. Colenso's Zulu translation of the word for God conflicted with that used by the missionaries on the Eastern Frontier. Hinchliff, Colenso, 64.
292. Colenso's diary, SPG, April 1859, cviii:3f.
293. Colenso to Grey, 9.9.1857, GC.
294. Morris, op.cit., 192f.
295. "Recent Disturbances in Zululand", Colenso Report, MF, 1861, 6:162.
296. Grey to Labouchere, 17.1.1857, Despatch No. 4.
297. For a description of the battle in which Cetchwayo's uSuthu warriors annihilated the entire iziGqoza faction - Morris, op.cit. 195f.
298. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 28f.
299. Morris, op.cit., 199.
300. SACM and Eccl., July 1857, 6NS no. 54:256.
301. As Mpande grew older, he grew so large that he could not walk and had to be drawn about his kraal by two retainers, seated in a small cart. Morris, op.cit., 192.
302. Colenso to Grey, 10.11.1857, GC.
303. Ibid.
304. Colenso to Grey, 1858, GC.
305. J.W. Colenso, First Steps in the Zulu Mission (London : S.P.G., 1860) 91.
306. Ibid., 124f.
307. Colenso to Grey, 1858, GC.
308. Colenso to Grey, 2.6.1858, GC.
309. Colenso to Grey, 9.6.1859, GC.
310. Hinchliff, Colenso, 76.
311. MF, 1861, 6:196ff.
312. Rutherford, op.cit., 346.
313. By 1861, £11,000 had been spent on establishing and equipping the mission station at Ekukanyeni. Digest of S.P.G. Records, 330.

- 314. SACM and Eccl., May 1857, 5NS no. 53:180.
- 315. Enrolment of 37 boys and 7 girls in 1858, SPG, 1858, 84.
- 316. SFG, April 1859, cviii:2.
- 317. SPG, 1858, 84.
- 318. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 27.
- 319. SPG, April, 1859, cviii:2.
- 320. Colenso to Grey, 8.2.1858, GC.
- 321. SPG, April 1859, cviii:2.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KAFIR COLLEGE AT BISHOP'S COURT : 1857-1859

1. Protea - "the very thing for a College"

Protea, the home of Bishop Gray in Cape Town, subsequently renamed Bishop's Court (Bishopscourt), may seem to have been rather a curious setting in which to locate the College for the children of African chiefs. One can argue that St. John's College was first established in Bishop Selwyn's headquarters, and that the Kafir Harrow was purposefully planted near to Bishopstowe, Colenso's home at Ekukanyeni, so setting a precedent. But Bishop's Court, was, after all, the private residence of the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in South Africa and was situated in the capital of the Colony, not on some outlying mission station.

The Gray Family take up Residence at Protea : 1848

The Gray family had moved into Protea in April 1848, not long after their arrival at the Cape. The little farm, known as Bosch-euvel, had originally been owned by Commander Jan van Riebeeck. It had passed through many hands since that time but had never been subdivided. (1) The property had been recommended to the Bishop by the family of Sir Lowry Cole, one time Governor of the Cape, who had used Protea as a summer country residence. (2) The Grays had at once been attracted to "the excellent house" set in "a very retired spot, just under the mountain". (3) Situated as it was, not far from the village of Wynberg, the Bishop thought that it was "very central for the different Churches in the district". (4) The only difficulty was that it was seven miles out of town, which was rather far distant from the Cathedral. The Grays agreed to rent Protea for a year for a sum of £150. (5)

The three hundred acre estate was largely taken up by a well-wooded valley, dominated by huge poplar trees. Beyond the boundary, bridle paths traversed the mountain slopes which were clothed in a wide variety of indigenous vegetation. The "sherry-coloured" Liesbeeck River skirted one side of the property, tunnelling its way through the trees, its bed strewn with smooth boulders washed down by the winter flood waters, its high banks smothered by a tangle of growth - fungus, ferns, pig-lilies and

yams. (6) The garden was filled with vines, fruit trees of every sort, and an abundance of vegetables. A profusion of colourful creepers and flowers were massed around the main building. (7)

The house, built on three sides of a gravelled courtyard, was shaded by large oak trees. Although it contrasted somewhat strangely with the Episcopal palaces of England, it could yet "boast of a quaint ancient dignity on its own, quite in keeping with the purpose" to which it was to be applied. (8) The Bishop, perhaps conscience stricken at moving into so ostentatious a mansion, was pacified by the thought that it would also be able to house the Collegiate School which he was so anxious to found.

I have had some scruple about getting into so grand a place, (he told his brother). If we take the whole, there will be thirty-three rooms, and about sixteen of them admirably suited for pupils. It is the very thing for a College. (9)

The buildings to the left of the main dwelling, were taken up by offices, a coach house and stables. Those on the right, had originally housed the farm slaves; but since emancipation, they had remained unoccupied and had fallen into decay. (10) The landlord, H.C. Maynier (Mayneer), moved into this building with his family when the Grays took up residence in his home. When, at the end of 1848, Maynier's Cottage became vacant, Bishop Gray immediately went ahead with his plans to start a school there.

(11)

The Founding of the Diocesan Collegiate School at Protea : 1849

The Diocesan Collegiate School was founded with the object of giving the youth of the Colony a sound education, "conducted strictly upon the principles of the English Church". (12) The Rev. H. White was appointed its First Principal, (13) the Vice-Principal being the Rev. H. Badnall, the Bishop's domestic chaplain. (14) The school, occupying Maynier's cottage, was begun "at no great cost and in a quiet way". (15) It opened its doors on March 15, 1849, (16) to receive six pupils, aged between ten and fifteen years. (17) From the start, there was an enthusiastic response to the new venture and the classroom soon became too cramped.

With the school fast outgrowing its accommodation at Protea, Bishop Gray was constrained to make other arrangements. His plan was to erect a College, with Chapel and Library, capable of

holding fifty pupils, and a fund raising drive was launched forthwith. (18) In September, the Bishop took "the bold step" of buying Woodlands, a fifty acre property in Rondebosch, for which he paid £1,100. (19) Twenty-two boys were moved to their new quarters at the end of 1849, the homestead on the estate serving as their temporary college.

During his visit to England in 1851, Bishop Gray was able to raise sufficient money for the school's permanent endowment and the Diocesan College was firmly established on his return. (20) Bishops, the name by which it popularly became known, incorporated a College and a Grammar School. Modelled on Radley, (21) it claimed to offer an education similar to that afforded in the great public schools in England, (22) its aim being to fit the pupils "for secular employment and professions as well as for the ministry of the Church". (23)

The Coloured Mission School at Protea

When Maynier's Cottage was vacated by the College pupils, Bishop Gray used the building as a Mission School for coloured people. There were about twenty-five families, freed Mozambique slaves, who lived in mud cottages or "pondoks" on the estate, exchanging their labour for rent, cultivating potatoes and selling firewood for their living. (24) These people were either Mohammedans or heathen, and the Bishop was greatly concerned for their spiritual care. (25)

Besides the day school for the children held in the Cottage, a night school was also started for the adults, in one of the rooms of the main house. Here, the Bishop, assisted by the junior members of his family, (26) taught about forty "grown-up" black babies. (27) The language barrier proved a frustrating difficulty for these people spoke "a wonderful patois", (28) which was neither "Dutch nor English, but a kind of mixture of all languages" (29) including some African dialect. (30) with communications between teachers and pupils confined to the simplest terms, discussions were restricted, so limiting the possibilities of conversions. (31)

Sir George Grey was fully aware of the work of this Mission School at Bishop's Court, as it was now more generally known. This explains his assumption that the Kafir children, whom he brought to Cape Town for their education, could be readily

assimilated into the existing establishment at the Bishop's home.

2. The Governor Brings the First Chiefs' Sons to Cape Town : 1857

The Vision Shared by the Governor and the Bishop

From the start of his term of office at the Cape, Sir George Grey was determined that his plan to civilize the Kafirs should include educational facilities for the children of African chiefs comparable to those which the Anglican Church had provided for the children of Maori and Polynesian chiefs at St. John's College, Auckland. The Governor found a kindred spirit in Bishop Gray, for the Metropolitan had long felt that the establishment of such an Institution was essential to the civilization and conversion of the tribes, both within and beyond the Colony's borders, in South and South Central Africa. (32)

We have seen, however, that up to the time of Sir George Grey's coming, Bishop Gray had made little headway in achieving this ideal. His overtures to the Kafir chiefs had met with negligible response. They had spurned his offers to educate their children and had refused to part with their offspring. Nonetheless, Sir George was optimistic- He was convinced that the methods which he had used to procure pupils in New Zealand and the Pacific Islands would be equally successful in South Africa.

These two leaders, one representing the Church, and the other, the State, were men of great Stature. They were men who looked far ahead, planned for the future, and proceeded with the courage born of their convictions. They were men filled with confidence. Confidence in the society which gave them birth and the values which it honoured; confidence in the might and power of the British Empire and the civilization which it represented; and confidence in the Church, that it had a message relevant to their time. They believed that they had a duty to God and their Queen. They believed that they had a special calling to Africa and their conscience moved them, as Christians, to improve the lot of the heathen. They were confident that, as they set about their appointed tasks in their several fields, Christian and British values would eventually triumph over the darkness and degradation of heathenism.

The Bishop and the Governor shared a vision. Their desire to provide education for the children of African chiefs was one of their most cherished concerns. They held frequent talks together

on the subject; (33) and were in agreement as to the importance of founding an Institution in Cape Town, in which the sons of the leading Kafir chiefs, as well as the chiefs of those parts of Africa with which they were being brought daily into closer contact, might be educated, and then sent back to exercise a wholesome influence over their tribes. (34)

But the proposed Institution was to serve the purpose of both Church and State, and although Bishop Gray and Sir George had a common objective, their motives, and their expectations, of the influence which such an Institution could wield, differed considerably.

The Governor's motives were primarily political. His object was -

that England might exercise, through means of an institution which conferred great benefits upon them, her due influence over the native chiefs around us, and at the same time give a high education to those who are likely to influence the destinies of the various tribes within our reach. (35)

The Bishop, on the other hand, envisaged that such an institution could be a powerful instrument in furthering the work of the Church. He hoped that the educated Kafirs might be "witnesses for Christ to their fellow-countrymen, and, if we qualify them for the work, as schoolmasters, catechists, and we trust also, even as ordained ministers". (36)

The aim of the Institution would be not only to educate the Africans in the Christian faith, but also, to bring them into "contact with the highest intelligence and the most striking proof of England's power, and of the advantages of civilization to be got in this country". (37) The choice of Cape Town as the location of the College was based, therefore, on two considerations - that it was "at a distance from the direct influence of heathendom", (38) and that it was "the chief seat of our civilization in Africa". (39) The education which the two leaders proposed to offer, was designed -

not merely to make the sons of chiefs Christians, or expert workmen, or good English scholars, but to give them as deep and intelligent an insight, as the time will allow into the blessings of civilization; to awaken in them a sympathy with its institutions; and so to influence their whole tone and manner as to qualify them, if possible, to become leaders along the same path. (40)

At the end of 1854, Sir George Grey, eager to launch the scheme as soon as possible, suggested to Bishop Gray that a branch institution, for the reception of the children of African chiefs, could be attached to the Diocesan College. He offered financial assistance, and the Bishop promised his co-operation. (41) But the school could not be launched without pupils, and these were not forthcoming.

Four "Little Savages" at Bishop's Court : 1857

During the first two years of his office, the Governor, despite his optimism, was unable to persuade any of the Kafir chiefs to part with their children; and it seemed as if the scheme might come to nothing. Then, fortuitously, came the Cattle Killing. With the breaking up of the tribes, the bonds which had united the Xhosa people so closely together, were severed. When Sir George visited Kaffraria early in 1857 to survey the scene, he found that children were now placed "at his disposal". (42)

The Governor selected four boys, two of them chiefs' sons, one "Maqomo's heir" (later baptized George), to accompany him on his return to the Cape. They sailed from East London in the gunboat "Penelope", with an additional twenty-five Kafirs on board, prisoners taken as hostages. (43)

On their arrival in the capital, on March 30, the boys were given into the care of the Dean, the Rev. the Hon. H. Douglas. This clergyman had come to South Africa as a member of Bishop Gray's original party of churchworkers, and had dedicated himself to working among the poor; more especially the coloured people, in Cape Town. He had been appointed Dean in 1855. (44) Douglas took a great interest in his charges from Kaffraria. But they did not remain with him long as they were removed to Bishop's Court at the end of the first week.

Bishop Gray was quick to inform the S.P.G. of this exciting new development, and stressed the significance of this step for the future of the Church in the country :

The Governor has brought me down four young Kafirs to educate. They are now under my roof, are very docile and give little trouble. Probably I shall soon have more, and establish a regular Industrial school. Many cried to come down with Sir George when he brought these. I need not say of how much importance it would be to have a body of young men of rank in their tribes educated here, with a view to future missionary operations. (45)

Sophy Gray did not share her husband's enthusiasm for this new venture which was taking shape in her home. She incurred the Governor's wrath when she called her young guests, "little savages". (46) The boys were given suitable clothes to wear - flannel shirts, duck and moleskin trousers, caps and shoes (47) - unlike their unfortunate counterparts at Ekukanyeni who had been decked out in flannel petticoats and dresses. The Kafir youths attended the Mission School in Maynier's Cottage, and were soon reading and writing in English.

When the Gray family left for England in October 1857, the boys remained at Bishop's Court, cared for by James (Nargini), the black butler, and the rest of the staff. (48) Before his departure, the Bishop arranged that two of the lads should spend part of each day, from two until six o'clock, receiving instruction in trades in the nearby village of Claremont. James Qgobbo, who was placed under Mr. Cock, a wheelwright, was shortly commended for his good conduct and progress. Doomezwainey, "another lad of singular intelligence", proved to be very handy as a blacksmith and farrier's apprentice. But his master, Mr. Bowran, observed that his hours of attendance were too few to produce any rapid progress in his knowledge. (49)

While Bishop Gray had the responsibility of the Kafir youths' upbringing and education, the Governor paid for their maintenance, from the Imperial funds at his disposal. (50) Sir George took a personal interest in his proteges and followed their advancement with satisfaction.

Two Sons of Moshesh : 1857 - 1858

The next batch of chiefs' sons to be brought to the Cape by the Governor, were two "grown-up" Basuto princes, (51) Tlali (Tladi, baptized George) (52) and Tsekelo Moshesh. They were not the first members of their family to be educated in the capital for two of their brothers, Masupha and Sekhonyana, had been sent to Cape Town in 1844 on the advice of the French missionaries. During their five year stay in the capital they had learnt to read, write, and speak English, presumably under the direction of the Paris Evangelical Society staff. (53) Following their return home, they had served their father as secretaries, interpreters and diplomatic representatives. (54)

The account of how Tsekelo and Tlali found their way to Cape Town

was set down by Tsekelo himself, in April 1858, while he was living in the capital of the Colony. This manuscript, written in Sesotho, is entitled "Account of the sons of Moshueshue of Tsekelo and Tlali". (55) It records how the two Basuto princes ran away from home and travelled the country in their search for suitable schooling; and how, just when they were about to give up their quest, Sir George Grey came to their rescue.

Moshesh had allowed a number of his younger sons, Tsekelo and Tlali included, to attend the school at the French mission station at Morija run by the Rev. Casalis. (56) But apparently the tuition offered there was in the pupils' home language and was very limited. According to Tsekelo, he and a number of his classmates yearned to further their education. His reason for his ambition was that -

a person is not very anxious to study his own language much, and also that Sesutho is not a difficult language to write down like the others (languages). We (the pupils) started to wish to know another language, to study it. But there was none. I went on (with my search) but the others abandoned it because it (another language) was a lacking thing, and because they could not keep on tiring themselves with a thing that was lacking so much. But I always liked (to seek it). My heart yearned very much for it. That is where my love (for education) started. (57)

The Rev. Casalis was recalled to the headquarters of the Mission in Paris following the death of his wife. (58) When the missionary left Basutoland in March 1855, Moshesh, who was eager to help his son, asked Casalis to take Tsekelo with him to France. But Casalis pleaded that he was a poor man, who had no wife, and the care of two small children. Tsekelo was another child (an extra burden) and he could not possibly take a "herd" of children with him when he was in such difficulties. Casalis felt that Moshesh was "tying his hands" (making things difficult). He refused the request. (59)

A short while later, Moshesh was hastily summoned by "the Ruler of the Whites", Sir George Grey, to meet him at Smithfield (called by the Basuto, "The Well of Goat's Child"). Tsekelo was one of the large retinue of tribesmen who accompanied Moshesh to the rendezvous, across the Caledon River. Tsekelo took little interest in the subsequent discussions which took place between the Boer, British and Basuto leaders. Instead, he made use of this opportunity to approach Mr. Lemue, another French missionary,

to ask whether he might study with him. Much to Lemue's regret, and embarrassment, he had to turn down the appeal of Moshesh's son, giving pressure of work as his excuse. (60)

Tsekelo, however, refused to give up the quest. He now journeyed to the mission station at Beersheba to try his luck there. He was overjoyed when Mr. Shaw, who was newly arrived from France, agreed to keep him and teach him. Tsekelo told Shaw that he wished to learn English - to read, write and speak the language. The missionary promised to help him and sent word to Moshesh accordingly. Shaw already had his hands full as he was in charge of the printing press. Yet he did all he could to find spare time in which to teach Tsekelo. The lessons lasted eight days. Then Shaw was called away to a missionary conference. On his return he told Tsekelo that he no longer had the time to teach him. The youth was sent home with a message for his father. (61)

In his narrative, Tsekelo recounts that his zeal for education was now waning. But his hopes were revived early in 1856 with the coming to his country of the Rev. Giddy, a Methodist missionary. Tsekelo wrote at once to Giddy, explaining his desire for education and asking if he might discuss the matter with the missionary. The meeting, which took place in April, was recorded by Tsekelo in detail.

Tsekelo told Giddy that this was his last bid for help. He was fearful that he would soon get a bad name if he went on with his search for schooling. He did not want people to call him derisive names such as "a Wanderer", that is, a person who loiters aimlessly. He begged Giddy to take pity on him, saying : "Where is your kindness, Sir? ... Don't let my excitement change into disappointment". (62) Regretfully Giddy had to tell Tsekelo that he was too busy to teach him. Furthermore, his plans were still uncertain. He was just about to leave that place and was not yet sure where he was going to settle. The missionary, however, was eager that Tsekelo should be taught and promised to try and make arrangements.

Giddy was as good as his word. He sent a letter of application on Tsekelo's behalf to a Methodist school in Grahamstown. Their reply came four months later, at the end of winter when harvesting had been completed. When Tsekelo learnt that he had been accepted at

the school, he immediately made preparations for the journey despite the fact that his father did not want him to go. Tlali, who also wanted to learn, readily agreed to accompany him. Although they had not received permission, either from their parents or from the members of their nation, and no one was agreeable that they should go to school, Tsekelo and Tlali fetched their horses and rode away. "On that day we acted insolently", recounted Tsekelo. "But with their hands they did not try to stop us, so we left as we had planned". (63) There were others, too, who also wanted to go to school with them; but these youngsters were afraid to leave home without permission and so they stayed behind. "It is not advisable to seek luck by rush (force)", explained Tsekelo, "not to respect parents is not good. Even God is against it". (64) His account continues as follows :

When these little Basotho had left (their home) in such extraordinary circumstances God did not forsake them so that they could be like a leaf from a maize cob which is blown away by the wind into the uninhabited ruins, and to perish in the desert, although they did not know their destination. (65)

Tsekelo and Tlali made their way to Smithfield in the hope of joining traders for the journey to the Eastern Province. After waiting four days, they were fortunate in being able to find some wagons that were going to Grahamstown. The travellers finally reached the Methodist mission station at Salem. But here they met with a great disappointment. The school was an industrial institution, and, according to Tsekelo :

The children took a long time without tuition excepting to build houses, make shoes and sew cloth (tailoring), to thatch houses and to plough the lands. But actual school teaching was very weak. That is why we did not like to remain there although we needed education. We spent three Sundays there so that we could see things well. (66)

The Basuto princes then returned to Grahamstown and told the Rev. Impey that they were not going to remain at Salem because they did not like the teaching there. They stated that if the type of education they needed was not available, then they would return home. They did not want their people to think that they had received education when there was none. Impey asked them to wait a month while he tried to get them the education they wanted. Sir George Grey was expected to visit the Frontier in the near

future and perhaps he would be able to find the young men a suitable school. (67)

No sooner had Tsekelo and Tlali gone back to Salem, than they contracted smallpox - "that is, a little pox and not the real big pox". (68) They were forced to go to bed, and suffered terribly. They were very ill. They had no helper, not even someone to draw them water. Those at the station who did not work were not given food. The teacher told them that the disease was infectious and that they must be isolated. There was a Basuto village nearby, and as Moshesh's sons had no where else to go, they made their painful way toward it.

Their fellowcountrymen at Mr. Shaw's station at Farmerfield took Tsekelo and Tlali in, and nursed them with loving care until they had recovered from their illness. But after the many weeks of suffering, the Basuto princes now longed to go home. When they were at length well enough to go to Grahamstown, the Rev. Impey gave them short shrift. He refused them admission to school and ordered them back to Salem. The young men, however, insisted that they be given passes so that they might return to their father. Impey finally sent them to the local magistrate with a letter to explain their presence in those parts.

After discussing their case with the Governor's secretary, the magistrate pleaded with Tsekelo and Tlali to remain at Grahamstown for a while. He had written to Sir George Grey at the Cape asking for his advice. The magistrate told the young men that the Governor would be angry with the officials if they allowed Mosheh's sons to return home without first informing him they were there. The Basuto princes were very happy to hear the news and agreed to wait. In the meantime they were placed in the care of a Mosuto teacher. Their host was given three shillings a day by the Government for their board and lodging.

A short while later, Tsekelo and Tlali were told that Sir George had communicated with their father and was awaiting a reply before deciding where to send them. They had a long wait as Moshesh took his time about answering. When the reply eventually came, the officials told the Basuto princes that they might choose between Grahamstown and Cape Town, but that the Governor wanted them to go to Cape Town. The young men said that the wish of the Governor should be done, and that they would also like to go to Cape Town.

At length the authorities received instructions from Sir George Grey to take Moshesh's sons to the Bay (Port Elizabeth) so that they might board a steamer for Cape Town. And so Tsekelo and Tlali were sent to the coast by a mule cart, which conveyed the Governor's goods. On their arrival at Port Elizabeth, the local magistrate took them to an hotel. They stayed there for a few days until a ship arrived from Port Natal. After a three day voyage, Moshesh's sons finally arrived in Cape Town in October 1857, a year after leaving home. (69)

The ready acceptance by Moshesh of Sir George Grey's offer to educate his two sons, was a diplomatic move on both sides. The Basuto Paramount Chief had repeatedly expressed his desire to live "in the closest friendship with the Government of Her Majesty Queen Victoria", and was anxious to prove his good faith. (70) Whilst Sir George wished to establish firm bonds of friendship with the Basuto chief, particularly as Moshesh's unruly subjects were, at that time, stirring up ill-feeling in the Orange Free State with their persistent plundering of Boer farms and villages, bringing the two countries to the brink of war. (71)

Tsekelo and Tlali's arrival in Cape Town coincided with the imminent departure of Bishop Gray for England, while the Governor was preparing to go north. The chief's sons were, therefore, placed under the guardianship of Dean Douglas. (72) Sir George gave instructions for them to be supplied with new clothes and they were lodged with a certain Mr. Wilson for the time being. On the Governor's return to Cape Town, the Basuto princes were invited to visit him at his residence. Tsekelo records that -

the Governor was very kind to us, not because he was forced, but because he had a kind heart. He told us that he would meet all our needs, and he did just that. He invited us daily to his house and gave us all things we needed. And we were happy with our kind gentleman. (73)

Tsekelo and Tlali were then about eighteen and nineteen years old respectively. (74) Arrangements were made for them to attend a school run by Mr. Rosett. (75) Bishop Gray, in England, was delighted to receive news, early in 1858, that the Basuto princes were "doing their best to improve daily". (76) By that time, they had gone to live with the Dean. Their presence in Douglas' house excited much interest among his visitors. (77) The young mens'

expenses, which included the services of a Kafir manservant, were met by the Governor. Dean Douglas was given an allowance of £6 a month for their maintenance. (78)

A letter which Tsekelo and Tlali wrote to the Governor in December 1857, reveals that Sir George had promised to send them to England. The Basuto princes wrote expressing their eagerness to accept the offer, after having secured their father's permission. The letter is written in a clear, well-formed hand-writing, and reads as follows :

Sir, Sometime ago you were pleased to tell us that we would write to our father to inform him of you kind intention of sending us to England,

We have done so and we are very happy to inform you that our father is much pleased with it, and he says he is sure that whatever your Excellency does will certainly be well done and he will even be grateful for it. (79)

At the Governor's bidding, Bishop Gray initiated arrangements for these two sons of Moshesh to be sent to St. Augustine's, the Anglican Missionary College in England. (80) They returned home, however, before this plan could be carried out and a younger brother was eventually sent in their stead.

3. "The Kafir School Began So Suddenly" : 1858

The Kafir Chiefs Surrender their Children to Sir George Grey

At the beginning of 1858, Sir George Grey visited the Frontier and British Kaffraria in order that he might personally supervise the carrying out of his plans. On the road north, he fell in with the Rev. Waters, who was on his way back to St. Mark's from Grahamstown. The travellers journeyed some distance together, discussing their plans as they went. The Anglican missionary so succeeded in interesting the Governor in his work that Sir George offered to take with him five of Waters' most promising boys, support them at school in Cape Town, and then, in a few years time, send them to England to finish their education at St. Augustine's or elsewhere. It seemed at first that this scheme would fail, as the lads selected for the honour were unwilling to go to Cape Town. But in the meantime, the Governor had started to collect a large group of Kafir children together, and a number of mission pupils were persuaded to join the party. (81)

Sir George had realized that the time was now ripe to bring about

the establishment of the proposed Institution for the children of African chiefs; and that he would be able to take advantage of the breaking up of the Kafir nation to procure suitable pupils - on a scale far larger than he had ever envisaged. (82) A number of the well-known and once powerful Xhosa leaders, such as Xoxo, Magomo and Umhala, had been taken prisoner, and the rest, conscious of the vulnerability of their position and entirely dependent on Government support, were only too anxious to co-operate with Sir George, in his position as High Commissioner. He undertook to provide for their childrens' needs while they were at school at the Cape, and to return them to their homes when they had completed their training. (83) He promised that they should be well cared for, and that they should live in Bishop Gray's house. Sir George believed that Bishop's Court was ideally suited for such a school, four Kafir youths were already quartered there; but his pledge was quite unauthorized. (84) The leading chiefs and councillors, reassured by these promises, "freely surrendered up their children to him". (85)

The scheme snowballed somewhat; but the Governor, fully persuaded that Bishop Gray would take a deep interest in the Institution, (86) and would wish to unite with him in founding such an establishment, (87) mustered together a party of thirty-five children. (88) The boys included the sons of Sandile, Magomo, Dundas, Xoxo, Umhala, Toise and Tshatshu. There were only three girls, one being Sandile's daughter, Emma. (89) The group eventually totalled sixty-five, the other Kafirs being destined to serve as apprentices in the district of Cape Town. They were taken on board the "Hermes" at East London, and Sir George brought them down to the Cape with him, arriving in the capital on February 24, 1858. (90)

Temporary Arrangements for the Childrens' Reception at Bishop's Court

The colonists were delighted with the Governor's handling of Kaffrarian affairs, and gave him a tumultuous welcome on his return.. The infantry, cavalry and artillery of the Volunteer Corps, mustered at the Central Wharf. As Sir George came on shore, the Castle guns and artillery fired a royal salute, the military band struck up the national anthem, and the infantry presented arms. As the procession moved towards Government House, the crowds lining the route cheered all the way. The Kafir

children, witnesses to this spectacle, must have wondered at the goings-on. (91)

The Governor was well satisfied with the fruits of his journey. He had taken the initiative in assembling pupils for the Kafir Institution and he now turned to the Church, confidently expecting that it would carry out its share of the scheme. The difficulty was that Bishop Gray was then in England, and was not expected to return until the following year. Dean Douglas, who had the oversight of the diocese during the Bishop's absence, was left to make all the arrangements for the Kafir childrens' education.

The Governor had written to the Dean from the Frontier, giving some warning of his intentions; (92) but Douglas was quite unprepared for anything on so large a scale. He was summoned to the Governor's presence, the morning after Sir George's return. Almost the Governor's first words were : "How soon can you take them?" - "As if it were all settled", later commented the Dean to Bishop Gray. (93) Without further ado, the youngsters were handed over to the Dean's care. Sir George suggested that they should be placed in Bishop Gray's empty house. The Dean, having no alternative plan, was forced to do his bidding. Douglas wrote to his superior at once, to break the news, saying :

The only thing I can do is to make temporary arrangements for their reception at Bishops court till we can form definite plans. They go out this afternoon and I am just about to ride out there to see about taking them in. (94)

Bishop Gray had already received some vague intimation of the Governor's plan but was astounded by the sudden turn of events. Nonetheless, he was prepared to do his part, for, as he told the churchmen in England :

The Governor takes it for granted that the Church of England, being a living branch of the Church of Christ, will in these days shrink from no duty to which she is manifestly called; and therefore he has had no hesitation in bringing these young men down, or in looking to us to take charge of and teach them. (95)

There was little the Bishop could do, 6000 miles distant, except await developments, though not without some apprehension. There followed an agitated correspondence between himself and Douglas, as he attempted to find out the Governor's intentions and to make

an assessment of the Church's commitments.

Meanwhile, the Dean had done his best to minimize the inconveniences to the Gray family that must inevitably result from this invasion of their home. He managed to find accomodation for all the Kafirs without putting any of them up in the main house. The children had to sleep on the floor of the servants' quarters. The Kafir interpreter and his wife, who had accompanied them from Kaffraria, were given a room to themselves. They were all very crowded; and the Dean, determined to find other accomodation as soon as possible, considered renting a large house, then vacant, in Roeland Street. This would give the Board of Clergy and Laity, which had been formed to manage the school's affairs, time to find a suitable place without being hurried into making any rash decisions. (96) But, for a start, the most urgent need was to find someone to take care of, and teach, the children.

The Rev. H. Hirsch is Appointed to the Kafir School

The Rev. Hermann Hirsch was temporarily put in charge of the school, as "a sort of stop gap". (97)

The Kafir School began so suddenly, (explained Sophy Gray to the S.P.G.) that the Dean was obliged to supply Deacon, Schoolmaster and Mechanics to teach them as he could pick them up - and to draw upon the Bishop for the means of paying them. He could not make permanent appointments. (98)

Considering Hirsch's career in the Church up to this time, his appointment must have been rather a desperate measure. A German of Jewish extraction, (99) he had been ordained deacon only the previous year. (100) After a short spell at Oudtshoorn, he had been transferred to the parish of Simon's Town, to assist the Rev. Judge. He had not made a very auspicious start to his ministry, for shortly after his ordination he had shocked the Bishop by asking for an increase in stipend so that he could get married. (101) When this was refused, he had requested long leave. Bishop Gray, much displeased with his conduct, had written to him, saying :

Your letter ... gave me much pain. The restlessness and discontent which it shows, had me greatly to fear that I have been precipitate ... in admitting you to Holy Orders.... You have the same prospects and chances that other men have and the way to fit yourself for higher posts and ministries is to show that you are qualified for them by devotion and earnestness, and laborious diligence in your present. (102)

Hirsch's Rector was equally dissatisfied with his work and had complained to the Bishop. (103) Nonetheless, the Rev. Judge, when approached by the Dean, made difficulties about releasing him. (104) But no one else could be spared. Hirsch took up his position as acting master in charge of the Kafir Institution at Bishop's Court on March 11, 1858. (105)

"Hirsch ... is hearty in his work"

Hirsch's new job presented many problems. He was confronted with a large group of children, of both sexes, who differed considerably in age, had had little or no previous training, were the products of an alien culture; and from whom he was separated by a language barrier. The Rev. Glover, who took over as Principal the following year, fully appreciated his predecessor's difficulties.

The soil was hard and stony ... for savages, they seem singularly teachable; but none ... can fail to sympathize with the bewilderment which Mr. Hirsch experienced when first he found himself alone with nearly 50 (sic) savage boys, young and old, of unknown tongue and unknown character, all communication between him and them shut out, except such as could pass through the interpreter. (106)

There were thirty-six boys and three girls. The boys were of various ages, most of them being in the six to thirteen years age group. Eleven were rather older, and six had probably reached sixteen or seventeen years. The girls were of an age, about fifteen or sixteen. The way in which civilization and Christianity was introduced to these Kafir children differed markedly from the methods used by Colenso at Ekukanyeni. The basic difference was that they were to be Anglicized from the start, their traditional culture entirely ignored. They did not understand English and Hirsch had no knowledge of their language. He was, at first, entirely dependent on the services of the "intelligent Christian Kafir", who had been appointed by the Governor as interpreter. (107) But his pupils worked hard, showing a great willingness to learn English, and they were soon able to communicate with each other. (108)

The Dean kept an anxious watch over the Kafir school. All went surprisingly well. He was able to send Bishop Gray a satisfactory report of both master and pupils at the end of their first week together.

The young Kafirs are going on admirably. They are as nice a set of boys as could be seen and very manageable and anxious to learn. Hirsch who has great merits as well as faults is hearty in his work and a great number of them yesterday ... showed that they knew their letters and figures and even some little words besides the Lord's Prayer very distinctly pronounced in English. It was a touching sight to see the young savages with clasped hands repeating in a clear voice our Lord's Prayer. (109)

The pupils were regimented into a strict routine, a strange contrast to the leisurely pace of life in the kraal. They were kept constantly busy under supervision, their day ordered by the ringing of the bell, which hung in the old oak tree in the corner of the courtyard. The disciplined routine of their daily work was described in detail by Hirsch.

At half-past six o'clock the bell rings for rising. This is the arrangement at the present season; in summer, we shall of course rise earlier. I then take the boys to the small river behind Bishop's Court, where they perform their ablutions. After they have bathed, and finished their toilet, the bell rings again (at seven o'clock), for morning prayers, and religious instruction, which lasts until eight o'clock. They breakfast immediately afterwards and then have an hour's run. At half-past nine the school assembles. The morning's work is over at twelve or half-past twelve. At one o'clock dinner takes place. An allowance for a little play follows, and the schoolroom business is resumed shortly after two.

At four o'clock I again dismiss them. Between that time and six o'clock, I give some extra instruction to one or two of my pupils. At six o'clock they sit down for tea, I being present at this as at their other meals. Shortly after seven o'clock I have a Bible class. I first explain a portion of the word of God, and then I catechise them on what they have heard. The younger children I do not now admit to this class. Shortly after eight o'clock the bell rings for retiring to bed, and then the candles are extinguished. This appears a somewhat early hour for the elder boys, as they are very fond of learning their lessons in an evening. But as I do not like to leave them alone with the candles, it seemed best that they should all retire to bed at the hour named. (110)

Three Months' Progress

The Rev. Lightfoot met the boys when he accompanied the Dean to Bishop's Court in April. He described them as "fine, intelligent little fellows", and expressed his astonishment at the progress they had made during their first few weeks schooling. (111) In June, he once again visited the school, and saw the boys

at their studies. After only three months under instruction, many of them could already read and write very well. (112)

Hirsch had met the challenge, and succeeded, "under most difficult circumstances". (113) In his first quarterly report, presented to the Managing Committee in June, he begged the Board not to look for extraordinary results. Yet, it is evident, that he had made a great effort, and that his pupils had responded accordingly.

The children, generally, have proved themselves to be very intelligent. Their progress in writing, indeed, seems to be something extraordinary; from my experience as a teacher, I may say that I never in my life met any white children, who in so short a time have mastered the difficulties of forming letters, as these have done who are at present under my care. Some prejudice has prevailed among persons acquainted to some extent with the intellectual powers of the natives of this country, as to their inability to comprehend numbers. I am of a different opinion My pupils have proved themselves as competent to grapple with figures - at least in the rudimentary stage, - as any intelligent child of European blood. In English reading they have given decided proofs of what may be termed a fair average amount of intellect.

The principal parts of our Church Catechism they can not only repeat in a very intelligible manner, but they likewise understand it quite as well as the generality of Sunday-school pupils in any school whether in England or at the Cape. Parts of it also they admirably rehearse in their own tongue. With regard to their conduct, .. I can bear them the best testimony. They are good-natured, willing to learn, and obedient. I believe, moreover, that they feel perfectly happy in their present position. Of late, they have sometimes attended divine service in the St. John's Church, Wynberg. Their conduct in the house of God has been very good. (114)

Although the medium of instruction was English, the interpreter explained the teaching of the Christian faith to the pupils in their own language, so ensuring their comprehension.

4. A Board of Management to Govern the Institution

The Governor's Role

Even as the Kafir school forged ahead under Hirsch, the Dean was troubled by many worries concerning the pupils' welfare. The Governor provided their maintenance, for the present, but proved elusive as to his intentions regarding their future. Nonetheless, he went ahead with his plans to obtain more pupils and arrangements were made for either Pato's son or grandson to be admitted.

Sir George was stimulated by the demands of the role in which he

had cast himself. It was a personal challenge to win the confidence of the chiefs, and he was highly gratified when he succeeded. He looked forward to the day when he might manage to get chiefs' sons down from far up into the interior. But the Dean, saddled with the responsibility of running the school, found the Governor difficult to pin down to practicalities, and protested to Bishop Gray - "I have seen but little of him about it and he does not say much and it is extremely difficult to know what to do and what he expects done". (115)

A Managing Committee is Formed

The Governor wished to be spared matters of detail and formed a Board Of Clergy and Laity to govern the Institution. They were empowered to decide matters needing immediate action but were required to keep Sir George regularly informed of their doings.

The Board was made up of the Bishop, as President; three Clerical members - the Dean and the Principals of the Kafir Institution (when appointed) and the Diocesan College; and three Lay members - Dr. Langham Dale of the Department of Education, (116) Dr. Bickersteth, the school doctor and a personal friend of Bishop Gray's, and Mr. George Frere, a British Government official (117) and active Anglican churchman. (118) Frere was appointed Secretary to the Committee. The Rev. White, the head of Bishops, was shortly replaced by Mr. Hope, sometime Treasurer of the Cape Colony.

The first meeting of the Management Board was convened in the Vestry of St. George's Cathedral on March 6, the Dean taking the Chair in the Bishop's absence. Their immediate concerns were - the management of the Institution, its permanent establishment, the selection of a Principal, and the appointment of additional staff. (119)

The Choice of Principal

Much thought was given to the person and role of the future principal of the Institution. The Dean favoured a clergyman for the post, preferably a Canon of the Cathedral, and "as good a man as can possibly be got", to fill such a responsible position. (120)

The Governor, when told of this idea, was rather disparaging about the quality of the colonial Anglican clergymen. He maintained that Waters and Merriman were the only two men fit for missionary work. He held that the Church would accomplish little till it got

different kinds of workers, men of more hardihood and the Bishop's power of adapting himself to circumstances. Sir George viewed the Principal's role in a somewhat different light to the Dean and obviously wished that it should be filled by someone of his ilk - "a sort of man who would not mind a journey to Moselekatze to get his son". (121)

Hirsch was not thought suitable for the post. The Board was, however, prepared to consider him for the position of second master, if there was to be one, believing that he had earned the right to be retained. They were unstinting in their praise for what the master had accomplished with the Kafir boys. The Dean, their spokesman, gave credit where it was due, and said "I do not think that any other man in this country would have done what he has done. Their progress is really remarkable". (122)

Hirsch was undoubtedly an excellent teacher in elementary subjects, but he did not have the personality to head the Institution. The Dean asserted that his work, although efficient, was done in a somewhat rough and eccentric manner and complained that he had had to pull Hirsch up sharply once or twice. (123) The clash in temperament between these two men was unfortunate. The Kafir school teacher's great failing was his arrogance. But, whereas Frere could laugh at the man's self esteem, this "disagreeable fault ... jarred with the humble spirit of the Dean". (124)

Hirsch was a product of Colonial education - and the Dean was not impressed. He was disturbed by the deacon's lack of discipline, both in mind and character, and resolved that something should be done for those who had not had the advantage of a good English training. "These half-educated men", he wrote to Bishop Gray, "will neither do the same work or in the same style that more disciplined men would do and our Church would I fear suffer if their numbers should much increase". (125) Douglas held that there was an urgent need for a Theological College at the Cape, patterned on the English Institutions, where the candidates for deacons orders "might be broken in and imbibe a more humble and ecclesiastical spirit than is possible under the present circumstances of our Church". (126)

The Governor, on the other hand, thought very highly of Hirsch and was impressed with his achievements. (127) Sir George agreed, though, that the Principal should be a man of a different calibre.

His choice fell on the Rev. Edward Glover, Bishop Gray's son-in-law. This nomination was unanimously supported by the Board. (128) The proposal resulted in an agitated correspondence, letters passing between the Bishop, Glover, Douglas and the Governor. (129) A final decision regarding the appointment took months, the delay being caused by slow communications.

Glover was then in charge of the parish of Schoonberg, near Oudtshoorn, and there were difficulties in arranging for his transfer (not the least of which was the uncertainty of the Kafir College's future), and in securing a suitable replacement. Although he accepted the post of Principal, in September 1858, he did not take up office until March 1859, six months later. (130)

The Management of the Institution

Financial matters were the chief part of the Board's work. Sir George Grey subsidized the childrens' food and clothing, and the Committee was responsible to him for expenditure, (131) Frere keeping the books "in a most businesslike manner". (132) Hirsch made out the few bills every month and they were paid almost immediately by the High Commissioner's office.

During the first three months, from the beginning of March to the end of May, the cost of maintaining thirty-nine children at Bishop's Court was £270 11s 8d - this included an initial outlay for clothing, bedding and school equipment. Ten more pupils were admitted at intervals during the second half of the year. The total expenditure for the nine months period March to December 1858, was £778 4s 5d. (133) At this rate, the Kafir College was costing the Government about £1000 a year.

Mrs. Rossam, the housekeeper at Bishop's Court, took care of the running of the establishment, and was in charge of the details of washing, cooking, etc. (134) She had a well ordered routine. The boys were given clean shirts on Saturdays. Articles that required mending had to be handed in on Tuesday mornings. Clean sheets were issued every alternate week - these must have seemed a strange innovation to children used to sleeping under animal skins or blankets. The girls were given soap and scouring on Tuesdays, the boys, soap and blacking on Saturdays. Candles were issued every day. (135)

The food at the Institution was similar to that given at any

corresponding European boarding establishment. No attempt was made to supply the Kafir children with their native diet. Starch featured largely in the menu. There was bread and tea for breakfast and supper, the main meal being served at midday. Meat was provided six days a week, either roasted or stewed in a gravy. Suet pudding, sweetened with half a bottle of treacle, was the main course on Thursdays, the meatless day. It was accompanied by coffee and sweet rice, the invariable vegetable. This was a mixture of rice, sugar and raisins to which cinnamon and borrry were sometimes added. Bread pudding was given in its stead on Tuesdays, bread replacing rice in the standard recipe. Flour dumplings in pea soup fortified with stewed bones, was the fare on Saturdays. Sunday's meal sounds rather more appetizing - cold roast meat and plum pudding. But the pudding was a concoction of the usual ingredients : flour, suet, sugar and raisins. (136)

Contracts for provisioning the Institution were given out by the Board from the beginning of August, with the result that the children were better fed at much the same cost as before. (137) The contractor, Mr. Johannes Rathfelder of Wynberg, supplied the school with meat and groceries for the next eighteen months but was forced to increase the price of meat when the cost of provisions rose sharply in April 1859. (138) Consequently, Hirsch was instructed by the managing Committee "to endeavour to make such changes in the Dietary as may be proper with a view to substituting some article of food equally wholesome for the Boys, and less expensive than meat". (139)

Staff Appointments

Hirsch's only assistant during the first few months was John Balfour, the Kafir interpreter. He was paid £3.10s. a month and was given free board and lodgings for himself, his wife and two ions, the boys being placed "on an equal footing with the rest of the Caffir Boys". (140) But Balfour was dissatisfied with these terms and handed in his notice in July. (141) He demanded a raise in salary; and failing that, he asked to be repatriated at the Government's expense, Sir George having promised him a free passage home.

Hirsch maintained that Balfour's grievances were unjustified. Apart from which, he believed that the Kafir couple were making trouble in the school. As he no longer needed the services of an

interpreter, he urged the Board to arrange for them to be sent home. The schoolmaster told Frere, that :

He (Balfour) is one of the laziest men, that ever I met with. He literally does nothing for his daily bread. But the worst remains yet to be told. I have very strong suspicions that his wife has done some harm to the boys. They seem no longer to be as pleasant and satisfied as they used to be. I am speaking of the elder Boys. She herself I am satisfied is disgusted with his position. Altogether I think it would be a desirable thing to get rid of this couple. (142)

The Board could not alter the Governor's arrangements without his permission, and as he was then away, the matter was deferred. (143) The Balfours and Hirsch were presumably reconciled because the interpreter and his family remained at the College.

Sir George Grey had established the Kafir school with the intention that it should function as an Industrial Institution. Once the pupils had settled down, and could understand a little English, he requested the Managing Committee to arrange for the "Big Boys" to learn a trade, and offered to bear the expense of a Carpenter. (144) Accordingly, at the end of June, Mr. George Robb of Claremont was engaged as Carpentry instructor. He was asked to provide the bench and tools, and was required to attend the school for at least two hours every afternoon, except Sundays, at the rate of 3s 6d a time. (145)

The first four pupils handled their tools very awkwardly in the beginning; but they were attentive and soon became more proficient. The experiment showed such promise that four more boys joined the class in August. (146) Robb's chief difficulty was in getting his pupils to follow his instructions. He was unable to speak their language and was forced to demonstrate his wishes, using signs and the corresponding English words. It was a tedious system and the boys' progress was slow.

The Governor intended the Institution to become partly self-supporting. For a start, the carpentry class concentrated on making simple articles of furniture for use in the school, becoming more ambitious as their workmanship improved. In the first three months they turned out six dozen garden poles, two sawing trestles, two eight foot high house steps, two tables with trestles, and four clothes chests. (147) At the end of the year, Robb was replaced by a resident teacher, Mr. Henry Truman. (148)

He was given an additional two boys to train, making ten in all.
(149)

A seamstress and tailoring department was started under Mrs. Rossam in December 1858. The boys and girls were divided into groups and spent half the day working at their trade and the other half in the schoolroom with Mr. Hirsch. (150) A shoemaker's section followed in January 1869. James Crammond (Cramond), a Scottish immigrant, was appointed to teach the boys boot and shoe making at £6 per month. His wife, a qualified teacher in boot and shoe binding, was engaged as his assistant. They were given a cottage in the grounds of Bishop's Court, and moved in with their three small children. (151)

As the Institution expanded in scope, the staff and pupils became increasingly restricted in space, and, with the time for Bishop Gray's return drawing near, it became imperative for the Board to find other accommodation. But there were many difficulties which prevented the Kafir College from being established under its own roof, the chief of these being financial.

The First Attempts to Purchase a Property for the Kafir College

Dean Douglas had initially been most reluctant to settle the Kafir children at Bishop's Court. Considering it as a temporary arrangement only, he had immediately set about looking for more suitable lodgings in which to place his charges. He had been delighted to find a large property on the market, situated in the centre of Cape Town, which was not only ideal for the purpose but had potentialities for the Church as a whole.

Colonel Hopper's property included a number of substantial buildings on six acres of land. Besides accommodating the Kafir pupils it would also be an admirable site on which to centralize all the Diocesan Institutions - apartments for students for Holy Orders, the houses of the clergy, residence for young men attending training school, and the like. The Dean believed that the Church should aim at making the Cathedral the heart of the diocese by grouping all the principal institutions around it, and making all its canons working men engaged in the chief work of the diocese - one the head of the Kafir Institution, one the missionary canon, and one the trainer of candidates for holy orders assisting also in parochial work.

In this way, the Cathedral could be "the heart of the Church in South Africa from which life might be propelled to remotest extremities". (152) The Kafir College would be a vital part of this central organization, its influence radiating out to distant African heathen homelands. The Dean envisaged it as being "the Mightiest engine for Christianizing barbarious tribes". (153)

Sir George Grey shared Douglas' enthusiasm for this scheme and encouraged him by saying that "he might think of buying or helping largely towards buying" the property. (154) After the Dean had completed preliminary negotiations, he came up with the suggestion that they should rent the property for six months, taking an option, in the hope that in the interim the Church and the Governor would between them devise some plan for purchasing. But whilst the Dean was cautious, the Governor was impulsive. He made a quick decision and told Douglas that he would be prepared to give £1500 and lend the rest, free of interest - "to be repaid gradually, and if not repaid the Government to have a right of recall". (155) Confident that the Church would provide backing, although he had no guarantee, Sir George authorized the Dean to make an offer of up to £5000.

Douglas was optimistic that the Church would give liberal aid to so worthwhile a cause. He was sure that Bishop Gray would be able to persuade the Societies to provide grants - "Nothing that they can aid anywhere in the World is likely to tell over a wider surface or in a deeper or more lasting way than this". (156) The Dean proposed to live at the centre and contribute £100 a year himself, by way of rent, and intended to persuade his fellow clergy to do likewise. (157) Such contribution would ensure that the Church received a certain income with which to repay the loan.

Unfortunately, the negotiations were unsuccessful. The value of property in the capital was much inflated at that time and the executors of Hopper's estate would not consider a price under £5500. The Dean was eager to pursue the matter, believing that it would be a sound investment for the Church; but the Governor, "somewhat disgusted", refused to have any further dealings with the sellers. (158)

Douglas, undeterred by this disappointment, now searched for a more reasonably priced property. He, with the newly formed Board of Management, felt responsible for finding permanent quarters for the Kafir Institution as speedily as possible. Before proceeding with further negotiations, though, and committing the Church to a large outlay, they required a guarantee of Sir George's aid. They had every reason to feel assured of his continued support but they needed an explicit pledge as a basis for bargaining. With this purpose in mind, they sent him the minutes of their third meeting, held in mid-April, in which they set out their proposed actions, and requested his "opinions and Instructions". (159) The Governor, however, was no longer able to help them.

Sir George could only afford to give generous aid towards civilizing the Kafirs as long as he was assured of the Colonial Grant. This had been awarded annually by the British Government since 1855. But the Grant was now in jeopardy. A new ministry had come into power in February and they were known to be unsympathetic to Grey's continued demands on the Treasury. He could not possibly enter into any new commitments whilst there was uncertainty over the future of the Imperial funds. The Board received the perturbing information "that the High Commissioner has not at present at his disposal the means which would admit of his purchasing promises for the Kaffir Industrial Institution as now proposed". (160)

This was a severe setback for the Managing Committee. There could be no question of acquiring property without Government obligation. Although Sir George continued to honour his promise to maintain the Kafir children, for the present, it seemed highly likely that the Church would be landed with the entire responsibility for the College in the future. The Board, faced with seemingly insurmountable financial problems from the start, looked to Bishop Gray in England to come to their aid.

5. Sir George Grey's Undertaking

The Uncertainty of Sir George's Views

Bishop Gray was quite willing to raise the necessary money for the Kafir College; but before embarking on a fund raising drive, he wanted to have the Governor's proposition in writing. From past experience, he was wary of Sir George's enthusiasms. When

first he had heard that the Governor was busy collecting a group of chiefs' children together, to take them to Cape Town, he had written to the Dean at once, voicing his anxiety :

With regard to the Kafir College, our chief difficulty to my mind is the uncertainty about Sir George Grey's views. He gets very hot about plans, and then quite cools down; and he expects people to be ready to take up at once what is in his mind, and not to be disappointed if he afterwards changes it. If I felt quite certain about him, and had a definite offer placed on paper, I would work at it; but I cannot work in the dark - I must know what is proposed to be done, - what the whole cost will be, - and what he is prepared to give; and for how long. (161)

At that stage, Bishop Gray was under the impression that the school would be started in a small way, much as the Diocesan College had been established. He thought that Sir George would probably appropriate about £350 a year and that he would have to find a like amount. (162) He could not rely on the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. giving him special aid for this object, for the Societies' officials had recently shown antagonism towards him and his efforts. (163) The Bishop was quite confident, however, that he could raise the funds himself. But he was not prepared to ask for money or engage staff until the Governor had furnished him with details of the project. He could not risk bringing out men and then finding them on his hands at the Cape.

Bishop Gray wrote to Sir George, explaining his predicament, and said : "If I had some fixed idea of what I might depend upon and for how long, I would work vigorously for the accomplishment of this plan while in England". (164)

The Governor's Proposition

Bishop Gray was dismayed when he learnt of the scale on which the Governor had started the Kafir College under his roof. By the time the news reached him, the Industrial Institution was "fait accompli". There was little he could do except patiently await developments. With the frustrating delay of the mail, he did not receive the Governor's proposition until the beginning of May. By then, Sir George's suggestions, relayed by the Dean, were out of date, having been made when the Governor thought that he still had the control of £40,000 a year. (165) Nonetheless, they provided a foundation from which to launch a fund raising scheme.

The Bishop agreed with the Governor's suggestion that the Church should either build, rent or buy a house in Cape Town for the College. There could be no question of allowing the school to continue indefinitely at Bishop's Court. But, as he told the Dean, it was useless asking his opinion about the proceedings of purchasing buildings. Douglas and Sir George would have to make a decision at once and he would do his best to work with any arrangements they made. He was alarmed, though, at the high price of property; and feared that if they were forced to pay as much as £5500, the Church would be saddled with a huge debt. If the Governor only gave £1500, how were they to repay the loan of £4000. There were obvious snags in the Dean's plan to obtain pledges, in the form of rent, from resident clergy. Douglas, for example, might die, or leave, before the debt was paid. There was no security in this scheme. (166)

Bishop Gray thought the Governor's proposed contribution towards buying a house was niggardly in comparison with similar grants that Sir George had given to other denominations. He told the Dean :

I do not think so much of the Governor's offer as you seem to do, when I call to mind what he has done for the Dutch - Scotch - Independents - Wesleyans - Church in the East. The Wesleyans alone had £5000 for Heald Town schools and Salem was bought for a large sum from the Wesleyans to be given back to them for a Kafir school. (167)

Still, the Governor's undertaking to provide the main part of the funds needed to feed and clothe the children would amount to about £800 a year. Sir George expected the Church to take charge of the spiritual work of the school as their share of the project. They would have to provide the teachers - a Principal, a clergyman, and a mechanic schoolmaster - and pay their salaries. (168) This meant that Bishop Gray would have to find at least £400 a year. He had no funds whatsoever to meet such an obligation. (169)

No sooner had the Bishop received the Governor's proposition than the Colonial Grant was reduced. Sir George's contribution now became dubious. (170) The uncertainty caused Bishop Gray much anxiety.

The Reduction in the Colonial Grant

In 1855, Sir George Grey had persuaded the British Government

to grant him £40,000 on the understanding that this would be an interim measure only, "for conciliating the goodwill and promoting the civilisation of the Kaffir tribes". (171) The High Commissioner had used this money to launch his ambitious schemes; but instead of making reductions over the next few years, as promised, he had found it necessary to call upon the Treasury for like amounts in 1856, 1857 and 1858. He had pleaded the exigencies of the Cattle Killing, which had caused unexpected additional financial burdens, as reason for his continued demands.

When the new Treasury met in April 1858 to consider the Grant for British Kaffraria, they recommended that it should be halved, that is, reduced to £20,000. (172) Their standpoint, as explained by Cory, can be readily appreciated :

The British taxpayer was undoubtedly not so wildly enthusiastic about the civilisation of the Kaffir as to see with equanimity the large sums of money which were being spent for that purpose; and the Government feared the dissatisfaction which was likely to be expressed in Parliament, when for an object in which the country was not greatly interested, these large sums were asked for year after year. (173)

Lord Stanley, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, delivered the shattering blow. Grey was quite unprepared for such a drastic cut in his funds and was in desperate financial straits as a result. He had already spent £14,000 of the annual grant and was committed to spending further large amounts. (174) Now, he was faced with the abandonment of his Frontier policy, the collapse of all his schemes, and a breaking of faith with the Africans.

Bishop Gray did all in his power to plead the Governor's cause with the colonial authorities in England. He told them that Sir George's civilization programme, made possible by the Grant, had been the means of preventing another Frontier War, at a time when Britain was fully occupied in suppressing the Mutiny in India and could not have afforded to send forces to another front. He warned that the sudden and premature withdrawal of all attempts to civilize the Kafirs could only lead to trouble. The Kafir Nation would surely reassemble on the Frontier and once more threaten the Colony's security. (175)

Sir George, uneasy lest a breakdown in the government of British Kaffraria precipitated a new Kafir war, "displayed heroic for-

titude and great administrative ability in his efforts to prevent the collapse of his policy". (176) He determined to continue with payments to the chiefs and magistrates, and to persist with his public works and educational schemes. He gave up his income as Governor in order to meet expenditure on his Kaffrarian policy, (177) living on his private means. (178)

"The Governor's attempts", commented Bishop Gray, "to shame the Colonial Office into paying for his work by paying for it out of his own pocket, will tell. He will get his money". (179)

The British Government did, in fact, later refund Grey the sum of £6000. (180)

But the reduction in the Grant made the very maintenance of the Kafir Institution a matter of difficulty. Sir George, forced to juggle with the pressing claims of many prior commitments, was only able to make provision for a year. This meant that the College would be maintained on its present scale up to. March 1859. (181)

The permanent establishment of the Institution thus became a question of some moment which the Church and the Government would have to decide together. The school's future was entirely dependent on their mutual co-operation.

The Dean, ever anxious to see the pupils settled in their own home, attempted to discuss the matter further with the Governor. Sir George, however, wished to defer saying what he could do until he had had the opportunity of consulting with Bishop Gray, who was expected to return to the Cape in the near future. (182) Douglas, despairing of making any headway alone, wrote to the Bishop :

What is to be done with the Kafirs is a serious question which had better stand over till your Lordships return, though it is not easy to see what is to be done with them temporarily when they are turned out of your servants rooms. But I do not see that any place suitable for them is likely to be obtained and put in a proper state for their reception much under £3000 if the institution is to be permanent. (183)

As matters stood, Bishop Gray had unwittingly become responsible for considerable financial and moral obligations regarding the Kafir children. Yet he was quite prepared to raise money for a project in which he felt so deeply concerned; but he depended on finding this support in England. He could not afford to delay

his efforts, for there was no likelihood of obtaining financial aid from the struggling colonial Church. Even then, he could not possibly hope to collect sufficient funds in England to buy a property unaided. He depended on the Governor honouring his offer of £1500 and his promise of a loan. Sir George's unwillingness to divulge his intentions as to his proteges' future, hampered the Bishop thoroughly. As he told the Dean, "I cannot work with any confidence or spirit with one who I feel may very likely throw me at any moment". (184)

It was evident that if the Church was forced to take over the entire responsibility for the College, it would only be able to continue its work on a much reduced scale - unless large assistance was forthcoming from public sources. (185)

5. Bishop Gray's Fund Raising Efforts in England: 1858-1859

With March 1859 as the deadline for guaranteed Government assistance for the College, Bishop Gray rose to the occasion magnificently. He launched a fund raising drive aimed at soliciting money from all conceivable sources. Not only did he approach the more likely sympathizers, such as the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., prominent churchmen and women, and philanthropists; but he pleaded for support from Englishmen everywhere, addressing gatherings the length and breadth of the country. He tackled the Colonial Office authorities too, in an attempt to pressurize the Government into assuming liability for their share of the scheme. He made use of every possible opportunity to advance the needs of the Kafir Institution, one of the most notable occasions being the great S.P.G. Meeting in St. James' Hall in May 1858. (186)

Of particular interest to our history is the manner in which Gray varied his approach in each instance; and we shall follow the way in which he tailored his appeal to suit the sentiments of each different group of potential supporters.

The Bishop's Appeal to the Church Societies

Bishop Gray turned to the Societies first, they being the most obvious source of assistance. They financed most of the Church's missionary work abroad and had been generous in their support of the daughter Church at the Cape, despite occasional differences of opinion with the Metropolitan.

Gray argued that the Kafir Institution was not his personal responsibility but was the responsibility of the Church as a whole. Although he was enthusiastic about the objects of the College, he had not intended to start it just yet as he already had too much on his hands for which it was absolutely necessary for him to obtain funds - the extension of missions in the Colony, the sending forth of missions headed by Bishops to the tribes living beyond the bounds of Britain's dominions in Africa, and the subdivision of his diocese. (187) But the Governor had forced his hand. Without waiting to ask his consent, Sir George had imposed the task upon him of establishing the College - "in the full belief that the Church of England will not shrink from committing herself to so good and great a work". (188) This was their corporate commitment as the Church of the Government, which they would not gainsay.

Gray explained that for a work of purely missionary character, he could expect little or no support from the Colonial Church. The colonists were "few, poor, and engaged to the extent of their power in providing for their own means of grace". (189) They would be more inclined to do what they could for the Malays and Hottentots in their immediate neighbourhood, who had a strong claim on their charity, than for the Kafirs, with whom they had been at war for so many years.

The Bishop emphasized that the work of the Institution was not for his diocese specially, but was, rather, a work of the Church for all Africa. The present pupils were the sons of the leading men of the various tribes on the Colony's borders; and in the future they looked forward to obtaining the children of the powerful chiefs in the Interior. They could reasonably hope that Livingstone, Anderson and other travellers, would send them from time to time as many students as they could teach. (190) While at the Institution, the Africans would be instructed in the Christian faith and then (if it pleased God) they would be sent as religious teachers to their own tribes and races. Evangelization would take place through the agency of the natives themselves.

I believe, (wrote Bishop Gray to the S.P.G.) that this is one of the most important steps which has yet been taken for the Evangelization of Africa, and I think that there are few works in which the Church could more usefully engage. It is manifestly impossible that we should ever be able to fill up the

whole of the vast field now opening out to us, with European labourers. If occupied at all, it must be mainly by natives of Africa. (191)

This work could not be carried out unless the Church gave immediate aid. Gray asked the S.P.G. to undertake the expenses of the teachers' salaries. (192) The S.P.C.K. were asked for assistance towards the purchase or erection of suitable buildings. (193)

The Bishop's Appeal to the Public

Bishop Gray's appeal to certain prominent churchmen and women in particular, and to the British public in general, was based on a far broader front than the approach which he used to the Societies. We note that besides formulating the religious aspects of the Kafir College's work, he was careful to stress the political, social and material services which the school could render. He was aware that he could expect a certain amount of resistance to his entreaties from many in his audiences. They were the taxpayers whose money had been used by the Government for so many years to finance the costly Kafir wars in the distant Colony. It was essential to his purpose to prove the value of the Industrial Institution, which was an integral part of Sir George Grey's civilizing programme, and so enlist widespread sympathy for his cause.

From a political point of view, he held that the possession of the sons of neighbouring chiefs was a matter of some importance. They were, at least to a certain extent, hostages who offered security for the peace and tranquillity of the tribes to which they belonged. (194) The Bishop believed that the Africans were still a force to be reckoned with, that they persisted in being a threat to the safety of the long-suffering English settlers in South Africa. He was convinced that the Kafirs were not yet crushed, despite the decimation of their Nation following the Cattle Killing; and even if they were, there was nothing to prevent troubles arising with other tribes - the Basutos under Moshesh, the Pondos, the Tambookies, the Zulus. The Colony could again be confronted by a hostile black front, numbering at least 700,000. (195)

Britain could not afford to be involved in yet another Frontier War. Gray, pressing home the need to prevent such an ill rather

than waiting to be forced into carrying out another expensive cure, pointed out that, politically speaking, the Institution could play a significant role in preserving peace and quiet in the land. The African chiefs' sons were to be given a Christian and industrial education. They were to be trained as catechists and teachers, as well as receiving instruction in agriculture, and in various trades such as those of blacksmith, carpenter, mason, tailor and shoemaker. (196) By so educating the future leaders of the native races, the school might be "the means of influencing favourably the future course and proceedings of very powerful tribes". (197) Two of Moshesh's sons, for instance, had left the Deanery in June, to join the Kafir pupils at the College. (198)

Bishop Gray appealed also, to the Victorians' class consciousness. He explained that the Kafir College pupils had a high social standing amongst their own people. They were not "a promiscuous crowd of Converts from the Galeka or any other one tribe", but represented a cross-section of the black aristocracy -

the elite (let no one smile in contempt) of Kafir and Basuto Society; the sons of chiefs, counsellors and great men, who, out of their own land were 'nobody', but in it had every advantage over others which rank and position ordinarily conferred. (199)

Socially speaking, so the Bishop told Miss Burdett Coutts, the Institution might also become a great blessing to the natives themselves. Judging by numerous missionaries' reports, it was apparent that the intelligent races of South Africa were capable of great improvement, and, at the same time, were thirsting for closer intercourse with the white men. This applied not only to the Kafirs and other neighbouring tribes, but also, according to Livingstone, to the tribes in the interior. The Bishop contended that-

At present, with the exception of a few isolated missionaries, they can only have intercourse with Dutch Boers - their exterminators, - or with the Portuguese Slave Dealers. (He made no mention of the Xhosas' repeated encounters with the British forces on the Kaffrarian front 1) If we can bring them into friendly intercourse with ourselves and can induce them to intrust their children to us for Education, there is no saying what the issue may be to Central Africa. At least it is the only door that we at the present have open to us for its civilization and advancement. Sir George Grey has looked far beyond

the British Kafirs, when seeking, through me, to stir up people in England to found an Institution for the education of the native races, in Cape Town. (200)

Here we have Bishop Gray's most telling argument; one which revolved around the College's role in serving Central Africa. In using this theme, he skillfully employed a cause which was likely to arouse far more enthusiasm amongst his listeners than the rather sensitive subject of the Kafirs - no matter whom they might be.

The Bishop Links his Appeal to the Cause of the Central African Mission

At that time, Englishmen everywhere were enthralled by the journeys of the great explorers and hunters, who were "discovering" the Interior of the Dark Continent for the white man. As recently as 1855, Livingstone had been the first European to describe the wonders of the Victoria Falls. Through the writings of travellers such as he, the Victorians were able to learn about the culture and customs of the vast mass of blacks who peopled Central Africa and were ignorant of the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Bishop Gray was spellbound by Dr. Livingstone's account of his journeys, which was published in 1857 under the title, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. (201) Gray, stirred by the plight of the benighted heathen, pledged himself to rally support for the explorer's crusade. Livingstone maintained that through his explorations, he had opened the way for missionary enterprise, and that it was the Church's duty to follow after him and lead the fight against the evils of savagery, superstition and slavery. (202)

Before returning to Africa, early in 1858, Livingstone addressed meetings at both Oxford and Cambridge. He challenged his audiences to become involved, saying : "I go back to Africa to try and make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you". (203) The Universities, inspired by his message, responded enthusiastically and combined forces to found the Mission to Central Africa. (204)

Bishop Gray became one of the leaders in this movement. (205) As the only Anglican Bishop in Africa, South of the Equator, (206) he believed that he had a special responsibility - "The time has come", he said, "for a great move towards the conversion of Central Africa, a work which no branch of the Church has ever in

any period of its history, attempted". (207) There was the additional incentive, too, that he could link the great cause with his efforts to see the Kafir Institution established. "If we are to do a work on the banks of the Zambesi", he told Sir George Grey, "the native College will be an essential basis for all our operations". (208)

In the meantime, Livingstone, sponsored by the British Government, had resumed his exploration of the Zambesi region with the purpose of finding malaria free areas fit for European settlement. After making a survey of the Shire River Valley and Highlands, he jubilantly reported that the Upper Lake region had a healthy climate, while the fertile valley offered conditions suitable for unlimited agricultural development.

The Shire, which rose in Lake Nyassa, entered the Zambesi about one hundred and fifty miles from the coast, and according to Livingstone, it was open to steam navigation at all seasons. He prophesied that this river would be the future highway for religion and commerce in Central Africa; (209) and he directed the Universities Mission to make this their field of labour. They went ahead with preparations to send a party of missionaries to pioneer the area for white occupation. Bishop Gray was called upon to give advice on the financing, staffing, and supplying of the proposed mission. Whilst publicizing its needs, he lost no opportunity to emphasize the supporting role which the Kafir College could be expected to play.

The Bishop explained to his audiences, that through the enterprise of the travellers and hunters, the interior of Africa would gradually be opened up for commerce. As year by year, Britain was brought into closer contact with the teeming population beyond her territories, her Christian obligations towards these people would increase. But it would be impossible to send forth a sufficient body of English missionaries to evangelize the sixty millions of Central Africa. In order to discharge her obligations, therefore, it would be necessary to draw the Church workers from amongst the people themselves.

England, with claims on her from countries all over the world, could only supply "the leaders of the Lord's hosts - captains of the army of the living God". (210) The Universities Mission would be just such a band. The subordinate posts in the mission

field would have to be filled with natives. According to Bishop Gray, a study of the history of missions showed, that although foreign missionaries had been needed to pioneer the field in heathen lands - "a whole nation has never yet been won to Christ, save through means of a ministry drawn from its own people ".(211)

A vital part of the Church's campaign in Africa, was to provide facilities for training black evangelists. This, then, would be the essential function of the Kafir Institution at Cape Town. Dr. Livingstone, an enthusiastic supporter of the project, had told Gray that if he succeeded in establishing the College, it would confer "innumerable benefits on the interior of Africa as a place of education for a Native ministry". (212) A statement which Bishop Gray used as his trump, to good effect.

The Response to Bishop Gray's Appeal for Funds for the Kafir College

During the two years that Bishop Gray was in England, he led an exhausting life. He travelled constantly throughout the country, often suffering from ill health. Tension and insomnia took their toll, as he forced himself to preach at services or hold meetings on an average of eight or nine times a week. (213) He found that money was not flowing in as fast as on former occasions and maintained that he had never worked harder in his life. (214) But the Bishop kept his finger on the pulse of public opinion and was able to stir up support by exploiting the more inspiring causes.

He realized, for one, that the plight of the Colonial Church did not arouse public sympathy. Although he was most concerned about the inadequate provision for the clergy and catechists in his diocese, and they were badly in need of assistance as a result of the rise in the cost of living, he avoided directing too much attention to their wants. Parishes and pulpits would not have been open to him for such a cause. The people of England believed that they had done enough for the colonists. They felt that it was time for the Church in South Africa to look to its own people for financial support; and that they had no further claim on the Mother Church for the decent maintenance of their ministers. (215)

In contrast, the subject of the heathen African was a great draw-card, for which Bishop Gray could be assured of a platform. This he later explained to the colonists, when they criticized him for paying insufficient attention to their needs.

What the Church of England does feel is, that she still has a heavy debt to pay to Africa and its native races. Upon this point her conscience has been awakened, and her sympathies aroused; and the result is, that she has determined, God helping, to grapple with the great work of winning the heathen of South and South Central Africa to the faith of Christ.

It is to this that her efforts in years to come will be mainly and increasingly directed. At present she is but just feeling her way to take part in a work in which others have been so long engaged. (216)

The Universities Mission to Central Africa aimed at fulfilling such a purpose. Consequently, it was a popular cause with the religious public and they opened their purses to give it aid. Not only churchmen responded to this appeal, though, but humanitarians and business men as well. The humanitarians were eager to promote any scheme which promised to stamp out slavery, whilst the business men were keen that new areas should be opened up for the cultivation of the raw materials needed for their developing industries. Bishop Gray was able to persuade a number of such sponsors to offer help to the cause of the Kafir College. Such was the case with a group of merchants from Manchester, who were interested in growing cotton in the interior. (217) A sum of £200 was pledged by various people, to be paid in installments over a period of five years. (218)

The Societies, despite the Bishop's doubts, gave generously. The Bishop of Oxford, a close friend of Gray's, persuaded the Executive of the S.P.G. to promise an annual grant of £300 for the teachers' salaries - £200 for the Principal and £100 for a lay-teacher, to assist in the secular and industrial departments. (219) The S.P.C.K. contributed £500 towards the purchase or erection of buildings; (220) and like amounts were given by two prominent churchwomen, Miss Burdett Coutts and the Duchess of Northumberland. (221) Miss Burdett Coutts later gave an additional £1000, making her the College's main benefactor. (222) By the end of 1858, the Property Fund totalled nearly £3000.

Bishop Gray was much encouraged by the response from the Church and the public. Even so, the College could not be permanently established without substantial aid from the State. Sir George Grey's hands were tied. A confrontation with the Colonial authorities was the Bishop's last resort.

Bishop Gray's Appeal to the British Government

Bishop Gray was given an opportunity of presenting his case to

the Government in December, when Sir Bulwer Lytton, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Secretary of State, invited him to an interview. (223) Following their discussion, the Bishop was asked to put the substance of his remarks respecting the Kafir Institution down on paper. (224)

In his report, Gray made it clear that it was the State who had started the School. The Governor had brought down the large group of chiefs' children from Kaffraria on his own initiative; and in the Bishop's absence, had placed them in his empty house. Although the Bishop took a deep interest in the founding of such an Institution, and intended to co-operate as far as his limited means allowed, he contended that the State, not the Church, was ultimately responsible for the Kafir pupils' welfare.

The Bishop expressed his deep concern at the State's apparent intention of retracting from this commitment. He pointed out, that as a result of the reduction in the Parliamentary Grant, the Governor had had to withdraw his offer of assistance towards acquiring premises, and had been forced to defray the cost of maintaining the pupils out of his own private means. This support, however, was due to cease in March 1859. Heavy expenses would then devolve on Bishop Gray, which he would be unable to bear unaided. Unless funds were speedily forthcoming, he would be forced either to abandon the work altogether or else keep it going on a much reduced scale. He would be reluctant to take either course. He then went on to emphasize the political importance to Britain, of having possession of, and educating, the chiefs' sons. (225)

The whole matter hinged, of course, on the Grant for British Kaffraria. Parliament had only been willing to vote £20,000 to the High Commissioner of the Cape, on the understanding that he would ask for nothing the following year. (226) It was highly probable that the Grant would be withdrawn altogether in 1859. Gray concluded his report with a strong plea for the Government's continued backing of Sir George Grey's native policy.

The Colonial Office's response to Bishop Gray's appeal was most unsatisfactory. The Secretary of State was unable to make any promise of help, for the Parliamentary Grant was still under discussion. Pending a decision, Lytton could only offer his sympathy and an assurance of his personal support, saying that he would "regret much that so valuable an Institution should fail for want of funds (and) that this interesting subject would

receive his best attention". (227) Which was cold comfort to the Bishop, who, faced with a dilemma, knew not which way to turn.

7. Doubts and Difficulties

The Governor's Failure to Make a Pledge

The Governor's failure to say what he could do for the Kafir College hampered Bishop Gray thoroughly. Sir George's attitude was partly a personality problem, described by the Dean as "the difficulty of getting him to decide upon any matter unless he is struck by an impulse which carries him to a decision". (228) But, to a greater extent, it was due to the Home Government's decision to cut the Governor's funds, a move which had considerably embarrassed him. It is apparent that Bishop Gray did not, at first, appreciate the seriousness of Sir George's financial situation.

Be that as it may, Sir George Grey expected the Anglicans to go ahead and establish the Institution, with little more to depend on than the hope that the State would somehow continue to help. The Bishop, however, had no intention of allowing the Church to squander its slender means on a venture which might yet prove to be another of Sir George's vagaries. He felt that the Governor was not being fair, either on him or the people of England, in asking for money without first giving some security or guarantee. The Bishop was wary of being left in the lurch and protested that Sir George had not dealt with the other churches in this way. He failed to realize that Sir George's generosity was directly proportional to the funds at his disposal, and that, perhaps, he was not being purposefully capricious.

The Dean received a veritable barrage of letters from his superior during 1858, in which the Bishop gave vent to his doubts about the Governor's integrity, and complained of the difficulties of working in the dark as a result of not knowing Sir George's intentions.

I know from experience, Bishop Gray told Douglas, how rapidly he changes his views, and ceases to feel an interest in what for a time excites him greatly, and throws his schemes overboard without scruple.... The Governor has as yet pledged himself to nothing to us. He has egged us on, spoken vaguely, but distinctly pledged himself to nothing. (229)

It was, indeed, extremely difficult for Bishop Gray to make constructive plans when the College's future remained undecided.

The money which he had raised, served as the Church's guarantee. He was adamant, however, that Sir George should declare a similar pledge before he gave the Dean permission to commit the Church to a large expenditure on buildings.

The Bishop was prepared to give as much as £2000 if the Governor would follow suit. This offer still allowed Gray to hold back at least £500, to cover any necessary repairs and alterations. The Dean was instructed to use this proposal to bargain with Sir George, in an attempt to prod him into action. (230) When, by July, Douglas' efforts had failed to make the Governor budge, Bishop Gray, somewhat dispirited, himself wrote to Sir George, saying :

I should work with much more heart and confidence and success if I had something definite and distinct which I could lay before people. I might perhaps get another £100 a year more.... The statement that I am anxious to get funds to meet the offers of the Government tells with people. (231)

In all fairness to the Governor, he was not then in a position to make any pledge whatsoever. It seems, however, that he continued to string the Church along with vague promises of help. He could only hope either that the Grant would be restored to him, or that the Home Government would be moved to back the Institution independently. Sir George made use of the Church's pledge, "as an argument in the fight" which he was carrying on with the Government, in an effort to get their support, (232) But to no avail.

A Change in the Bishop's Plans

As 1858 drew to a close, the College's uncertain future caused Bishop Gray much anxiety. By now he had learnt that the Governor had given up his income to meet the expenditure of his schemes. (233) The Bishop realized that little would be achieved by adding to Sir George's worries. If he could not promise assistance, then a change of plans was called for.

Gray had, in fact, raised sufficient money for the Church to go ahead alone and purchase a property at a reasonable rate. But there was no question of him being able to take the whole cost of the Institution on his hands. The diocese was desperately short of money. He could not possibly donate £1000 a year from Church funds, for the Kafir pupils' maintenance, when the Clergy and

catechists were "half-starved". (234) As it was, the Bishop was sure that he would be censured by the colonists for devoting too much to this effort.

After considering all these difficulties, Bishop Gray decided that it would be prudent to give up the idea of buying premises. (235) If there was a deficit, the debt would be his. (236) An alternative scheme was to try and make the College largely self-supporting. Gray suggested to the Dean that they rent a place in the country, with sufficient ground to cultivate, and see how far they could make the lads support themselves by their labour on the land. He maintained that this system had been used to a considerable extent in English Reformatories. (237) He could have had little idea of the African boys' extreme reluctance to do field work. Such a scheme was doomed from the start.

Before shelving their original plan, though, the Bishop made one last attempt to squeeze some aid out of Sir George. He wrote and told him about his interview with the Secretary of state, and enclosed his report.

I am quite aware (the Bishop said) that under present circumstances you can do nothing more; but at the present moment I do not know whether you can continue to feed and clothe the children after March next. I shall be very sorry to see such a work fall through But if neither Church or State will furnish means, what are we to do? I have still some months of work before me here; and I do not mean to leave any stone unturned that it may be worth my while to move.
(238)

Though Bishop Gray offered Sir George sympathetic support in his difficulties, the converse cannot be said to be true. The Governor's conduct concerning the Kafir College, at this time, can only be described as irresponsible, and added greatly to the Bishop's worries.

The Governor's Arrangements for the Kafir Princes at Bishop's Court

Sir George Grey spent the months of August and September 1858, journeying between the Free State, Basutoland, and British Kaffraria. On the Eastern Frontier, he was busily occupied in making arrangements to send all available British troops to India. In the interior, he was involved in mediations between the Basutos and the Boers, in an attempt to end the First Basuto War.

He was eventually successful in negotiating terms acceptable to both parties, and a Peace Treaty was signed in October. (239)

Whilst on these travels, Sir George took advantage of his meetings with numerous African chiefs, to "beat-up" additional recruits for the Kafir Institution. (240) He was apparently unconcerned by the fact that the State could not guarantee their support for much longer; and that the College's very existence hung in the balance, dependent on Bishop Gray's desperate efforts to keep it going. A batch of four Basuto and two Kafir boys arrived in Cape Town on October 10th. These were followed by three more Ngqikas, a week later. (241) The student body now numbered forty-nine.

The influx of new pupils put further strain on the already uncomfortably crowded dormitories and classrooms at Bishop's Court. There was such a shortage of space that a number of the boys were unable to learn a trade. To ease the congestion, the Governor took it upon himself to authorize extensive alterations to the outbuildings. Mr. Frere, the Secretary of the Management Board, had the unhappy task of breaking the news to the Grays in England. They were both aghast at Sir George's audacity. Sophy responded by return of post, letting off steam in a letter to her daughter, Louisa Glover. Louisa's husband was the Principal-designate of the College, but the Glovers had not yet left the parish of Schoonberg, to take charge of the Kafir College.

I am considerably horrified, (wrote Sophy) at hearing of the arrangements for your dear little Kafir princes. Mr Frere tells me that the Governor has told their fathers that they are to live at Bishop's Court and in fulfillment of this promise, has now ordered alterations to be made to give them more accomodation by taking the larders, wood-house and coach-house for them. I presume His Excellency that he leaves ample accomodation for us and you and Mr. Hirsch and all the servants in the main part of the building; and I have no doubt that he will be extremely angry if we don't agree with him as he was when I called the first four "little savages" Bessy (her daughter) is in great distress at the idea of them using her room and I am often condoled with - under the idea that they are running wild amongst the drawing room furniture and best bed. (242)

Louisa was too far removed from Cape Town to represent her family's interests. Besides which, by the time she received her mother's letter, the damage was done. Sophy, despite her wrath at the Governor's presumption, conceded that it was probably the best thing for the Kafir pupils to remain where they were until the

Gray's return. But, responsible as she was for overseeing the diocesan finances, she begrudged the needless expense on what must only be a temporary arrangement, when money was so scarce. (243) The alterations cost nearly £135. (244)

Bishop Gray, in turn, wrote at once to the Dean, to express his displeasure at Sir George's high handed behaviour.

It is impossible, (he told Douglas) that I should make my home a permanent Institution, and I sanction no expenditure (from Church funds) for this purpose. It does not belong to me, or to the See; but to a body of Trustees in England. As to Sir G. Grey promising the Kafirs that they should live in my house. I never authorized him to make such a promise. They would not know what it meant if he did, and I do not believe that it was made. If so, he thought very lightly of it, when he entered so freely without a word of objection, into the question of making a purchase in Cape Town. (245)

The Bishop was perturbed by the Governor's ready assumption that, because the property negotiations had been called off, the Institution could be permanently established at Bishop's Court. He wrote twice more to the Dean during January 1859, to emphasize the fact that on no account would he agree to the College being crammed into the existing buildings of his house for ever. (246) Apart from any other considerations, he protested that : "There would be no room for us and for it: and I must be able to receive the Clergy and others who have shown me hospitality in my visitations, when they come to the Capital; and also there are those who are commended to me from England". (247)

The Governor had angered the Grays still more by his unwarranted interference in Colonial Church affairs. The Dean had neglected to ask Sir George's permission, as "Ordinary", when he appointed the Rev. J. Eedes to the parish of Beaufort. The Governor had summarily annulled the appointment. Sophy was convinced that he was purposefully trying to pick a quarrel to test his power. His Aggressive behaviour hurt her deeply. As she told Louisa : "It shows his good will and just when the Bishop is doing all he can to help him here (in England), it is very aggravating ... and I confess I am in no charity with the Governor just now". (248)

Bishop Gray was rather more restrained when he wrote to the Governor. Nonetheless, he was insistent that his own buildings would not be large enough to house both the College and his family. An additional objection, was the fact that it would be impossible to induce the servants of the Institution to work

harmoniously with his household staff. This had proved to be a snag when the Diocesan College was started on the premises ten years previously.

The Bishop came up with an alternative proposal. He suggested that if the Governor thought that Bishop's Court was the best situation, then he would try and get sufficient funds to build there. Provided, of course, that the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund gave their consent. They could build near to the main house so that they might still have the use of some of the outbuildings. If, at anytime, the Trustees wished to sell the house, the College and a portion of land could be retained as a separate and distinct property. (249)

Bishop Gray was obviously making every effort to retain the Governor's interest and goodwill, in the hope that he would not cast off the Kafir Institution. An on the spot confrontation with Sir George would probably have quickly settled most of the problems, and put the Bishop's mind at rest. Instead of which, far removed as he was from the scene, he continued to fret about the Kafir childrens' future.

The Governor's Attempts to Raise Local Support for the College

The Governor tried to get the Kafir Institution out of its financial difficulties by making two attempts to solicit support from the Colonists. Neither scheme achieved any success.

When the Board of Management was formed, he had had high hopes that it might be the means of raising money towards defraying the running expenses of the College. But his plan that they should obtain private subscriptions never materialized. (250)

At the beginning of 1859, with time running out, the Governor made an attempt to interest the Cape Parliament in voting money for the enterprise. Mr. William Foster was duly requested to visit Bishop's Court and make a thorough examination of the Institution's affairs. His brief was to estimate the proposed expenditure for 1859, and to see how far the industrial department could be expected to pay the College's way. His deductions were based on a careful study of the expenditure during 1858, and a detailed examination of the workshops, in which he itemized every penny spent. (251)

Foster deduced that the average cost of maintenance, for fifty

children, was £32.10s. per head per annum. Their feeding amounted to £12 a year each, and the balance of the expenses were made up of clothing; bedding, furniture and school-books; medical attention; teachers' salaries; staff wages; and the wages, materials and tools needed for the Industrial Department. Excluding the outlay on the newly built schoolroom, the total cost of maintenance of the Institution, at the present rate, amounted to £1500 a year. The Bishop paid £300 of this, while the S.P.G. grant provided for the salaries of a superintendent and master. This meant that £1200 a year was needed to run the Institution. (252)

In his report, Foster pointed out that a training school could never be "a profitable manufactory, in a strictly mercantile sense". (253) The most that could be expected from the Kafir Industrial Institution was, that the produce of the carpenter's and shoemaker's shops might be sold so as to cover the cost of the materials and the instructors' wages. He suggested that a more careful check on the buying and distribution of materials could reduce the expenses in the trade departments. Foster maintained that it was impossible for any committee to exercise adequate vigilance over the economies. He asserted that a resident superintendent was needed to control the teachers and guide the pupils: "His province should be distinct from that of the schoolmaster, and his functions should be supreme". (254)

Foster's report was accompanied by a statement from Hirsch giving an account of the work of the educational department. The Report was presented to both Houses of the Cape Parliament. But the matter was not taken up and no aid was forthcoming from this source.

This document, together with Hirsch's quarterly reports to the Managing Committee, provides a detailed record of the Kafir pupils' progress during their first year at school. This can be compared with similar reports by Colenso, in which he described the advancement in Christianity and civilization of his Zulu boys, during their first year at Ekukanyeni. (255)

8. The Kafir Pupils' Progress During the First Year : March 1858 - March 1859

By the end of 1858, there were forty-six boys and three girls enrolled at the Institution. The Moshesh brothers, the only pupils to leave during the first year, returned home in December. Their

father was getting old and George, who had high hopes of succeeding him, wished to be on the spot to stake his claim. (256) He had numerous brothers and half-brothers who were equally ambitious, and, as the rivals struggled for power, their intrigues fomented much unrest in Basutoland. (257)

It must be remembered that, apart from the two Basuto princes, most of the pupils had come to the College as "raw Kafirs", having had no previous education. The Governor, when recruiting them, had made no attempt at selection according to aptitude. Their tribal rank and willingness to come to Cape Town constituted their only qualifications for admittance.

The First Six Months - Hirsch's Report : September 1858

Once the group of children from Kaffraria had settled down, Hirsch found it necessary to divide them into three classes, according to intelligence. The top group, numbering twenty, made remarkable progress during the first six months. Reading was confined to the Word of God and by the end of September they had finished a large portion of St. Matthew's Gospel. With the help of the Kafir translation of the New Testament, they had been taught to translate most of what they had read into Xhosa. They had also made steady improvement in Arithmetic, and had recently begun English Composition and Grammar, acquitting themselves creditably.

There were twelve pupils in the second class, and seven in the third. Hirsch's object was to push them on so that they could catch up with the first class as quickly as possible. (258) As far as industrial training was concerned, the four eldest boys had by then. completed three months instruction in the Joinery and Carpentry Trade. Although their progress was slow, they showed a great desire to learn. (259) Hirsch was well satisfied with his pupils' spiritual advancement, too. He told the Managing Board :

In the interest of their Higher Humanity ... judging from a close observation of their Individual characters I believe the doctrines of our holy Religion have made a good impression upon many a heart among my pupils. As I have encouraged a free though not a familiar intercourse between myself and them, I have had abundance of opportunities to notice what is going on in their inmost minds. And from all what I have seen of them I can conscientiously present a good number of them for Baptism. (260)

The children remained reasonably healthy. The only serious alarm

was a smallpox epidemic which broke out in Cape Town in September, causing many deaths among the coloured people. (261) A number of the boys caught the disease and were immediately removed to the Small Pox Hospital. Hirsch arranged for Dr. Bickersteth to vaccinate all the other pupils and there were no further cases. (262)

Foster's Report on the Industrial Department: February 1859

The industrial department was still in its infancy when Foster made his tour of inspection in 1859. (263) The shoemaker's shop, with the Crammonds in charge, had been functioning little more than a month. Ten boys were employed in this trade and were divided into two groups, working four hour shifts, morning and afternoon. Their first assignment had been to mend the footwear of their fellow pupils, which was badly in need of repair. They had then progressed to learning how to make the brown shoes and blucher boots with which they were all fitted out. They had shown great aptitude for this work and could boast of a prolific production.

Mrs. Rossam had eighteen boys and three girls under her instruction in the seamstress and tailoring department. They were also divided into morning and afternoon shifts, spending the other half of the day with Mr. Hirsch in the schoolroom. The children were praised for neat work; but it required painstaking patience on the part of their teacher, for many of the younger children were employed in this trade and much of their work had had to be unpicked and redone. They had been given the boys' coats and trousers to mend, and had hemmed a large quantity of towels and sheets. The more proficient pupils had been taught how to make shirts, coats, and aprons for the shoemakers.

The carpenter's shop, being the longest established department, could produce an impressive array of articles for Foster's inspection. Boxes of various sizes, fitted with locks and hinges, were the senior boys' latest accomplishment. The carpentry section had recently been augmented and now numbered ten, the beginners being put in a class of their own. (264) The carpentry pupils had spent part of their time in assisting with the building of the new school-room. They had been able to learn a lot by watching the professional craftsmen perform the skills of their trade. (265)

Foster appreciated that the purpose of teaching the Kafir boys

trades, was, so that when they returned home they would be able "to disseminate the principles of civilization by means of the arts of industry". (266) He suggested that a competent knowledge of any particular trade could only be obtained in a workshop where it was practically carried on. He recommended that after a course of preliminary training at the school, the boys should be apprenticed out. He commended Bishop Gray's foresight in placing James Qgobbo and Doomezwayne with two tradesmen in Claremont. After eighteen months instruction they were nearly ready to earn their own livings. Foster also suggested that a knowledge of brick-making and of the use of the potter's wheel, might be advantageous to the boys when they returned to their own country. (267)

Reports on a Year's Work in the Educational Department

All who came in contact with the Kafir children were effusive in their praise of the pupils' good conduct, obedience, attentiveness in class, and willingness to learn. One report, written in 1859, reads as follows

So intent are they on the pursuit of knowledge that they can scarcely be persuaded to employ their play hours otherwise than in learning lessons and in teaching one another; and probably it will be found as necessary for a time to provide them with systematic instructions in boy's games as in any other department of learning. (268)

Drilling was introduced into the curriculum; but it was the only discipline to which some of the elder boys did not yield to quite so cheerfully. It was suggested that their reluctance was more likely due to their not understanding the object of the exercise, rather than from any dislike of it; and that being so tractable, they would soon become reconciled to this activity. (269)

When Foster examined the boys in February, most of them had been at the school for close on a year. He was impressed with their attainments in reading, writing and arithmetic; and commended Hirsch on the method and kind of tuition which he had adopted - "The result evinces an uncommon degree of laborious patience and skill on the master's part; and I do not hesitate to say that the educational department is a distinguished success". (270)

The Rev. Thomas Browning was asked to take charge of the Institution for a fortnight when Hirsch took ill early in the new year. Browning was extremely nervous about his new duties, for, as he later explained, he expected the Kafir children to be half-wild

"savages".

Being apprehensive that they would be insubordinate, Mae recounted)I hesitated considerably before undertaking the charge of the school, but I am happy to say that my fears were altogether groundless - they have been as well behaved, as tractable, and as intelligent as most boys who have ever been under my care. (271)

Hirsch was quite sure that, contrary to his expectations, the intellectual powers of his pupils were on a par with Europeans. The submission of the Kafir children was perfect; and it seemed that they were quite prepared to accept Christ's teaching. Their apparent sincerity regarding religion and their demeanour in Church, could not be faulted. As Hirsch told the Managing Committee:

It is a gratifying sight, gentlemen, to see these boys and girls, who less than a year ago were rude barbarians, now going to the house of God on the Lord's day, with their bible and prayer-books, which some of them ... use not only intelligently but heartily. (272)

In his February report, Hirsch took the liberty of telling the Board that "the whole burden of this difficult school" was too much for one man. (273) The boys were variously talented and were now divided into four different classes. The more advanced boys were not sufficiently forward, though, to be made useful as monitors. There was too much work for one schoolmaster and the pupils suffered as a result. A sentiment shared by Foster.

The Kafir College urgently required a superintendent, financial support, and a permanent home. All of which were forthcoming within the next year.

1. For a short history of Protea (Bishop's Court) see Appendix IV.
2. Sir Lowry Cole was Governor at the Cape from 9.9.1828 to 10.8.1833.
3. Gray to C. Gray, 1.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:160f.
4. Ibid., 157f.
5. T. Gutsche, The Bishop's Lady (Cape Town : Timmins, 1970) 57.
6. Life at the Cape a Hundred Years Ago by a Lady (Cape Town : Struik, 1963) 51f.
7. Sophy Gray's Notebook, 1848-51, MR.
8. The Progress of H.R.H. Prince Alfred through Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, Orange Free State and Natal in 1860 (Cape Town : Solomon, 1861) 9.
9. Gray to C. Gray, 1.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:157.
10. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon Merriman, 3f.
11. Ibid., 3 n.8.
12. SPG, 1848, cxliv.
13. Rev. H.C. White, M.A., was a Fellow of New College, Oxford.
14. Rev. H. Badnall, B.A., was a Fellow of University College, Durham.
15. Gray to Williamson, 11.1.1849, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:210f.
16. Records of the Diocese of Cape Town, 1848 - 1865.
17. SPG, 1848, cxliv.
18. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 1.9.1849, LB1:85.
19. Gray to Cole, 24.9.1849, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:246n.1. Also Records of the Diocese of Cape Town, 1848 - 1865.
20. Bishop Gray's Pastoral Letter to the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:210f.
21. Gray to Williamson, 11.1.1849, Ibid.
22. Bishop Gray's Pastoral Letter, Ibid.
23. 200 Years of S.P.G., 279.
24. Gray to C. Gray, 1.3.1848, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:160f.
25. Ibid., 1:338.
26. CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:37f.
27. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:382.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 338.
30. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon Merriman, 2f.
31. Gray to A. Williamson, 6.6.1857, MR. The Bishop had neither the time nor the opportunity to become fluent in Dutch, and told his sister Annie : "I cannot get anyone here to teach me, unless I exchange Sophy ... for a Dutch vrouw".
32. "Speech of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town delivered on several occasions in England during 1858", SACM and Ed., Nov.1858, 6 no. 71:455.

33. Mentioned in Bishop Gray's Speech in England and in numerous letters : Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305; Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, L66:220; Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC; Gray to Murray, May 1858, LB6:229; Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
34. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
35. Bishop Gray's evidence, given in Nov. 1861, before a Commission appointed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly to inquire into the Government Educational System of the Colony. Presented April, 1863(Cape Town : Solomon, 1863).
36. Bishop Gray's Speech, SACM and Ed., Nov. 1858, 6 no.71:455.
37. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Nov. 1861.
38. Bishop Gray's Speech, SACM and Ed., Nov. 1858, 6 no.71:455.
39. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
40. CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:39f.
41. Gray to S.P.G., 1854, MF, 1.3.1870:72.
42. Gray to Dickenson, 17.3.1858, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7, Cape and Grahamstown, 1850 to 1859:655, USPGA.
43. Cape Argus, 4.4.1857.
44. The Rev. the Hon. Henry Douglas was the son of the Earl of Morton, and a deacon of Durham before coming to the Cape. The Rev. Lightfoot described him in 1858, as being "a thin, spare man, very nice looking, of about fifty" - he was then 38. He accepted the Bishopric of Bombay in 1869. See Barnett-Clarke (Ed.) The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, B.D., Archdeacon of Cape Town (Cape Town : Darter, 1908) 69; Also Life at the Cape, 53.
45. Gray to Hawkins, 13.4.1857, LB6:44.
46. S. Gray to L. Gray, 29.12.1858, MR.
47. Kafirs expenses 1.4.1857 to 1.4.1858, Account Book, BA.
48. CCM, 1893, 1 no. 2:7.
49. Report by W. Foster on the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea, 1859, G15-'59 :5
50. Travers to Dean of Cape Town, 3.4.1858, 13.4.1858, CA; Travers to Frere, 3.7.1858, ZP. Also Account Book, BA - the boys' maintenance from 1.4.1857 to 1.4.1858 totalled £87 7s 7d.
51. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
52. Becker gives his name as Tladi - P. Becker, Hill of Destiny (The Life and Times of Moshesh, Founder of the Basotho) (London : Longman, 1969). Tylden calls him Tlali and this is how he himself signed a letter - G. Tylden, The Rise of the Basuto (Cape Town : Juta, 1950). Other spellings : Tlhadi, Tlhali, Hlali.
53. Becker, op.cit., 140f.
54. Ibid., 141, 168.

55. 265b, "Account of the sons of Moshueshue (Moshesh) of Tsekelo and Thali", written by Tsekelo, Feb. 1858. A revised and augmented copy was transcribed by the author on April 4, 1858. The manuscript has been translated by J.R. Masiea, Department of African Languages, U.C.T. Other manuscripts in the collection deposited in the archives of the S.A.P.L. : 265a, "Account of the witch doctor", written by Tlali Moshesh, at the Town of the Cape, 1857; 265c, "History of the Basuto", written by Tlali Moshesh, 1858; 265d, "Some stories of the Basuto", written by Tsekelo Moshesh, Feb. 1858.
56. Becker, op.cit., 168.
57. "Account of the sons of Moshueshue", 4.4.1858, 12 et seq., S.A.P.L.
58. Sarah Casalis died in June 1854. Becker, op.cit., 207 et seq.; E. Casalis, My Life in Basutoland (London : The Religious Tract Society, 1889) 288, and The Basutos or Twenty-Three Years in South Africa (London : Nisbet, 1861).
59. "Account of the sons of Moshueshue", 4.4.1858, 15.
60. Ibid., 17-32.
61. Ibid., 36-41.
62. Ibid., 10.
63. Ibid., 43f.
64. Ibid., 1f.
65. Ibid., 4.
66. Ibid., 44.
67. Ibid., 45.
68. Ibid., 52.
69. Ibid., 53-66. The teacher was the son of Sehole, a man from Patsa's village.
70. Casalis to Grey, 25.1.1858, Theal, Basutoland Records, 2:138f.
71. 1857 was known in the Lesotho as "The Year of Endless Plunder" - Becker, op.cit., 219. The First Boer-Basuto War broke out in 1858.
72. Gray to Dickenson, 17.3.1858, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:655, USPGA; Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, L86:220; Travers to Frere, 3.7.1858, ZP.
73. "Account of the sons of Moshueshue", 4.4.1858, 67-69.
74. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
75. "Account of the sons of Moshueshue", 4.4.1858, 69.
76. Bishop Gray's Address to the S.P.G. monthly meeting in London, Feb. 1858, CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:38f.
77. Lightfoot, op.cit., 70.
78. Frere to Grey, 1.7.1858, Record Book, ZP; Travers to Frere, 3.7.1858, ZP.

79. Tsekelo and Tlali Moshueshue to Grey, 4.12.1857, GCAL. See African Letters I.
80. Gray to Grey, 5.3.1858, GC; Gray to Grey, 5.7.1858, LB6:262; Gray to Glover, 29.4.1859, LB7:68.
81. Cotterill to Bullock, 12.3.1858, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1515, USPGA.
82. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
83. Gray to Wodehouse, 1.9.1862, L68:244.
84. Gray to Douglas, 1.1.1859, LB7:20.
85. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, L66:305.
86. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
87. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305; Gray to Murray, (S.P.C.K.), May 1858, LB6:229.
88. Bishop Gray frequently erroneously referred to the "forty sons of Kafir chiefs" whom the Governor had brought down with him from the Frontier. There were, in fact, 32 boys and 3 girls, and with the 4 who were already living at Bishop's Court, this made a total of 39.
89. Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, LB6:220.
90. Cape Argus, 27.2.1858.
91. Ibid.
92. Gray to Grey, 20.3.1858, LB6:207.
93. Douglas to Gray, 25.2.1858, ZP.
94. Ibid.
95. Bishop Gray's Speech, 1858, SACM and Ed., Nov. 1858, 6 no.71: 455.
96. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
97. S. Gray to Bullock, 6.12.1858, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:809.
98. Ibid.
99. Lightfoot, op.cit., 87.
100. CCM, 1905, 14:24.
101. Gray to Hirsch, 8.7.1857, LB6:83.
102. Gray to Hirsch, 5.10.1857, LB6:153.
103. Gray to Judge, 9.10.1857, LB6:160.
104. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
105. Report by Hirsch to the Managing Board of the Kafir Industrial School, 10.2.1859, Report on the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea, 1859, G15-'59:7.
106. "Native African School at Cape Town", Report by Rev. E. Glover, 19.9.1859, MF, 1860, 5:6f.
107. "The Kafir Institution at Bishop's Court", Report by Rev. H. Hirsch, 30.6.1858, SPG, Oct. 1858, 6 no.71:435f.
108. Hirsch Report, 16.2.1859, G15-'59:7.
109. Douglas to Gray, 17.3.1858, ZP.

110. Hirsch Report, 30.6.1858, SPG, Oct. 1858, 6 no.71:435f.
111. Lightfoot, op.cit., 73.
112. Ibid., 87.
113. Hirsch Report, 30.6.1858, SPG, Oct. 1858, 6 no. 71:436.
114. Ibid.
115. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
116. Dale was appointed Superintendent-General of Education in November, 1859.
117. George Frere was H.B.M.'s Commissioner in the Mixed Commission established in the Cape Colony under the Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal for the suppression of the Slave Trade. He was a cousin of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor and High Commissioner, March 1877 to August 1880 - Lightfoot, op.cit., 71n.
118. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
119. Minutes of the Management Board, 6.3.1858, Record Book, ZP.
120. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
121. Ibid.
122. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
123. Ibid.
124. Frere to Gray, 21.2.1859, ZP.
125. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
126. Ibid.
127. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
128. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
129. Gray to Douglas, 5.7.1858, L36:259; Gray to Grey, 5.7.1858, L36:262; Gray to Glover, 31.8.1858, LB6:299.
130. Gray to Douglas, 21.10.1858, LB6:329; Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
131. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
132. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
133. Entries by George Frere for 1858, Kafir Institution Record Book, ZP.
134. Frere to Gray, 21.2.1859, ZP.
135. Menu for the week and Store Room Lists, ZP.
136. Ibid.
137. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP; Minutes of Management Board, Record Book, ZP.
138. Tenders for the Supply of Food to the Kafir Institution from J. Rathfelder, 21.7.1858, 9.1.1859, 5.4.1859, ZP. Also Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
139. Frere to Grey, 26.4.1859, Record Book, ZP.
140. Hirsch to Frere, 2.8.1858, ZP.
141. Hirsch to Gray, 17.7.1858, ZP.

142. Hirsch to Frere, 2.8.1858, ZP.
143. Frere to Hirsch, 4.8.1858, Record Book, ZP.
144. Hope to Frere, 17.6.1858, ZP.
145. Frere to Robb, 25.6.1858, Record Book, ZP.
146. Frere to Hirsch and Frere to Robb, 4.8.1858, Record Book, ZP.
147. Robb to Frere, Sept. 1858, ZP
148. Travers to Truman, 12.1.1859, Record Book, ZP; Truman to Frere, 25.3.1859, ZP.
149. Foster's Report, Report on the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea, 1859, G15-'59:3f.
150. Ibid.
151. Crammond to Management Board, 30.11.1858, ZP; Frere to Crammond, 16.12.1858, Record Book, ZP. A copy of the unpublished manuscript, the autobiography of Ann Low Walker (nee Crammond) is in the Church of the Province Archives, Witwatersrand University Library. The original is believed to be in the Germiston Museum. It covers the period 1858-1936, starting with the Crammond family's journey from Birkenhead harbour to Cape Town on board the "Edward Oliver", which carried a full complement of Scottish emigrants.
152. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
156. Douglas to Gray, 6.3.1858, ZP.
157. Douglas to Gray, 17.3.1858, ZP.
158. Ibid.
159. Frere to Grey, 16.4.1858, Record Book, ZP.
160. Travers to Frere, 17.4.1858, ZP; also GH 30/13,CA.
161. Gray to Douglas, 17.3.1858, LB6:205.
162. Gray to Grey, 20.3.1858, L66:207.
163. Gray to Douglas, 17.3.1858, LB6:205.
164. Gray to Grey, 20.3.1858, LB6:207.
165. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
166. It is interesting to note that they eventually paid £6000 for "Zonnebloem".
167. Gray to Douglas, 25.5.1858, LB6:230.
168. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, L86:305.
169. Principal - £200, Master - £100, House rent - £100: Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, LB6:220.
170. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
171. Labouchere to Grey, 10.1.1857, Cory,op.cit., 6:77.

172. Cory, op.cit., 6:79f; Rees, op.cit., 217; Rutherford, op.cit., 402f.
173. Cory, op.cit., 6:78.
174. Ibid., 79.
175. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
176. Rutherford, op.cit., 402.
177. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
178. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
179. Gray to Douglas, 21.10.1858, LB6:329.
180. Rutherford states that Grey used £6000 from his private purse. But in Grey's statement at the opening of the Cape Parliament in 1859, he stated that he had taken "from the revenue of the Colony the sum of £6000 sterling for the use of British Kaffraria to be hereafter repaid from the revenues of the dependency of the Crown" - this being his salary. See also Cory, op.cit., 6:80.
18. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
182. Gray to Douglas, 26.6.1858, LB6:259.
183. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
184. Gray to Douglas, 26.6.1858, LB6:259.
185. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
186. "Zonnebloem Kaffir College Capetown", CCM Supplement, 1902, 6.
187. Gray to Murray (S.P.C.K.), May 1858, LB6:229.
188. Gray to Hawkins (S.P.G.), 4.5.1858, LB6:220.
189. Gray to Murray, May 1858, LB6:229.
190. Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, LB6:220.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid.
193. Gray to Murray, May 1858, LB6:229.
194. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
195. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
196. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
197. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
198. The two sons of Moshesh entered the Kafir Institution on 24.6.1858. Frere to Grey, 1.7.1858, Record Book, ZP; Travers to Frere, 3.7.1858, ZP.
199. Bishop Gray's Speech to the British Public, 1858, CCDG, Feb. 1881, 8 no. 2:39.
200. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, L66:305.
201. D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (including a sketch of sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa and a journey from the Cape of Good Hope to London on the West Coast;

- thence across the Continent, down the River Zambezi, to the Eastern Ocean) (London : Murray, 1857).
202. Livingstone : "The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise" - A. Wyatt Tilby, South Africa, 1846 - 1913: The English People Overseas (London : Constable, 1914) 6:204.
 203. Livingstone's Speech, Dec. 1857, quoted in CCP, 20.3.1913, 10 no. 6:90.
 204. "The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa", SACM and Ed., June 1859, 7 no. 78:218f.
 205. Bishop Gray addressed a Public Meeting at Cambridge University in Oct. 1858. In his speech he called "upon that great centre of light and life, the science and learning of England, to send forth like the Universities of olden times, a body of men from its own bosom to seek to win the Heathen of Africa to the faith of Christ" - Gray to Livingstone, 31.3.1859, LB7:57 and 26.1.1860, L67:181.
 206. The Bishopric of Sierra Leone was endowed in 1852 - 200 Years of S.P.G., 261.
 207. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 7.9.1858, LB6:305.
 208. Gray to Grey, 28.12.1858, GC and LB7:23.
 209. J.I Macnair (Ed.) Livingstone's Travels (London : Dent, 1954) Book 3; H. Rowley, The Universities Mission to Central Africa (London, 1867, 2nd ed.) 2f.
 210. Bishop Gray's Speech, 1858, SACM and Ed., Nov. 1858, 6 no. 71:456.
 211. Ibid.
 212. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
 213. Bishop Gray's Reply to an Address from the Members of the Rural Deanery of Cape Town, Oct. 1859, SACM and Ed., Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82, 392ff; also Book of Records, Bishops court, cxciif, BA.
 214. Gray to Eedes, n.d., J. Eedes, "Notes on some Recollections of the Life and Church work of Bishop Gray in South Africa", CCM, Dec. 1892, 1:8.
 215. Bishop Gray's Address, Oct. 1859, SACM and Ed., Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82:397f.
 216. Ibid.
 217. Gray to Grey, 28.12.1858, GC.
 218. Bishop Gray's open letter to friends who had assisted him, on leaving England, Sept. 1859, CCM, Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82: 390f; also Book of Records, Bishops court, clxxxix, BA.
 219. Gray to Hawkins, 4.5.1858, LB6:220; 3.6.1858, L36:231; 6.7.1858, L36:268; 27.7.1858, LB6:275. Also Gray to Douglas, 26.6.1858, LB6:259; Gray to Grey, 5.7.1858, L136: 262.
 220. Gray to Murray, May 1858, L36:229; 18.11.1859, LB7:131.

221. Gray to Douglas, 28.8.1858, L36:296; Bishop Gray's Speech, 1858, SACM and Ed., Nov. 1858, 6 no. 71:455.
222. Gray to Douglas, 28.8.1858, LB6:295.
223. Lord Stanley was Secretary of State for 3 months only. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Bulwar Lytton on 31.5.1858 - Cory, op.cit., 6:69.
224. Gray to Grey, 28.12.1858, GC.
225. Gray to Lytton, 9.12.1858, GC.
226. Gray to Douglas, 20.7.1858, LB6:272f.
227. Merrivale (for Lytton) to Gray, 21.12.1858, GC.
228. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
229. Gray to Douglas, 20.7.1858, LB6:272f.
230. Ibid.
231. Gray to Grey, 5.7.1858, L66:262.
232. Douglas to Gray, 19.7.1858, ZP.
233. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
234. Gray to Douglas, 28.8.1858, LB6:296.
235. Ibid.
236. Gray to Douglas, 16.12.1858, LB7:19.
237. Gray to Douglas, 28.8.1858, LB6:296.
238. Gray to Grey, 28.12.1858, GC.
239. Moshesh signed the Peace Treaty on 15.10.1858 - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:ch.52.
- 240., CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:40.
241. Hirsch Report, 7.12.1858, G15-'59:7.
242. S. Gray to L. Glover, 29.12.1858, MR.
243. Travers to Frere, 9.6.1859, ZP.
244. S. Gray to L. Glover, 29.12.1858, MR; Minutes of Management Board, 3.12.1858, Record Book, ZP.
245. Gray to Douglas, 1.1.1859, LB7:20.
246. Gray to Douglas, 3.1.1859, LB7:20, 26.1.1859, LB7:32.
247. Gray to Douglas, 26.1.1859, LB7:32.
248. S. Gray to L. Glover, 29.12.1858, MR.
249. Gray to Grey, 3.1.1859, GC.
250. Travers to Frere, 18.8.1858, ZP.
251. Foster Report, 15.12.1859, G15-'59: 1 et seq.
252. Ibid., 6f.
253. Ibid., 4.
254. Ibid., 5.
255. Chapter IV, Section 7.
256. Gray to Grey, 8.2.1859, ZP. Moshesh died in 1870.

- 257. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:444.
- 258. Hirsch Report, 30.9.1858, ZP.
- 259. Robb to Frere, Sept. 1858, ZP.
- 260. Hirsch Report, 30.9.1858, ZP. The first group of 16 pupils were baptized in St. George's Cathedral, Easter 1860.
- 261. Douglas to Gray, 18.9.1858, ZP.
- 262. Hirsch Report, 30.9.1858, ZP; Minutes of Management Board, 1.12.1858, Record Book, ZP.
- 263. Foster Report, 15.2.1859, G15-'59: 1 et seq. Foster had considerable experience of the workings of industrial schools in England.
- 264. Ibid., 3.
- 265. Robb to Frere, 31.12.1858, ZP.
- 266. Foster Report, 15.2.1859, G15-'59:4.
- 267. Ibid., 5f.
- 268. Report on the Kafir Institution, 1859, CCC, 1859 - quoted in CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:203ff.
- 269. Browning to Frere, 11.2.1859, G15-'59:8.
- 270. Foster Report, 15.2.1859, G15-'59:4.
- 271. Browning to Frere, 11.2.1859, G15-'59:8.
- 272. Hirsch to Managing Board, 16.2.1859, G15-'59:7.
- 273. Ibid.

CHAPTER VITHE KAFIR COLLEGE ACQUIRES A WARDEN AND A WINE ESTATE -
ZONNEBLOEM : 1859-18601. The Rev. Edward Glover Takes Charge as Warden : March 1859
Glover's Youth and Early Career

Before following Glover's career as Warden of the Kafir College, we shall first make a short study of his upbringing, education, entry into the ministry, and early missionary experiences. This will give us some understanding of the influences which moulded the man who was to become one of the major forces behind the development of the Institution during its first decade.

Edward Glover was born on June 9, 1824. His father, an old Peninsular officer in the Royals, was stationed at Limerick in Ireland at the time. As he grew up, the boy had an earnest disposition and was known for his good temper, patience - and love of animals, especially horses and cats. Edward's sense of humour and ready wit were said to be inherited from his Irish mother. He was one of many children, but they were not strong in health and a number of his brothers and sisters died young. Edward, himself, suffered a serious attack of scarlet fever at the age of seventeen which left him with a delicate chest and weak spine. These physical weaknesses caused him much suffering in later life. The long horse-back rides which he had to undertake in Africa were an agony.

Edward's father was a strict disciplinarian. Deeply religious, Colonel Glover planned that all four of his surviving sons should enter the ministry. With this goal in mind, he started their classical education at a tender age. He allowed no story books in the house and Hebrew lessons were begun at the age of eight, followed shortly by Greek and Latin. All four brothers continued their education at Cambridge. After Edward's intensive classical grounding, it is no wonder that he became an outstanding Hebrew scholar and gained a scholarship and theological prize at University. A graduate of Jesus College, he took his degree as a Senior Optime in 1849. (1)

Edward began his career as "Fellow" or tutor of St. Columba's College, near Dublin. This College had been newly established by the Church to give the sons of Irish gentry an Anglican education. Because his fellowship was not accepted as a title for Holy Orders,

Glover left Ireland in 1851, to be ordained to the curacy of Frankley, Worcestershire. (2) He felt a vocation for missionary work, though; and after hearing Bishop Gray address a meeting in the neighbourhood, in 1853, he offered himself as a recruit for the Cape diocese. (3)

Glover arrived in Cape Town the following year and was immediately attached to St. George's Cathedral. In the absence of a Dean, (4) he and two other clergymen (the Revs. A.R. Currey and G.M. Squibb) shared the charge of the Cathedral Church and Parish. This embraced nearly the whole city, from Sea Point to Papendorp (now Woodstock). (5)

Glover, as Missionary Curate, was particularly concerned with the spiritual care of the Malays and other converts. He started the first missionary services in the Cathedral for Coloured people, these being held on Sunday afternoons. (6) He lived with a Dutch family in Cape Town for some months so as to learn Cape Dutch, and was soon sufficiently fluent to preach in this language. (7) A clergyman friend of Glover's, from this time, noted his "deep seriousness" as well as his sense of humour, and the "cheerful temper with which he met the necessarily frequent inconveniences of colonial life". (8)

Following the coming of Dean Douglas in 1856, Glover was appointed to the parish of George - to that part which lay "Behind the Mountains". (9) His first headquarters were at Ezeljachtsfontein, a farm belonging to the Church in the Langkloof Valley. He moved to Schoonberg in 1857, when Bishop Gray acquired the "magnificent" 6000 acre farm for a Coloured mission settlement. (10) Here Glover built a small church to a design by Sophy Gray. His parish was seventy miles long, stretching as far as Oudtshoorn. He ministered to the few isolated English colonists in the area but his main concern was missionary work among the Coloured people who had settled in the Langkloof. They were very poor, barely able to scratch a living from the soil, their main crop being potatoes.

Glover married Louisa, the eldest daughter of Bishop Gray, on July 2, 1857. (11) The ceremony was performed by the bride's father while the Governor gave her away. The Bishop was delighted with the match and told the family in England that - "Glover is an excellent man, one of the very best we have out here". (12) The young couple settled at Schoonberg; and there they remained for two years until summoned to Bishop's Court. Glover was then

thirty-four years old.

Glover's Appointment to the Kafir College

Soon after the Kafir children were installed at Bishop's Court, Sir George Grey announced that he wished the Rev. Glover to be appointed to the position of Principal of the Institution.

Bishop Gray, on being informed of the Governor's selection, wrote at once to his son-in-law to offer him the post. (13) He was pleased when he heard, in October 1858, of Glover's acceptance, for, as he told him - "I cannot but hope and believe that this will be the beginning of a great work for GOD". (14)

At the same time, Bishop Gray was wary of taking "a leap in the dark". (15) He did not wish to authorize Glover's transfer while the plans for the Kafir College remained so undecided. Glover's removal from Schoonberg would cause bothersome repercussions in the staffing of the diocese. A number of changes would be necessary in order that the vacancy might be satisfactorily filled, all of which would have to be confirmed by the S.P.G. The Society had recently altered its rules, and jealous of its authority, insisted on being consulted about every change in appointment. Bishop Gray, who had every reason to believe that the infant experiment in African education would break down for lack of funds, had no desire to throw diocesan arrangements into confusion to no purpose. (16)

The Bishop advised Glover to use his discretion and remain at his present post until such time as the Governor was able to guarantee the College a more certain future. (17) Glover was in an extremely awkward position. On the one hand, he naturally wished to respect his Bishop's orders. But on the other hand, the Governor was impatient for him to take up his new appointment and ordered him to come to Cape Town immediately. Glover temporized by taking his wife on a trip to Algoa Bay, a move which delighted Sophy, for she was then fuming over Sir George's uncalled for interference in Church affairs. (18)

Early in the new year, Glover was forced to take it upon his own responsibility to move to Cape Town. The Warden-designate had learnt from Douglas that the insubordinate state of the Kafir youths had made it imperative for him to take over the management of the College as soon as possible. (19)

Hirsch Leaves the Kafir College

It is evident that the so-called crisis at the College was entirely the Dean's representation of the situation, and had been precipitated by an unfortunate clash in personalities. Hirsch's arrogant conduct, disobedience to directions, and independent ways, had so provoked the Dean's wrath, that he had made a formal complaint to the Board. He had accused the schoolmaster of being unpopular with the boys, and fomenting discontent amongst them. This charge was refuted by Foster, Browning and Frere, all of whom had the opportunity of checking on the boys' behaviour. As Frere told Bishop Gray - "however undisciplined and odd Hirsch may be he has really done a great work with regard to these children". (20)

Hirsch was a very junior member of the clergy and apart from his personal quirks, his refractoriness undoubtedly merited the Dean's displeasure. But he could have been forgiven much, for he was under considerable duress at the time. He had been given a most responsible and taxing job, despite his lack of experience. He had shown great courage in taking charge of the large group of uneducated Kafir children, fresh from the Kraal - a frightening proposition which many of his fellow clergymen would have been far too nervous to accept. He had had sole charge of them for nine months, day in and day out, without any respite. By the beginning of 1859, he was living under great physical and mental strain. On top of which, he was in serious financial difficulties. He had repaid a loan, given to him by the Bishop, but an outstanding debt of £25 still caused him much anxiety. This was a sizeable sum of money considering that his salary was only £75 a year.

The Dean's 'censure was the last straw and Hirsch handed in his resignation in January 1859. This he withdrew, when he heard that Glover was shortly expected to take over, as Principal. He offered to stay on as schoolmaster until a replacement could be found. But tension took its toll and Hirsch suffered a nervous breakdown. Frere took him away for a fortnight's rest, the Rev. Browning being given temporary charge of the College. Frere also wrote privately to Bishop Gray, to ask whether it would be possible to give Hirsch an additional £100 - half the Warden's pay - in recognition of his year's extra labour and responsibility. Douglas refused to allow this request to come as an

official recommendation from the Board, which shows the extent of his disapprobation. (21)

Hirsch, restored to health, resumed work at the College. He was not in charge for much longer, though, as Glover took up his duties as Warden on March 1st. When the time came, the school-master relinquished his authority most reluctantly and was bitterly resentful of his demotion. Bishop Gray was most disappointed to learn of Hirsch's discontent and tried his best to patch up the situation from afar. He gave Hirsch a gratuity of £50 and offered him the position of Vice - Principal -

An honourable post and many would be glad to fill it
 You have done well and it really can be no reflection on you that an Institution intended to be the place of Education for the Native Ministry of the Interior of Africa, should not be placed under your sole charge If you really want to serve Christ, you must not let personal feelings weigh with you. (22)

Actually Bishop Gray would have preferred to appoint a trade teacher as second master. But he was well aware that Sir George thought highly of Hirsch and would be indignant if they set him aside. (23) He did, however, suggest an alternative post, the vacancy at Schoonberg and Oudtshoorn. (24) Hirsch could not accept being in a subordinate position at the College, and, soon afterwards, summarily walked out in a fit of temper, much to the Bishop's disgust. (25)

Hirsch's subsequent career in the Colonial Church was short and disastrous. He was given Glover's old job, with a salary of £150 and a house. But he made his headquarters at Oudtshoorn, the local farming centre, in preference to the Coloured mission farm at Schoonberg. (26) Hirsch entered into his new work with energy and enthusiasm. He made extravagant plans to build a church at Oudtshoorn, using the local sandstone - a novelty in a town where all the buildings were made of clay or sun-dried bricks. But finances were his failing. It was not long before he was again short of money, and he greatly annoyed Bishop Gray by complaining about his small stipend. (27) After only six months in the "platteland", Hirsch decamped, leaving a trail of bad debts behind him.

Hirsch's unhappy successor inherited the skeleton of a church, the debts, and demands for money from the four Scots stonemasons who had been contracted to erect the building. The diocesan grant

for the building fund had all been spent on levelling the ground and laying the foundations. (28) Hirsch returned to England early in 1860, his reputation ruined. Bishop Gray was so thoroughly disgusted with his conduct that he refused to write him a testimonial. (29)

Despite Hirsch's downfall, there was no denying that he had done a magnificent job in launching the work of the Kafir Institution. The Rev. Glover paid him due tribute :

Too much honour cannot be given to my predecessor ... who for nearly a year, with unexampled success, had been struggling alone and unaided with the difficulties of a first labourer in an uncultivated field. (30)

2. Glover's New Post

Glover's First Impressions of His Pupils

Glover was both amazed and delighted to find such a well-regulated body of pupils at the Institution. His first report to the S.P.G. gives us a clear insight into his first impressions, which contrast sharply with his preconceptions about the Kafir children.

Of the moral character and general religious principles of the boys, I can speak most highly. Taken, as they were, from the very midst of their savage fellow-countrymen, I was prepared to find them, even after the few months' training they had enjoyed, a compound of the wild beast and of the spirit of evil, with passions uncontrolled, and full of that mixture of duplicity and cruelty which is generally considered the characteristic of those who for long ages have sat in darkness. That, instead of a body of savages, undisciplined in body and mind, I should have found a perfectly well ordered school, containing many boys of exceeding promise, was to me a source of great thankfulness.... When I arrived ... (I) found not a single boy who could not understand and speak a few words of English, scarcely a single boy who could not repeat in English and Kafir, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, together with the summary of their contents contained in the Catechism. And many there were who could read their Bibles with facility, and could work out difficult sums in the first rules of arithmetic. (31)

Glover's Administrative Difficulties ———

Glover's administrative authority was interfered with, from the start, by the well-meant, but unwelcome, intentions of a number of "watchdogs". Although the Warden was determined that he

would not be controlled by a Committee, (32) the Management Board was not dissolved until August. And so, for the first six months, he was answerable to this group of gentlemen for his actions.

The Governor, however, posed an even greater problem. He maintained a close interest in the Institution and insisted on dictating all major policy decisions to the Principal. Glover had been warned by Bishop Gray, before he ever took up the post, that he would not find Sir George easy to act with - "He would always commit us, and never himself to anything". (33) And this was, indeed, the case.

Evidently the Governor did not share Bishop Gray's anxiety about the College's future. Whereas the Bishop would most assuredly have wished to retrench, or at least consolidate, at this stage, Sir George forged ahead enthusiastically, and rather recklessly, with plans to expand the Institution. Glover had barely begun his new work before the Governor announced his intention of forming a separate school for females. He proposed to gather together a fresh group of Kafir girls, to join the original nucleus of three at Bishop's Court; and he expected the Church to provide a teacher for them. The Warden was requested to obtain Bishop Gray's immediate co-operation in carrying out this plan. (34)

The Bishop understood the urgency of Sir George's motive in making this move. He realized that if they did not provide wives for these young men as they grew up, they would marry heathen women - "and be very rapidly dragged down again by their wives into the barbarous customs from which they had partially escaped". (35) But this untimely development compounded his fund raising problems. He was forced to approach the S.P.G. yet again, and ask for a further grant of £100 a year for a female teacher's salary. Fortunately the Society was sympathetic to this request and increased their grant accordingly. Bishop Gray was then able to go ahead and engage a young woman for the Kafir girls. The other staff problems at the Institution were not so easily resolved, though.

Glover inherited a most unhappy assistant in Hirsch. But despite the fact that the schoolmaster was so unsettled, he was at least a competent teacher, and his experience of working with the Kafir

children was invaluable. His sudden departure from the College landed the Warden with the entire teaching load in addition to his administrative duties. The problem was, that the vacancy could not be easily filled at short notice. The Colonial educational system was so poor that there were no suitably trained teachers available locally. The Church was dependent on recruiting such staff overseas. Luckily, Glover was able to commandeer a newly arrived deacon from England, the Rev. W. Breach, to fill the post temporarily. Breach had no missionary experience, but his willingness compensated for his shortcomings. (36)

Bishop Gray had wished to make permanent staff appointments for the College whilst in England, to obviate just such a crisis. He had considered that, ideally, the schoolmaster should also be qualified in a trade. In his travels around the country Gray had been continually on the look-out for suitable candidates. A cabinet maker, carpenter, shoemaker, and mechanic, were amongst those tradesmen who had applied for the post. (37) But the Bishop had not dared to risk making an appointment while the College's financial position remained so precarious. And yet he was anxious to engage the necessary staff before he returned to the Cape. He had even consulted Lady Grey, who took a lively interest in the Kafir pupils, about the impasse, in a desperate attempt to get Sir George to clarify the situation. (38) But to no avail. And the Warden fared no better. Whereas the Governor delighted in discussing new developments with Glover, he could not be pinned down to practicalities in this particular situation.

Apart from Glover's difficulties in having to make do with a stop-gap schoolmaster, the administration of the industrial department also caused him some concern. Bishop Gray criticized the trade sections as being run on a needlessly expensive scale. He directed the Warden to examine their arrangements minutely and exercise the strictest control over all expenditure. (39)

These were worries enough for the Warden. But his chief difficulty was one of divided loyalties to the two leaders who directed the College's affairs - the Governor and the Bishop. Because of the divergent interests of State and Church, it was almost impossible for Glover to satisfy both masters at one and the same time. A case in point was the selection of two of the Kafir pupils for further studies in England.

The English Education of the Kafir Chiefs' Sons

The Governor had an understanding with the sons of the Kafir chiefs at the College that a number of them would be sent to England to continue their education. He saw this as a political move of great importance. It would be the means of impressing the future tribal leaders of the African people with Britain's might and majesty; and, hopefully, implant in them an allegiance to the Queen.

The Bishop was equally enthusiastic about the project, but for different reasons. He believed that, in the absence of comparable facilities for advanced education in South Africa, the future influential black leaders of the Church would greatly benefit from specialized training at an English Missionary College. He was even then busy with arrangements for a select group of Kafir College pupils to be admitted to St. Augustines at Canterbury.

(40) But it would be a costly undertaking and he insisted that the candidates should be well grounded in elementary subjects so as to be able to take full advantage of this opportunity.

Sir George, on the other hand, was impatient to launch the scheme and made use of the first opening. When Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown called at the Cape in March 1859, on his way to England, he was persuaded to take two Kafir pupils with him. They were George Mandyoli (Matyolo) Maqomo, son of Kona, and Boy Henry Duke of Wellington Tshatshu, son of Umtivara of the Ama Tinde clan. (41)

The Governor's selection was based on the boys' potential political importance in preference to their scholastic ability. Glover, who knew the Bishop's sentiments on the subject, was nonetheless unable to persuade Sir George to choose otherwise. The lads' grandfathers were both famous Kafir chiefs, who had led their people against the Imperial forces in the Frontier wars, and were still considered untrustworthy. Jan Tshatshu had, in fact, visited England with Dr. Philip in 1835, but had later rebelled against the Government. (42) Whilst Maqomo was at that time being detailed on Robben Island to prevent him from stirring up further trouble amongst his tribesmen.

Sir George believed that if his civilizing policy was to succeed, every effort must be made to educate the younger generation of

chiefs to become trusted allies of Britain. But Bishop Gray regretted that Glover had allowed the Governor to select two pupils who were so little advanced. (43) On their arrival in England, George and Duke were handed over to a friend of Bishop Cotterill's, the Rev. B.C. Savage, Rector of Nuneaton in Warwickshire. They remained in his care for two years, the clergyman having charge of their education.

The other chiefs' sons at the Kafir College were envious of their fellow pupils' good fortune and were eager to follow in their footsteps. Samuel Moroka, the eldest son of the Chief of the Barolong wrote to the Governor pressing his claim :

To Sir George Grey I send this letter to you Sir I like to Go England Sir I like very much Sir and I want any thing I must ask to you Sir and I was wrote to my Father I tell him I shall ask to you Sir and he said it is Good he said if I want anything I must ask to you Sir I like very much Sir if I can Go England I shall be Glad Sir Please Sir I like to Go and I thought my Father he shall be Glad Sir if he hear I Go England to learning he shall very Glad Because you Promise my Father you Said to him You Shall Bring me England Please Sir I like very much Sir to Go England Sir
I am Samuel Moroka. (44)

Chief Moroka ruled over a small territory in the Caledon River Valley, sandwiched between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. He had proved himself to be a loyal ally of both Boer and Briton in the recurring conflict between the Basutos and the white men. Sir George wished to honour his promise to Samuel's father, so strengthening the bonds between the British Government and the Barolong chief. But this time Glover was able to prevail on the Governor to delay the boy's departure until his education was more advanced. Samuel was sent to St. Augustine's two years later, with three other Kafir College pupils.

3. The Kafir Pupils' Progress under Warden Glover: March to September 1859

Academic Progress

When Glover took over as Warden, on March 1st 1859, the majority of the pupils had had a year's schooling. Aged between ten and twenty years old, (45) their instruction was a formidable challenge to even the most experienced teacher. After their first six months together, the Warden had nothing but praise for the boys' keen and intelligent response to their tuition. His observations are given

in a Report to the S.P.G. written in September :

After five and a half years' experience in teaching children and adults of the coloured race in this colony, I have no hesitation in saying that the Kafirs far excel the rest in powers of mind. More than this, I believe that the boys in this School have an average of intellect equal to, if not greater than, the average of a like number of boys in any school in any part of England.

If in this belief I am guilty of some prejudice in favour of my own flock, there is one conviction of the justice of which I am perfectly satisfied, viz. that never was there a school of boys so painstaking and anxious to learn as these.

Their attention to their lessons is generally wonderful; and after the school-hours are over, you may see the boys carrying on their work as far as they can for themselves and for one another. Half-a-dozen boys will be deeply engaged in adding to the number of the suns worked on their slates, before they are brought up for correction. One or two will be helping others less advanced than themselves to the right understanding of a new rule of arithmetic; and in another place a boy will be reading a story from the spelling-book, while others are doing their best to write it correctly on the slates by way of a dictation lesson. (46)

The Boys' Religious Feelings

The Warden's attempts to fathom the boys' innermost thoughts were frustrated by the language barrier between them. He knew no Kafir, and they were not sufficiently fluent in English to be able to express themselves freely in this foreign tongue. Glover was a competent linguist and he made every effort to learn Kafir. But, whereas he had quickly acquired Dutch through living with a local Dutch family, he found no scholar in the capital who could similarly assist him in his Xhosa studies, and he experienced great difficulty in learning the language. (47)

The Warden, hampered by limited communications with his pupils, had to rely on his observations in order to assess their religious feelings. He was deeply impressed by the boys' evident sincerity. He reported that they were singularly devout and attentive during the daily reading of morning and evening prayers, and at church on Sundays. In the dormitories, one of the boys was appointed by the others to lead them in prayers - "Never in my life", said Glover, "have I seen a more devout group of worshippers than I have witnessed among these Kafir children as they knelt and worshipped in their own bedrooms". (48)

As proof of their devoutness, he cited an incident in which two boys were brought before him by their fellows in the dormitory, charged with misbehaviour during prayers - "The boys are little given to tale-bearing and therefore the fact of their bringing the charge, and the evident shock to their religious feeling occasioned by this behaviour, impressed me much". (49)

Glover was very hopeful of his pupils' conversion to Christianity. Three boys had already expressed "a very earnest desire for baptism". (50) One of them, by translating a simple catechism into Kafir, and by reading the Kafir Testament to as many boys as he could muster in the evening, showed promise of being a useful evangelist to his heathen countrymen in the future.

Industrial Training

Glover was able to report very satisfactory progress in the industrial department. All the clothes and shoes worn by the children were now made on the establishment. Besides which, the shoemaker's shop was starting to pay its way. There was a great demand for shoes from Coloured families in the neighbourhood, and the Institution could scarcely supply them fast enough. The income from sales more than paid for Crammond's wages. The carpenter's shop also promised to become self-supporting soon. Two boys had progressed to the point where they were considered ready to earn their own livings.

The Warden regretted that, because they were so short of space at Bishop's Court, some of the boys were unable to learn a trade. Not to mention the fact that the dormitories were crowded to "a most unwholesome degree". (51) He urged the need for the College's immediate removal, preferably to a farm with suitable buildings, so that the boys might learn farming and gardening, and other branches of trade.

But whilst the Warden enthused over the merits of industrial training, there were some of his students who were sadly disillusioned by their education. They resented having to do trade work, believing it to be beneath their dignity. They complained that they had been brought to school at the Cape under false pretences. One boy, Mruceu, wrote home to his family in British Kaffraria, in May, begging them to send funds for his repatriation by ship - the translation reads :

I write to my dear brothers because your children have not come to school; because you wrote that they came to work; they have not come to learn; they are hired out to white man by white man they will work; they will get nothing because they are taught to work; because you said to Maclean (Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria) they have not come to learn, they have come to work, let him who brought his child to school come and fetch him if he loves him, because there is nothing which he will learn. The white man say there is no home, there is no money, for the money to pay the ship is much, for one eighty shillings.

Go also to Heaye and tell them that their children have not come to learn, they are working, if he was bringing them to school; he must come and fetch them, one eighty (shillings) remain than Knowing that they are not at school. Our teachers are two, one come from beyond the sea, he still teaches us. Mr. Glover. Mr. Breach.

(signed) Mruceu. (52)

There is no reference whatsoever to any dissatisfaction amongst the pupils, in the Institution's official reports. The Warden most probably treated the matter as being typical of a schoolboy's complaints. On the other hand, a number of boys returned home during 1859, and Mruceu may have been amongst them. (53)

The Governor filled the "vacancies" at once. He had arranged for a large party of Kafir children to be brought down to the Cape to be indentured under suitable masters and taught a trade. When they arrived in May, twelve were sent to serve their apprenticeship at the Naval Dockyards at Simon's Bay. (54) Glover applied for one boy; (55) but Sir George decided to send three to the Kafir Institution - Umborini, Maritzi, and Billy. (56)

The Pupils' Character and Conduct

Glover's brother later wrote that "the pupils looked upon themselves as prisoners, and it was exceedingly difficult to make them contended with their lot". (57) Mruceu's letter is the sole evidence to substantiate such a statement.

The Warden, on the contrary, spoke highly of the boys' character and general good conduct. They indulged in the usual schoolboys' pranks - "sums in arithmetic will be proved right that are worked wrong; boys will sometimes go out of bonds; ... but of lying and deceit they are for the most part singularly innocent". (58) Only one boy had proved to be an incurable liar, and he was eventually expelled for general bad behaviour. Glover reported

that although his flock was still not entirely free of black sheep, their number was exceptionally few. (59)

The Warden's Evaluation

The S.P.G. provided the teachers' salaries and was therefore directly concerned with the College's affairs. The Warden was required to keep the Society regularly informed of the work of the Institution. He concluded his first Report to them with the following evaluation :

The greater part of these boys are the sons of chiefs, or of chiefs' counsellors, and likely one day to succeed to their fathers' positions of influence. If these can, by GOD's blessing on this College, be turned from being heathen and barbarian to be civilized and well-ordered Christians; if from being formidable enemies, they become, even a few of them, brethren in CHRIST and messengers of peace to their fellow-countrymen, surely the whole Church of CHRIST may then bless the day that this college was established. (60)

From this statement we can see that Glover's approach to his work contrasted somewhat with that of Colenso's. The two clergymen headed similar Institutions, in that they were both run by the Church with substantial aid from the State; but their respective administrations were nonetheless marked by significant religious and political differences.

In the first place, they were influenced by the basic difference in their attitudes towards the Africans' nature, to direct their pupils' education along divergent lines - the one completely Anglicized, the other compatible with African culture. Secondly, as a result of the diverse political situations from which their pupils came, the two school heads were influenced by different points of view in their handling of their pupils. The Kafirs were the Government's former foes and Glover was duty-bound, to both Church and State, to turn them into Britain's friends. In comparison, the Zulus were refugees who had fled to Natal to seek British protection, and Colenso had the advantage of dealing with Government allies from the start.

The outcome of the Kafir pupils' education was of far greater political importance to the Government than that of the Zulus. Consequently, Glover had to cope with pressures from the State from which Colenso was almost entirely free. At the same time, because the State subsidized the Kafir College to a far greater

extent than Ekukanyeni, the Cape Institution was in a more vulnerable position than its Natal counterpart, when threatened with the withdrawal of State support. The situation became critical for the Kafir College following Sir George Grey's recall, and return to England in August 1859.

4. The Governor's Recall Causes Concern for the Kafir College's Future

Sir George Grey's Feud with Officialdom

Sir George Grey's feud with officialdom had begun during his Governorship of New Zealand; and had gradually gathered force during his term of office in South Africa. (61) Over the years, he had been constantly irritated and angered by the criticisms and fault-finding of the Colonial and War Office authorities. In many of his despatches home, he had been barely able to conceal his contempt for the orders given him by a succession of ineffectual Secretaries of State. (62) They, in turn, could not approve his dictatorial handling of Government affairs.

Sir George was impatient of seeking his superiors' approval for routine administrative measures. Where he had believed his policy to be right, he had gone ahead without waiting for official sanction. When taken to task for his high handed behaviour, he had, on many occasions, misrepresented the facts in his despatches. He had exaggerated the nature of the so-called crisis situations in order to justify the necessity for making emergency decisions. He had resented any attempt to curb his dictatorial powers or alter his directives. He believed that, by being on the spot, he was better able to make wise judgments to meet day-to-day developments in the country, than those in Whitehall, who were separated by time and distance.

The antagonism between Grey and the British authorities reached a climax in 1858. The officials had continually criticized Sir George's actions - censuring his arrangements for the German Legion, objecting to his ordering of additional troops to India, and disapproving the heavy expenditure on his native policy. Subsequent to the reduction in the Parliamentary Grant, the Governor offered his resignation to Lord Stanley in June 1858. But Sir Bulwer Lytton, who shortly succeeded Stanley as Secretary of State, begged Sir George to remain in office. (63)

Bishop Gray was sure that this was the turning point for Sir George. He believed that the Government would now pledge themselves to support his policies, and pay his bills - hopefully putting the Governor in a position to pay liberally for the Kafir College. (64) But this was not to be, and the situation did not greatly improve. Neither the Home Government nor the Colonial Parliament would give Sir George the necessary money for furthering his Frontier schemes. (65)

However, it was Grey's handling of the Boer Republics that finally led to his downfall. The British Government had, since the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty, pursued a policy of non-intervention north of the Orange River. Nevertheless, Grey had pressed for Federation of the independent States with the British Colonies. He was anxious lest the Orange Free State and the South African Republic should unite. He believed that such an alliance would be a threat to the neighbouring Colonies as well as exerting further pressure on the various African tribes - so continuing, and possibly inflaming, the unrest in the interior.

Although Sir George was ordered to remain neutral during the First Basuto War, he eventually intervened to act as mediator and brought about the signing of the Peace Treaty in September 1858. Following on this personal success, he encouraged the Free State Volksraad to propose a closer alliance with the Cape Colony. He then placed the resolution before the Cape Parliament. Grey's plans for Federal Union were in direct defiance of his orders from the Colonial Office. It was inevitable that his unauthorized actions would lead to a confrontation with the Home authorities. (66)

The Governor's Recall and Return to England : August 1859

Despite the fact that there were those in the Colonial Office who supported Grey's plans for confederation, (67) they still felt that he should be censured for exceeding his instructions. Sir George's long feud with officialdom finally came to a head in June 1858, when he was informed of his recall :

You have so far compromised the Government and endangered the success of that policy which they must deem right and expedient in South Africa, that your continuance in the administration of government can no longer be of service to public interests. (68)

The news of the Governor's recall "staggered and excited" the

Colony from one end to the other. (69) The colonists held meetings in many parts of the country, and petitions were drawn up beseeching Her Majesty to reinstate the Governor. There were extraordinary scenes of public emotion as Sir George and Lady Grey prepared for their departure. As Bishop Gray explained to his associates in England :

People felt, and rightly felt, that he was the ablest Governor they had ever had, and that he had done great things for the country. He was overwhelmed with addresses from every quarter - and 20,000 people accompanied him to the ship. (70)

The Grey's set sail for England on August 21, 1859. (71)

The Proposed Reinstatement of the Governor

Even as Sir George left the Colony, a despatch, written on August 4, was on its way to the Cape reinstating him in his office. There had been a change of Government in England, in June. (72) The Duke of Newcastle had taken over as Colonial Secretary. After careful investigation of the Cape Governor's conduct, the decision to recall Sir George was reversed, with certain stipulations as to future policy. (73) But the order arrived too late.

Bishop Gray's Final Bid to Gain Government Backing for the Kafir College

The news of the Governor's recall came as a bombshell to Bishop Gray. Sir George's personal interest in the Kafir College stood as the only surety against its continuance. Without him there was but little hope of obtaining subsidization. Since the Home Government had clearly shown that it was out of sympathy with Sir George's ideals and was no longer prepared to foot the bill for his civilizing schemes, the withdrawal of all State support to the Kafir Institution seemed a certainty.

The Bishop had by then completed his fund raising drive in England and was making preparations to return to his diocese. The money that he had collected would not be sufficient to meet the additional expense of providing for the maintenance of the Kafir children. (74) But his motto - "Faint yet Pursueing" - had not been taken in vain. (75) With only a week left to go before his departure, he requested an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, in a last minute bid to persuade the Government to honour its commitment to the Kafir College. The Institution had become

the proverbial shuttlecock, tossed to and fro between Church and State. It was now the Bishop's turn to play it into the State's court, hoping to force them into making a move. He wrote :

I am now in this position. I am returning to the Cape to find probably that Sir George has left, - leaving in my house 50 Kafir children, the sons of Chiefs and their Councillors, without any means for their support. He has hitherto maintained these children at his own cost, giving £1600 for this purpose. After he leaves he cannot be expected to do anything. I must on my return dismiss 30 of them, or get into debt. I do not like to interfere with what has been part of a system of Government policy, and to let loose these young hostages for the peace and security of the country, without informing your Grace of the position in which I am placed. (76)

The Bishop then went on to explain that Sir George had encouraged in him the expectation of Parliament renewing the Colonial Grant. On the strength of this, he had gone ahead with arrangements to engage additional staff - two mechanics and an agriculturalist. But the change in circumstances would necessitate the cancellation of these plans. Twenty children was the utmost that he could support out of private benefactions. He did not dare incur further expense. He argued, though, that he was more than justified in expecting the State to continue with their aid :

This scheme has been entirely a Government one, and I feel no responsibility about it. The children were placed in my empty house without even my knowledge - I have of course welcomed them; but I am under no pecuniary obligations respecting them. I should be sorry to see the Establishment broken up, because, in common I believe with most people I regard it as calculated to be a great instrument in the civilization of a large part of Africa I should be glad to know how your Grace thinks that I ought to proceed, if on my return I find no Governor at the Cape, and no means of support for these children. (77)

Bishop Gray was granted an interview with the Colonial Secretary. The Duke, strictly in confidence, passed on the information that Sir George had been asked to remain at the Cape. He also led the Bishop to believe that Parliament would continue to vote money for British Kaffraria. (78) The new regime supported Grey. This was reassuring news indeed. The only question that yet remained unanswered, was, whether Sir George would agree to the conditions of his reinstatement.

The Bishop sailed from-Southampton on August 6. (79) He fully expected that, on his return to the Colony, he would find the

Governor still in residence. It must be remembered that although the Kafir Institution was then well into its second year, the co-founders had not met since its commencement. The Bishop was understandably anxious to consult Sir George, in person, about the College's future. But unbeknownst to the two leaders, they passed each other in mid ocean.

5. Bishop Gray Returns Home

The Bishop Finds the Governor Gone from the Cape

On Bishop Gray's arrival at the Cape, he was bitterly disappointed to find that he had missed Sir George.

This is very unfortunate, (he wrote and told the S.P.G.) and will again throw back my Kafir College, for I am not in a position to take any step for its permanent foundation apart from the Government. If

- he should return he will I trust, intimate to me the extent to which I may depend upon him for support. If he should not (which I greatly fear may be the case) I must wait patiently for the arrival of his successor before I determine anything. (80)

The Bishop was convinced that Grey would not come back to the Colony. He wrote at once to the Duke of Newcastle, asking that the Governor's successor should be put in touch with Sir George - so that he might "learn from his lips what his views are respecting the Institution, and what our mutual relations and responsibilities are with regard to it". (81)

For the present, Bishop Gray was much relieved to learn that there was no immediate anxiety on the score of maintenance. Before he left, -Sir George, "with his usual consideration", had made provision for the College's support until the arrival of his successor. (82)

Sir George's Provisions for the Kafir College

Sir George had left instructions with the Colonial officials to continue making the regular payments to the Kafir Institution. (83) The Governor had also attempted to make some provision towards defraying the cost of the pupils' maintenance. He had directed that the chiefs' children were to be given endowments of valuable land in British Kaffraria. The farms were to be hired out whilst the children were at the College and the proceeds were to be used as part payment of their education.

Emma and Gonya Sandile were each to receive a pastoral and an

agricultural farm. While each son of a chief at the College, was to get a smaller grant of land. (84) The Governor proposed that these Kafir children should take over ownership of their properties after completing their education, so affording "themselves and their descendents permanent possessions in the land of their forefathers". (85) Glover was duly authorized to inform the recipients, that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the issue of at least three hundred acres of land to each child who qualified for the grant. (86)

Bishop Gray was disappointed that the Governor had not made a similar grant of land in Kaffraria for the future and permanent endowment of the Institution, a measure which he had frequently suggested as a long term investment. (87) He doubted whether the farms would produce much in the way of rents in the immediate future, and saw them as being of little value in relieving the financial burden of the childrens' maintenance at school. (8b)

Sir George Grey's final action regarding the Kafir Institution, before his departure, had been to dissolve the Board of Management. It had failed to raise any local support for the College by means of subscription funds, and so -

The Governor considered that he should relieve the Lord Bishop, as well as his own Successor, upon whom will devolve the whole responsibility of providing funds for the support of the Institution, from any restraints which in their opinions, such Board of Management might impose upon them. (89)

The gentlemen of the Board, who had "so judiciously and zealously conducted its affairs", were thanked for their services and for the aid which they had so readily and willingly given the Governor. (90) They were requested to hand over the future management of the Institution to the Rev. Glover - much to the Warden's satisfaction. Glover was now responsible to Bishop Gray alone.

Bishop Gray Meets the Kafir Pupils

It was-a strange homecoming for the Grays, to be welcomed back to Bishop's Court by nearly fifty black children. The Kafir pupils had looked forward eagerly to the event and had discussed it at great length. Their temporary teacher, the Rev. Breach, had been most amused to hear them speak of the Bishop as their "Father" and Sir George Grey as their "Uncle". (91)

For the time being, Bishop Gray was prepared to tolerate the necessary inconveniences of having a thriving Industrial Institution, with all its attendant activities, housed in the out-buildings of his home. (92) He, who had been so intimately and energetically involved in the struggle to keep the school going, was intrigued to meet the Kafir pupils, the majority of them for the first time.

The Bishop set to, at once, to make an appraisal of the boys' work, both in the classroom and at their various trades. He also examined them himself, with a view to testing their religious knowledge. He lost no time in reporting his findings to the College's patrons overseas.

They are a fine, manly, intelligent set of young fellows, (he observed) and take great delight in improving themselves. (93) ... The progress made is far greater than I could have expected. There are a good many interesting details with regard to individual characters Two or three are anxious to be baptized, and all of them now attend Church, and are very devout in their manner. They are very docile, and give little trouble - so far as I can judge they are much attached to their teachers. (94)

The staff then consisted of the Warden, the schoolmaster, and three trade teachers. Louisa Glover, an accomplished artist, had started a drawing class, too. (95) Her father was delighted to see her taking such an interest in the College and so happily occupied in doing her share of the work. (96) He confided to a good friend - "My daughter is very fond of her boys, and will hardly believe that they have any faults". (97)

Soon after his return home, the Bishop appointed the Rev. Glover as his domestic chaplain. (98) The Warden, besides fulfilling his many duties at Bishop's Court, also held a service in Dutch, on Sunday evenings, for the Coloured people in Claremont. (99)

The Kafir pupils Were being taught singing, and showed a natural talent for music. (100) Both the Bishop and his wife were unmusical and there had been no singing in the chapel up to this time. But "Hymns Ancient and Modern" now came into regular daily use during morning and evening prayers. (101) Bishop Gray wrote to supporters in England to ask for some musical instruments for the boys. He requested a printing press, too, thinking that printing would be an excellent additional trade; but this development did not take place for another twenty years. (102)

The Grays brought with them from England, a new recruit for the College staff. Mary Adelaide Ainger had been engaged to teach the Kafir girls, her salary being provided by the S.P.G..(103) She was a tubercular patient and it was hoped that the change in climate would benefit her health. (104) Miss Ainger started work at once. The three girls were separated from the boys and placed under her personal supervision. She liked her work; and her charges, who seem to have been somewhat neglected up to this time, flourished under her devoted care. (105) Bishop Gray planned to increase the number of girls at the College to at least thirty, so that most of the boys could be assured of finding Christian wives. (106) But until Miss Ainger could be more fully occupied, she held an Evening School for Coloured children, drawn from families in the neighbourhood. (107)

Life at Bishop's Court with the Grays at Home

After a two year absence from his diocese, the Bishop was soon caught up in the busy routine of Church activities. He wrote despairingly to his family, saying - "Now that we are back again there is so much to be done everywhere, and so little time to do it in, and such small means, that I feel guilty if idle for a single day". (108) He had barely had time to settle in to his home surroundings, before he was off on a Visitation to some of his scattered flock. Accompanied by Sophy, Gray left Bishop's Court in the middle of October for a month long tour which took him to Clanwilliam and the farming settlements along the way.(109)

The Kafir boys joined the family and servants as they all congregated in the courtyard to give the Bishop and his wife a rousing send-off. Miss Ainger, who described the leave-taking, kept her girls demurely at a distance, near their room. (110) All was ready. The Grays took their places in the cart, and the driver gathered up the reins. The onlookers then watched in dismay as the lead horses stood upon their hind legs - three of the four horses had never been in harness before. (111) Ludwig, the driver, appeared unconcerned, however, and after a few plunges they were off at a gallop, cheered on by the Kafir children.

Bishop Gray had many commitments and was often away from home. Although the College was under his roof and the pupils were much in evidence, he found little time to get thoroughly acquainted with them, to his great regret. (112) But, judging by the private

talks that he had with a few of the lads, (113) and from their letters home, he was more than satisfied with their spiritual progress. A number of the boys corresponded regularly with their parents and with those who had left the College, writing in Kafir and in English. The Bishop noted that religious subjects appeared to be much in their thoughts. (114)

Several of them, he informed the S.P.C.K., are I think clearly under religious impressions.... I saw a letter from one who has recently left the Institution to a brother here. It was nearly all about the Blessed Lord, and breathed a great desire to be hereafter useful to his country men. (115)

This is the first recorded instance of a Kafir pupil returning to his home and attempting to realise the founders' vision. Bishop Gray, after making an assessment of the pupils' progress, felt quite justified impressing the College's claim for continued Government support. In his letter to the Secretary of State, he said :

Altogether it appears to me to be answering the benevolent purpose which Sir G. Grey had in view to founding it and to offer the best means of influencing the minds of those who are the natural leaders of the Kafir tribes, and through them hereafter the tribes themselves. (116)

Bishop Gray marvelled at the boys' remarkable thirst for knowledge. As they passed under his study window every morning, on their way to wash in the river at the bottom of the garden, they would often be engrossed in reading books as they walked. When there was no school, some were said to say, "I very sorry". (117) They were almost in a state of rebellion when told that they were to have holidays at Christmas.

The festival was celebrated at Bishop's Court with a large childrens' party. White scholars came from Claremont and Newlands to join the College pupils for a feast. They marched up the hill singing, with banners held on high. The Kafir children were a sober group in comparison, the girls joining modestly in at the end of the procession. Long tables were set out in the garden, laden with food. After Grace had been sung, the children tucked into their tea, "fast and furious". (118) They had only just finished the meal when the bell rang, sounding the alarm for a bush fire burning in the grounds. The Kafir boys rushed off to help, and it was soon put out.

There was a good deal of singing at the party, followed by games. The Kafir girls were very shy and their teacher was hard put to it to persuade them to join in. The Bishop enjoyed himself hugely. Seated in a chair, he handed out sugar-plums to the girls who were too little to scramble - "he was perfectly encased with them, only the top of his hat being visible". (119)

After the distribution of prizes, the children were taken inside to see a magic lantern show. All had gone well up to now, the pupils from the different schools mingling freely. But this novel entertainment proved to be a disaster, for some of the youngsters took fright in the dark. According to Miss Ainger :

The shrieking and crying that ensued was something awful. The front door was got open and the disaffected got away. The Bishop asked one boy what he was roaring for; "It was only made dark that you might see the pretty pictures". "Ugh I", says the boy, "the Kafirs will kill us", which His Lordship repeated afterwards to the Glovers with great glee. (120)

There was a friendly rivalry between the Bishop and Glover, over their respective followings of Hottentots and Kafirs. The Bishop would tease Miss Ainger, too, by introducing her to visitors as a Kafir. When his wife remonstrated, he would say - "Oh, no, I remember, she is partly Hottentot". (121)

Fires were a constant hazard at Bishop's Court. The College pupils turned out regularly to fight the flames that so often threatened to burn down the buildings. The Bishop and Glover would each take a party of beaters, armed with bushes, the Kafir boys being joined by the Hottentot labourers and any available English visitors. The bush fires were a spectacular sight as the wind drove the rivers of flames up the back of Table Mountain. Thick clouds of ash would shower down over Cape Town, settling on the houses and streets. (122)

As much as Bishop Gray delighted in the Kafir childrens' company, there could be no question of the Institution carrying on indefinitely at Bishop's Court. The Metropolitan complained that this arrangement cramped him very much for room and that he was no longer able to offer his customary hospitality to upcountry clergymen and catechists. Besides which, the Institution needed more space in order to develop fully. The Bishop was, therefore, anxious to purchase a property as soon as possible. Such a step

would give permanence to the Kafir College. (123)

6. The Purchase of a Property for the Kafir College

The Quest for a Suitable Property

While still in England, Bishop Gray had given much thought to the problem of finding a suitable place for the Kafir pupils. In his letters to Glover and Dean Douglas, he had offered numerous suggestions as to likely sites.

After the protracted negotiations for Colonel Hopper's property had finally fallen through, he had contemplated building in Bishop's Court's grounds. When this proposal was turned down by the Trustees, he had next considered building in the Diocesan College grounds - in the field to the right of the drive. Although this was "a beautiful site", the Bishop had feared the consequences of having the two Institutions in such close proximity. He had thought that the white boys would bully the black - "and that a bad spirit in the latter would be the result". (124) And so he had reluctantly relinquished this idea.

Bishop Gray had at length resolved to buy a place with buildings on it and renovate them, rather than build from scratch - this probably being cheaper in the long run. The next step had been to decide whether the College should be located in the Town or in the Country. The advantages of it being in Cape Town were that there were ready facilities for the boys to learn trades and that the various Church works could be grouped around the College, in accordance with the Dean's scheme. The Bishop had rather preferred the idea of having it in the country, though, for he was determined that the Institution should support itself to a large extent, from the land. (125)

Bishop Gray had asked the Dean to find out whether either of his neighbours were interested in selling their estates. He had considered that Versfeldt's large, roomy house at "Klaassenbosch" would be an ideal residence for the Kafir pupils. Cloete's place, "Kirstenbosch", was not so well suited but would probably be cheaper. (126) "Alphen", a farm not far away in Constantia, had also come to mind.

The Bishop had rejected Douglas' suggestion of "Westerford", arguing that it was not "a nice place" - it was half in ruins

and had no land. (127) "Newlands", another possibility, was also in a wretched state of repair and would be costly to renovate. Furthermore, the owner was unlikely to be willing to sell a sufficient quantity of land at a fair price. (128) In the end, financial difficulties had forced the Dean to shelve the whole matter, and it awaited the Metropolitan's decision on his return to the Cape.

Once home, Bishop Gray treated the quest for suitable housing for the Kafir Institution as a priority. But after searching "the whole country over", he despaired of finding a small farm which would meet his requirements and would still be within his price range. (129) He was not able to offer more than £3000 for he had to hold back £500 for renovations, and this was well below the market value of any fitting place. (130) Property values had risen steeply in the neighbourhood. (131) The Bishop would obviously need assistance with the purchase, but there was little chance of the Church Societies giving further help. The Government was the last resort: the new Governor being the determining factor. Bishop Gray insisted that he would not think of buying a property until he had learnt what public policy the Governor intended to follow. The new administrator's views might differ materially from those of Sir George Grey. There would then be little hope of obtaining State aid. (132) Nevertheless, despite the Bishop's determination to be circumspect, he abandoned all caution when he found a place that seemed to fit the bill for the Kafir Institution. In mid October, he agreed to buy "Zonnebloem" estate, taking a chance that the new Governor would be sympathetic to the Kafir childrens' cause.

Zonnebloem Estate

Bishop Gray had almost given up hope of finding a permanent home for the Kafir College, when he learnt that "Zonnebloem", a farm situated on the outskirts of Cape Town, was on the market. (133) The subsequent negotiations for the property were handled by the Bishop's personal doctor and close friend, Dr. Bickersteth, who was also a leading layman in the diocese. (134) The doctor, besides having charge of the Kafir pupils' health, had also sat as one of the lay representatives on the College's Managing Committee. He had the school's interests at heart, and was as eager as the Bishop to see the Institution established on a more satisfactory footing.

Dr. Bickersteth arranged to have the estate appraised by the leading men in Cape Town. (135) The property was given a valuation of £5750. (136) Armed with this information, Bishop Gray then accompanied the doctor on a personal tour of inspection. They were shown over the farm by the owner, Captain Wilson. The Port Captain was careful to point out all the improvements which he had made during his two year possession of the property. The visitors were delighted with what they saw. "Zonnebloem" struck them as being "providentially prepared . . . and wonderfully adapted to the purpose" of the Kafir College. (137)

The place was in "a perfect state of order", and would need minimal renovations to turn it into a fully functioning Industrial Institution, a favourable consideration of some account.-(138) The Bishop reckoned that there was ample accommodation for one hundred children at once. Although this proved to be an over-optimistic estimate - there was, in actual fact, housing for only half as many pupils - the buildings were certainly capacious.

The numerous farm outbuildings would make abundant and excellent workshops of every description. The only drawback was, that in putting them to such a use, an annual income of £216 would be lost, as the stables had been leased to the Government Remount Agency for this sum. (139) But the estate produced an adequate annual return apart from this rental. Captain Wilson had made a profit of £496 from the farm in 1859. The hire of seven cottages on the property had brought in ten guineas a month. The balance of the income had been made up from the sale of farm produce.

"Zonnebloem" contained one hundred and ninety-five acres of land. The Bishop was much influenced by the likelihood of the farm continuing to bring in a steady income, so achieving his ideal that the Institution should be partly self-supporting. Grapes had been a lucrative crop in 1859, contributing £180. The sale of forage had yielded £50; while butter, milk and vegetables had produced a further £50. (140)

Bishop Gray considered that "Zonnebloem" was ideally located, its situation combining all the chief advantages of town and country. There was "ample grazing ground, beautiful land for agriculture, and rich garden ground". (141) At the same time, the farm was only one and a half miles from Cape Town. As the Bishop told Sir George Grey - "It is within reach of the highest civilization which we

have to give in South Africa and yet separated from the contamination of the Town". (142)

The search for a suitable property was over. All now depended on what sum of money Captain Wilson would be prepared to accept as a fair price, as against the supposed real value of his much improved place. (143)

Bishop Gray Buys "Zonnebloem": "A very expensive place for Our Kafir Institution

Bishop Gray was eager to buy "Zonnebloem". But he only had £3000 with which to purchase the property and it was valued at nearly twice this amount. He would be taking a great risk if he saddled himself with such a large debt. Although the Kafir College was the joint undertaking of Church and State, all Government aid could be withdrawn at a moment's notice and the Bishop could find himself entirely responsible for financing the whole venture. (144) He had to gamble on the contingency that Sir George Gray would be persuaded to return to the Cape as Governor. Making this assumption, he consulted all those who were in touch with Sir George and might be supposed to know his views and wishes concerning the Institution. (145)

The Bishop's advisers in Cape Town were adamant that he should not allow this opportunity to pass by, and pressed him to make the purchase. (146) The matter was urgent and had to be decided at once. The Kafir College could not continue at Bishop's Court for much longer. The Bishop was due to leave on a Visitation in a few days' time, and would be away from home for a month. He could not postpone settling his Kafirs' future. -(147) There was no time to consult the Government and Church authorities overseas.

After "anxious considerations and hopeless inquiries in all directions", in a last minute effort to try and find a more reasonably priced proposition, Bishop Gray finally decided to take the plunge and make Captain Wilson an offer of Z5500. (148) Although he took this step "with fear and trembling", he and his advisers were "all agreed that the risk ought to be run". (149)

Bishop Gray suffered great stress during the ensuing negotiations. Even though Dr. Bickersteth handled the bargaining, the Metropolitan gave the instructions and made the decisions. They were forced to raise their bid to their ceiling price of £.6000 - "Under no circumstances could I offer more", the Bishop told Bickersteth,

"and I tremble even at the risk of involving myself by offering so large a sum". (150) Captain Wilson accepted this offer, however, and the deal was concluded on October 17.

The Bishop departed for Clanwilliam the following day. Nevertheless, before he left, he still found time to write to members of his family, the Church Societies and Sir George Grey, to inform them of the transaction. In his letter to his son, he said :

I have to-day agreed to buy a very expensive place for our Kafir Institution, and I am not sure that it will not drag me into difficulties, but I have thought it right to take the step it is Zonnebloem, just under the mountain on this side of Cape Town, overlooking the Bay. (151)

The inflation in property values at the Cape, at this time, is reflected in the comparison of "Zonnebloem's" price of £6000 for one hundred and ninety-five acres, with that of the other Church properties bought ten years previously. "Protea", a three hundred acre estate, had cost half as much, £3000. (152) Whilst the fifty acre "Woodlands" property had been acquired for the Diocesan College for £1100. (153)

The final business arrangements could not be completed until Bishop Gray returned from his travels in mid November. (154) He then signed an agreement with Captain Wilson. In addition to the purchase price, the Bishop promised to pay a sum of £150 for the crops, and to buy in a large quantity of forage at a fair price at a later date. (155)

The Captain wished to vacate "Zonnebloem" at once and tried to persuade the Church to take occupation at Christmas. But now that the Institution was assured of a permanent home, the Bishop was in no immediate hurry to see the Kafir children leave his house - "I have as yet had no time to make acquaintance with these boys, and should like to see more of them, and of their state, before I part with them", he told the doctor. (156) Eventually it was decided to move the pupils early in the new year. They took up residence at "Zonnebloem" on January 4, 1860. (157)

The Financial Dilemma

Bishop Gray only had sufficient cash in hand to pay half the required amount for "Zonnebloem". And so he was obliged to mortgage the property to Captain Wilson for £3000. (158) This state

of affairs caused him much anxiety. He felt that the Institution was in danger as long as they were encumbered with a large debt. (159) He now considered all likely means of acquiring funds in an attempt to liquidate the debt as soon as possible.

The Bishop looked first to the College at Zonnebloem, itself, to see what income could be expected from this source. There was no question of the school bringing in funds, either through charging fees or by asking rent for staff accomodation. Sir George Grey had undertaken to provide for the Kafir childrens' needs while they attended the Institution and this promise to their parents would be honoured. Again, the teachers had been given free quarters at Bishop's Court, and Zonnebloem was to be managed on the same footing.

Bishop Gray did expect the pupils to make their contribution through their labour, however, so as to reduce the cost of running the farm and the school to a minimum. He hoped that the new Governor would approve of his plan to allow the young men "to be employed in the Cultivation of the Vineyards and gardens during such hours as may be properly devoted to agricultural work, providing of course by their labour, a supply of vegetables for the Institution". (160) The girls were expected to do their share by assisting in the kitchen and helping with the housework.

The sale of produce from the estate and the Cottage rentals would be used to pay the interest on the mortgage and to gradually redeem the debt. (161) Early in 1860, there was promise of an exceptionally good market for farm produce as a result of the provisioning of the French China Expedition. (162) Bishop Gray was optimistic that the grape crop would realize a high price, possibly as much as £250. (163) But this source of income was a long term proposition and he wished for more immediate security for the College.

The Bishop was dependent on the Government providing at least £1000 a year for the maintenance of the Kafir children. If the Home Parliament continued to make grants for British Kaffraria, as the Duke of Newcastle had led the Bishop to believe, then there should be no problem preventing the State from continuing to aid this work, just as the other religious bodies, in Kaffraria, had been aided in theirs. (164) But, in addition, Bishop Gray now looked to the State to contribute their share towards ensuring

the permanent establishment of the Institution, by granting a substantial sum of money towards Zonnebloem's purchase price. Much depended on the person of the new Governor.

This was the Bishop's dilemma. Sir George Grey, the co-founder of the Kafir College, was the most likely person to sympathize with the Bishop's financial difficulties. But the Metropolitan could not ask the statesman for further help unless Sir George intended returning to the Cape as Governor. Until his plans were known, Bishop Gray could take no further action. There was no ready solution to his problem. The Bishop's troubled state of mind is manifest in the letter which he wrote to Sir George, informing him of the acquisition of "Zonnebloem" estate :

Had I felt assured that you were coming back, I should not have felt so anxious, because I am sure that you would have helped to relieve me of my responsibilities. But knowing how doubtful your return is, I confess to being somewhat anxious about the future. If another Governor should come out who should not be disposed to adopt your policy, I may at any time and without much notice be thrown into difficulties. (165)

The Bishop begged Sir George, should he decide not to return to South Africa, to interest his successor in the Institution. In the interim, the Metropolitan turned to the Church in an endeavour to solicit further funds from this source. His efforts to whip up local enthusiasm for his Missionary College met with a negligible response, however. The colonists were at that time concentrating all their energies and limited means on providing for their own neglected spiritual needs. They showed little concern for Bishop Gray's vision that through the Kafir Institution, Cape Town should take "its rightful place" as the missionary centre of South Africa. (166)

The Metropolitan's only hope was that the Mother Church would be persuaded to help him out of his difficulties by giving additional financial assistance. He left no stone unturned in his effort to stir up further support by prodding the consciences of both the Church Societies and the religious public. (167) This was difficult at a distance and depended on the skillful presentation of his plea through articles in Church journals and letters. In his appeals, Gray stressed the fact that others, besides the sons of chiefs, would be trained for the native ministry at the Central College at Zonnebloem. (168)

It is clear, he told the S.P.C.K., that if the Church is to send forth her missionaries into the interior of Africa upon any great scale, such an Institution as we are striving to found will be essential It is also clear, I think, that Capetown the centre of our civilization is the fittest place for it. (169)

The S.P.C.K. responded magnificently by giving another donation of £500, so reducing the debt on Zonnebloem to £2500. (170) The S.P.G. were already committed to an annual grant of £300; but the allowance of £100 for the female teacher's salary, which had originally only been given for one year, was extended.

The British public also responded to the Bishop's call with offers of aid. Pledges, to be paid over a period of five years, were promised by individual subscribers. Unfortunately, payment was often erratic. As the initial enthusiasm for the cause faded, so did the installments diminish. Death took its toll of subscribers, too. This source of income could not be depended on.

Subscriptions for the support of individual children was a popular method of aiding mission work, and it elicited a far greater sense of responsibility. This method of "adoption" was encouraged at Zonnebloem. Because the sponsor took a personal interest in his protege, he could usually be relied upon to honour his commitment and give regular aid. (171)

Even as Bishop Gray was labouring to raise funds so as to ensure the permanent establishment of the Kafir College at Zonnebloem, so were the Kafir pupils making preparations to move into their new quarters, quite oblivious of their "Father's" grave financial worries over their future.

7. The Kafir College Moves to Zonnebloem : 1860

The Wine Estate is Transformed into an Industrial Institution

When the time came for the Kafir College to be transferred to Zonnebloem, at the beginning of 1860, Bishop Gray was sorry to see the boys go. (172) "They have been good lads"; he said, "and are far more like English lads than the European boys of the Colony; - more life and energy and fun and spirit". (173)

The Glovers both thoroughly approved of the College's new quarters. (174) Louisa thought the wine farm "a delightful place". (175) She was enchanted with "the view of mountains all round, and the town and bay lying at our feet. We shall also look down upon the

railway when it is finished, and see all the ships coming in". (176)

There were neither Docks nor Breakwater at that time. The ships had to anchor in the Bay, at the mercy of the North West gales in Winter and the stormy South Easter in Summer. A ferry-boat brought passengers from their ships and landed them at the Central Causeway, the principal jetty at the foot of Adderley Street. (177)

Zonnebloem, high up on the mountain slopes, was an ideal vantage point from which to view the surrounding scene. The College pupils were as much intrigued as the Warden's wife, in the construction of the first railway in South Africa. A start had been made at Papendorp (Woodstock), the little village below the estate, nine months previously. (178) Built by a private company, the line to Wellington was not-opened until November 1863. (179) The only means of public transport in 1860, was the omnibus. (180) Otherwise cabs were to be had for hire. (181)

The Castle, close at hand, was another scenic wonder for the Kafir children. A canon, fired three times a day, signalled sunrise, sunset and curfew at nine at night. But the students' excitement at the sights and sounds of their new environment was soon subdued as they once again settled into the ordered routine of their daily life at school.

The wine estate was speedily transformed into an Industrial Institution. The Warden assured the S.P.G. that : "As respects distance from Cape Town and Natural advantages of all kinds there could not have been found a more suitable place for all the purposes required". (182)

The old Dutch house was both picturesque and spacious. It was simply designed with a plain triangular front gable and two triangular end gables on either side. A deep stoep, running round two sides of the house, was shaded by vines. These were trained over a pergola which was supported by six white pillars. The stoep was reached by steep wooden outside stairs. (183)

There was ample room in the main house to accommodate the Glovers as well as a number of their charges, and single colleagues. Bishop Gray insisted that the Kafir girls should "as far as possible be separated from the boys". (184) And so, for a start,

they lived with their teacher "under the roof of the Warden".

(185) Those of the industrial staff, who had families, were housed in some of the cottages on the estate.

The "good and substantial" outbuildings were converted into a Dining Hall and dormitories for the boys. (186) The wine cellar and stables were appropriated to schoolrooms and industrial shops for the carpenters, shoemakers and tailors. Space was also made in this wing for a Chapel, a partition being erected to separate it from the workrooms. The Warden was pleased to inform the S.P.G., a few months later, that the alterations had been carried out at little cost. (187)

Sophy Gray, an expert on church architecture, supervised the construction of the Chapel. Much loving attention was devoted to its decoration. A vine was painted on the wall behind the altar to form the reredos. The motif for this composition was copied from a plant growing in the farm vineyard. (188) A large cross was painted on the end wall, as well, while the other walls were completely coloured over with a pattern of fleurs-de-lys. (189)

Some of the Chapel fittings, such as a reading desk and a lectern, were given by friends overseas. But the benches were made in the carpentry shop by the boys themselves. A harmonium was sent from England. The Kafir- boys choir at Zonnebloem soon became renowned for its singing of hymns and chants. (190)

In the course of making alterations to the Chapel in 1872, a plaque was uncovered bearing the inscription "Opened All Saints Day, 1860". The custom of celebrating the Dedicatory Feast day of the Chapel on All Saints Day, which falls on November 1, was kept for many years afterwards. (191)

"A Corporate Society or College"

The Chapel bell, rung at regular intervals throughout the day, ordered the lives of the staff and students at Zonnebloem into a strict routine of work and worship, sleeping and eating, recreation and rest. Now that they were settled in their own home, it was Bishop Gray's wish that the teachers and pupils should form a closely knit community - "That's the spirit of it", he told Miss Ainger. (192)

The Bishop placed his ideas on record in a "Memorandum respecting

the Estate of Zonnebloem". (193) It appeared to be important to him "that the idea of all connected with the Institution being a Corporate Society, or College, should eventually grow up". (194) He did not think it desirable to provide a Body of Statutes, though, until there was a fair prospect of the Institution becoming permanently founded. But he did make a few simple rules to encourage community life. All the Staff and pupils had to be resident; and all, without exception, had to join in common worship and common meals. (195)

Miss Ainger's comments on the Bishop's rules were written in her diary on January 5, the day after she took up residence in her new home.

The only two points he insists on at present are that there should be prayer morning and evening - the whole of us together; not only masters and pupils, but all the people engaged in teaching the trades, etc., and a common dining-hall with upper and lower tables, so that the Kafirs and all should learn civilized habits He wants us to feel a family, each trying to help the other in a noble work. (196)

The sole control and responsibility of the Institution was vested in the Warden. In his list of duties, drawn up shortly afterwards, the Warden was specifically charged with ensuring that "in admission or treatment no regard was to be paid to race or colour". (197)

"Zonnebloem is Sunnyflower" : A Kafir Pupil's Impressions. of his New Home

According to Louisa Glover, the boys did not like the idea of leaving Bishop's Court at all, for they were very fond of the place. (198) Once they had made the change, however, they soon settled down in their new home. One of the boys later described his first impressions of Zonnebloem. This essay, written as a class exercise, was published in "The Net" in England.

Zonnebloem is situated below the mountain; it is a beautiful place to look at, but it is not a very pleasant place to live in, and the real meaning of Zonnebloem is Sunnyflower, and I am sure anyone who knows Dutch language may know that Zonnebloem means sunnyflower.

This place Zonnebloem, was not made known to me till the year 1860, when I first came to it. The very first day of my arrival to it, it was very windy, and I did not like it, but I liked it for one reason; and that reason, I suppose everybody knows it, and the reason

is, because there are plenty of fruits that are eatable, and at that time Robert was the farmer, and I am sure I think Robert managed this place very well, he used to give the boys grapes; but that is not the reason why I say he could manage well. Zonnebloem produces very nice cool water for to drink. I like Zonnebloem for having a good place to look at the ships in the bay.

Zonnebloem is a very nice place to look at, especially when you are in town. I am sorry I can't say much about Zonnebloem; anyone who is to read this must read it in consideration. I am sorry I can't go any further. (199)

For all the boys' enthusiasm for the fruits of the farm, they were nevertheless loathe to work in the fields and vineyards. No amount of cajoling could make them take an interest in agricultural labour. Their traditional viewpoint died hard. They said that it was womens' work and that "they had no feeling for it". (200)

The Kafir Pupils' New Environment

The Kafir pupils' life was not all work and no play. Although they were kept busily occupied during the week, confined to the College precincts, they were free to explore the surrounding mountainside on Sunday afternoons. The childrens' new environment formed an integral part of their education and they were encouraged to make excursions up the mountain slopes, accompanied by their teachers.

A favourite outing was the climb to the Blockhouse. Perched as it was, in a strategic position on a prominent knoll, it commanded a magnificent view of sea and city, mountain and plain: a just reward for the strenuous ascent through pine forest and bush, and over outcrops of rock. They loved to clamber over the boulders and paddle in the pools below the waterfalls. Zonnebloem was dependent on these mountain streams for its water supply. Their flow became very erratic in Summer, and so a cement catchment was constructed, the water being stored for the School's domestic use. Later on, a small swimming pool was built alongside, for the boys. (201)

The mountainside was the habitat of many forms of animal life. It provided a rich hunting ground for James Crammond, the shoemaking instructor, who was also an amateur taxidermist. But his efforts to interest the boys in his hobby, initially met with no success. The African youngsters, steeped in their traditional folklore, had inherited their peoples' superstitions about killing certain animals. They gazed in wonder at the birds, seemingly lifelike

on their perches, which their teacher had preserved with such skill; but they refused to assist him in his quest for suitable specimens to add to his collection.

Crammond took great pains to explain the scientific purpose of his hobby. Once the boys fully understood his intentions, they became enthusiastic collectors and vied with each other in finding interesting birds, insects, reptiles and small mammals. A strange insect with large red wings, unknown to the teacher, was proudly identified by one of the lads, as a locust. Crammond, assisted by his pupils, had made an extensive collection by the time he left Zonnebloem in 1864. (202)

Anne Crammond, the shoemaker's infant daughter, often accompanied the Kafir girls on their walks up the mountain. In her memoirs, she recalled how the older girls would take it in turn to carry her on their backs. She also described how they delighted in picking the colourful indigenous flowers that grew abundantly in the area. Depending on the season, there were - "a kind of orchid we called 'Mammey Coppije', Protea of many varieties, also heaths and many kinds of bulbous plants and wonderful ferns". (203) The girls would return to the College, their arms laden with wild flowers.

But the scenic splendour and treasure store of nature surrounding the School were somewhat spoiled by the discomfort caused by the South Easter. This wind blew relentlessly, for days on end, during the Summer months. As it howled down the slopes of Table Mountain, the South Easter caused havoc in the unpaved streets of Cape Town. Great clouds of red, gritty dust would be whirled into the air. Walking outdoors was an unpleasant experience. The Rev. Lightfoot recounted how gentlemen were forced to go about their business in the town with veils over their faces. (204)

Zonnebloem was exposed to the full fury of the wind. Over the years, the history of the College records many a school function being disorganized, and often ruined, by a South East gale. The Kafir children disliked the wind intensely. It soon became evident, too, that the Cape Town climate was most unsuitable for those who had delicate constitutions. After only a few months residence at Zonnebloem, two boys died in quick succession from rapid consumption - one in September and the other in November. (205) These were the first of many deaths from the same disease.

(206) After the first decade, the location of the Institution became a matter of contention between the health officials and the Church authorities. The College was threatened with closure as a result.

Mountain fires were a constant menace to Zonnebloem in the Summer, much as they had been at Bishop's Court. The Kafir boys turned out regularly to help beat out the flames in the burning veld. The Crammond's daughter recalled how that as soon as the fire was spotted, the street urchins would run down the road chanting a special song, and this would be taken up by the College pupils :

Fire on the Mountain, Run boys, run,
Laddie with the red coat, Beat the little drum. (207)

The troops, quartered in the Barracks nearby, would be summoned by the beating of a drum. They would then toil up the mountainside to put out the fire. It was an exciting break in the school routine for the black boys; but for the soldiers, resplendent in their red tunics and black trousers, it was a hot and thankless task, encumbered as they were in hopelessly impracticable uniforms.

The Kafir pupils' activities were closely watched by the Gray family, all of whom felt a personal involvement in the Institution. Louisa, the Warden's wife, was sickly and her poor health caused much concern. Her mother and young sisters visited her regularly at Zonnebloem. Agnes, Blanche and Florence Gray took a particular interest in the Kafir girls when they called. Miss Ainger was a favourite of them all.

Bishop Gray would invariably visit the College after Sunday service in the Cathedral. The schoolmaster, the Rev. Breach, was often spared a weary walk home up the hill - "whenever the cart with the Bishop overtook me", he later recounted, "I got a seat - generally at his feet. I am small and can sit anywhere". (208) The Bishop would discuss the week's events with the Warden and settle any difficulties. He always made a point of talking to all the teachers, enquiring after their welfare and their pupils' progress. But his conversations with the Kafir boys were the highlight of his visit to the Institution.

The City of Cape Town was as much a part of the pupils' new environment as were the natural surroundings. The Bishop did not wish them to be cocooned in a secluded community. They must be

exposed to the world around them and Zonnebloem, situated on the threshold of the capital of the Colony, was ideally located.

8. Civilization, Christianity and the Kafir Children

Cape Town - "the Centre of our Civilization, the Fittest Place for the College"

Bishop Gray, in common with Sir George Grey, believed that the Metropolis, rather than some isolated Frontier outpost, was the fittest place for the Kafir College. (209) The pupils must be given an intelligent insight into the blessings of civilization and become familiar with its institutions, as part of their education. (210) Cape Town, by virtue of "its population and advanced civilization, by its being the seat of Government, by its shipping and commerce, and all its social surroundings", was undoubtedly the most suitable place for impressing the native character. (211)

At that time, comparatively few people chose to live in the suburbs and countryside. The majority of white colonists and officials lived in the town itself. The total population numbered just over 25,000. (212) The centre of the town was laid out in an orderly fashion, with the streets at right angles to each other. Most of the houses were single-storied, but there were a few impressive buildings which stood out conspicuously, such as the Supreme Court and the churches of the various denominations. The Commercial Exchange was the most imposing edifice of them all. (213) The Public Library, which was originally housed in one of its wings, moved into its own quarters in 1860. (214) This new building was erected at the foot of the Botanical Gardens, adjacent to St. George's Cathedral, at the instigation of Sir George Grey. He was also responsible for establishing the South African Museum in the Library complex. (215)

There is no record as to whether the Kafir scholars were ever taken to visit any of these places of educational interest; but on their regular visits to St. George's Cathedral, they would certainly have seen some of the sights of the Town. At the entrance to the Avenue, only a stone's throw away from the Cathedral, stood a Guardhouse. Here a sentry patrolled, with set bayonet at the ready. It was his duty to see that no coloured person passed up the Avenue, "unless he was respectfully attired and wore foot-gear". (216)

St. George's Cathedral

The Kafir children worshipped regularly during the week in their College chapel. There was no church nearby and so on Sundays they attended St. George's Cathedral for divine service. One of the boys gave this as his "best reason" for liking his new home - "when I first saw and went in St. George's Church I liked it very much and wondered for the singing in the Church". (217)

The Cathedral was large and square, and had a very imposing exterior. (218) Built in the style of the early nineteenth century Greek revival, it was patterned on St. Pancras in England. (219) A "Lady", thought to be a British Army Officer's wife, was a member of the congregation at this time. She did not share the Zonnebloem pupil's awestruck admiration of the Church, and wrote:

Everything is hideously plain, and the intoning almost too tedious for any but saints; but the preacher is very eloquent and earnest. The church itself is a huge white washed barn, with a tower like a succession of blacking bottles standing on each other's shoulders in regular acrobatic style. Beyond a few mural tablets, there has been no attempt at decoration, no stained glass, groined roof, or any of the usual architectural accessories of a place of worship. It is just a big square building, and can hold a large congregation, and it is high time the Protestants here did something to improve its shabbiness. (220)

The mahogany Altar, covered with a long, flowing red velvet cloth, stood against the panelled mahogany east end wall. The tiled Sanctuary was enclosed by a semi-circular Communicants' rail, closed with a gate. (221) A gallery, some twenty-five feet in height, surmounted the Altar and spanned the length of the Church from east to west. The organ was in the gallery: the boys sat on one side, the girls on the other. The Clergy sat under the gallery within the Altar rails. There was no special seat for the Bishop but he usually took his place on the north west side.

All the furniture was "neat and good of its kind but gave an idea of importance and respectability rather than devotion". (222) Before long, new Clergy and Choir stalls were made by the Carpentry class at Zonnebloem. The large and comfortable pews each had a locked door, a pew-opener was an absolute necessity. The Governor's pew, facing the Reading Desk and Pulpit, was a sumptuous affair, screened from the public's gaze by a crimson curtain. (223) The Font, "a stucco flower pot", stood at the bottom of the aisle,

the Gardens end of the Church. (224)

The building was illuminated by gas. This had supplanted the chandeliers of candles in 1858. A surplised choir had been another innovation that year. It had replaced the handful of gentlemen and boy choristers who had formerly huddled round the organist. The robes used by the Clergy were, "cassock and bands, surplice, black scarf (later narrowed into a black stole) and hood". (225)

The College pupils attended Morning Service at 11 a.m. This took the form of "Morning Prayer, Litany and Communion Service as far as the Sermon, concluding with the Collect and the Blessing given from the Pulpit". (226) How tediously long the sermon must have seemed to the Kafir children, seated high up in the gallery. Lightfoot remarked on an unusually short sermon that he had preached, lasting three quarters of an hour. Some of the Clergy preached for an hour and a half. (227)

Christianity and the Kafir Pupils

One of the College's primary aims was to educate the Kafir children in the Christian faith and, hopefully, to bring about their conversion. The sacrament of baptism signifying spiritual rebirth and admittance to the-Christian community was customarily used as a standard of measurement, the yardstick by which the Church judged the effectiveness of its work of converting the heathen.

It was a great occasion for Zonnebloem when, after two years' preparation, the first seven lads were baptized by Bishop Gray - "all I trust, believers and in earnest". (228) The ceremony took place in St. George's Cathedral on Easter Day, April 8, 1860. Four of the new Christians were chiefs' sons - George and Samuel Moroka of the Barolong tribe; Arthur Toise, a Ndhlambe; and Edward Kona, grandson of Maqomo. Nothing is known about the other three converts - Alfred Meonganu, Michael Tuto and Robert. The witnesses were Edward and Louisa Glover, and William, presumably the Rev. W. Breach. (229)

Following the impressive ceremony, a number of other pupils asked to be baptized. One of these was Sandile's daughter, Emma. She "expressed with much feeling to Miss Ainger her anxious desire to be received into the fold of Christ". (230) It must have been difficult to assess to what degree this was the girls' emotional

response to a deeply moving experience. Bishop Gray was apparently convinced of the sincerity of Emma's professed belief in the Christian doctrine. She and Hester Ngece, the handmaid who had accompanied her from British Kaffraria, were baptized by the Bishop on Whitsunday, May 27, seven weeks later. Once again, the ceremony took place in the Cathedral; but this time Adelaide Ainger (the girls' schoolmistress) was a sponsor together with the Warden and his wife. (231)

Bishop Gray and Glover rejoiced over the girls' baptisms. At the same time, however, they lamented the fact that the College had not been given the opportunity of educating more girls. They both held strongly to the conviction that it was the Church's duty to provide Christian wives for the Kafir boys. Arranged marriages were, after all, the accepted norm in tribal society. There was every reason to believe that an arranged Christian marriage would be equally acceptable to the young people concerned. But while the girls' numbers were proportionately few, three as compared with forty-four boys, the College could not hope to fulfil its Christian duty to the young men under its care. Its work was in jeopardy as a result. The problem was put before the S.P.G. by the Warden, in his April Report :

For as long as the boys when they leave us to go. out into the World can find no suitable help mates than Women sunk in the degradation of heathenism from which they themselves have only just emerged, there is imminent risk of the young men slipping back into their former state and losing their civilization and with that it is much to be feared, their religion also. (232)

It was clear that the success or failure of the College could hinge on this one factor. The urgency of the matter was highlighted by the fate of George Tlali Moshesh. The Basuto prince had left the College towards the end of 1859. On his return home, he had married the daughter of the great heathen prophetess of Basutoland. Bishop Gray was most disturbed to receive this news. He realized that the young man would find it hard to resist the pressure of tribal tradition and he feared for George's future as a Christian.

He is, (said the Bishop) according to all accounts, an exceedingly fine young man, and I hope that he is not lost to us, but he is at least in great danger. He came here too old; - he was not here long enough: and he had no chance of a suitable Christian and civilised wife. (233)

George's marriage was manifestly a political move, part of a strategy to win support from his tribesmen, so strengthening his bid to be named as Moshesh's heir. But Bishop Gray was concerned that the Church had failed him. It was a timely warning. The other chiefs' sons still at the College could suffer a similar fate if Christian wives were not forthcoming.

The Warden's solution to the problem was straightforward. He suggested to the S.P.G. that if funds could not be found to support an increased number of girls, then the least promising of the boys should be returned home and the cost of their maintenance transferred to a like number of girls. (234)

One other student was baptized during 1860, this time by Glover. John (Natuhali) Peatu received the sacrament privately, shortly before his death from consumption in November. (235) The baptisms of the ten pupils were acclaimed with joy. Here, at last, was tangible evidence that the Institution was starting to achieve its aim. Even so, Bishop Gray was the first to admit that the school was yet in its infancy and that it was still in the experimental stage. (236)

The Difficulties of Educating the Kafir Children

The Bishop could justifiably boast that the College had "a pretty strong staff". (237) There were, besides the Warden, a school-master, the girls' teacher, carpenter, tailor, and shoemaker - all fully employed. In addition, Louisa Glover taught drawing and Mrs. Crammond gave the girls twice weekly lessons in needlework and cookery. (238)

By the beginning of the third year, the majority of pupils were well grounded in the three R's. The brighter boys had completed the course in Chambers' Arithmetical Primer and had begun Algebra with the Warden. Arithmetic and Drawing were the boys' favourite subjects. Louisa reported that some of them showed distinct artistic talent. In the new school, Glover added Geography and the Elements of Euclid to the curriculum of the advanced class. (239) But despite the pupils enthusiastic response to their education, there were, according to Bishop Gray, many difficulties to contend with. (240)

The first of these difficulties stemmed from the fact that the scholars had been recruited from a great variety of races and tribes. There were distinct differences in language and social

customs between the Basuto, Barolong and Xhosa pupils which set them apart. The differences within the Xhosa group were less easy to define but equally important. The Xhosa children had been brought up in a tradition in which the chief was revered. But although most of these sons and daughters of once powerful tribal leaders were related, they were, nonetheless, the offspring of rival chiefs. They had inherited a bitter legacy of tribal feuds. Initially, many of the pupils must have felt a certain suspicion, even antagonism, towards each other. This was probably soon dispelled, however, in their common struggle to adapt to their strange new environment. But their teachers were presented with the problem of working with this diverse group of students and of welding them into a single unit.

Another difficulty was that a considerable number of the students came to the College when they were too old. According to Bishop Gray : "The young men when they arrive are, in many instances, of that age when their characters are formed, and they have reached a point of life when the exercise of strict discipline is difficult". (241) The pattern of their tribal culture had been woven too deeply into the fabric of their lives, their Western education could only effect superficial changes.

Language was, above all, the greatest difficulty. By the end of 1860, after three years tuition, English was only beginning to be well understood in the School. None of the teachers had mastered Kafir, although Glover was working at learning it. (242) Bishop Gray believed that the unavoidable misfortune of the teachers not understanding their pupils' language was a serious impediment to their progress. As he told the S.P.G. - "till this is acquired, confidential intercourse cannot be fully established, or their minds and thoughts completely fathomed". (243) His solution was to introduce some promising English lads into the school, "who will both exercise a good influence and accustom the Kafirs to converse in the English language". (244) This plan was first mooted in November 1860. Although it was discussed at length, it was not found possible to implement it for a number of years.

Bishop Gray maintained that these difficulties would be lessened when a younger generation was admitted to the School. For the present, in spite of the handicaps, he remained confident that this experiment in education would still have far reaching effects in Africa - "It may fall short of our expectations; but it is

impossible to say what its influence, religious, social and political, may hereafter be". (245)

9. Parish Priest of Papendorp

Papendorp and Kanaladorp: "the contamination of the Town"

The Kafir College's location at Zonnebloem was not as "free from the contamination of the Town" as Bishop Gray would like to have believed. (246) Although the wine estate, situated on the outskirts of the city, was "within reach of the highest civilization" in South Africa, it was, at the same time, unfortunately close to the seamy side of Cape Town.

In recent years, successive owners had sold off large portions of the estate as building sites. And as the property had shrunk in size, so had the residential development encroached ever closer, pressing against the farm's contracting perimeter. Zonnebloem's lower boundaries were bordered by the districts of Papendorp and Kanaladorp, both of which harboured slums. (247)

In the 1860's, Papendorp (later re-named Woodstock) was mainly populated by poor coloured fishermen. (248) The fishing village doubled as a seaside resort during the Summer months, with a resultant conflict of interests. The fishing boats were-a picturesque sight as they came to their anchorage in the afternoon, in a long double file - "their white sails glittering in the sun, their crews toiling at their oars in measured sweeps; while boat after boat, as it reaches the smooth water of the haven, folds its white wings, lowers its mast, and is rushed up the beach by the stalwart arms of the half-naked coolies". (249)

But the other side of the picture was not so pretty. The Summer bathers protested at the smell of rotting fish and offal, which the fishermen had dumped on the beach. Complaints were also made about the dangerous debris which littered the sand, wreckage from ships driven onto the beach during Winter storms. (250)

The neighbouring district of Kanaladorp - designated District Six in 1867 - had few redeeming features. (251) Its name was derived from the canals which ran across the area, channelling water, and filth, into the sea. Although the district contained untouched mountainside, where Malay washerwomen did their washing in the streams and spread it out to dry on the veld, most of the area was built up and housed a teeming population. Well-to-do

and respectable citizens there were, who lived on the hill not too far removed from their businesses in town; but the majority of Kanaladorp's inhabitants were artisans and labourers and ne'er-do-well's, of every colour, and their living conditions left much to be desired.

There was a mushrooming of newly built houses below Zonnebloem. Here English and Irish immigrants had hastily erected their homes, settling on the land with little system or order. A visiting French journalist described the locality in 1861 as rambling and untidy. He reported that the "busy, striving, energetic population" had "thrown themselves upon the soil, converted into bricks all but a small portion of it, and built houses of every shape and kind on the narrow remainder". (252) There were no proper streets and no drains.

As the town had expanded up the hill, so had the lower part of the district degenerated into slums. The families of freed slaves had taken over this area, previously owned by Europeans. They lived in unsavoury and overcrowded conditions. (253) The squalor was appalling, "drunkenness and licentiousness the two besetting Sins". (254) A doctor told of a typical den, "where huddled in one wretched room you may see parents, lodgers, children and vermin battling for a warmth which is denied to empty stomachs". (255)

There was no system of sanitation in Kanaladorp. The rubbish filled streets and offensive open drains were the cause of recurrent outbreaks of measles, smallpox and cholera, resulting in many deaths among the poor. In cellars, forever lit by candles, the conditions of "damp and filth and reeking impurities" brought about a low fever, known by a number of names - Famine fever, Zwarte Koorts, Rotte Koorts (Black or Putrid Fever). Although it did not reach epidemic proportions, it caused great distress. (256)

Pioneer Anglican Mission Work in Cape Town

The mixed coloured population of Cape Town was, according to Lightfoot, made up of Malays, Hottentots, Bushmen, Kafirs and Kroomen - the last being freed West African slaves. (257) The pioneer Anglican mission work was carried out among the Malays, for Bishop Gray was disturbed by the number of coloured people who had been converted to Islam. (258) Dr. Camilleri began the

Mohammedan Mission in 1849 but it had made little headway by the time he left the Cape five years later. (259) The work was not taken up again until the Rev. Lightfoot was appointed Missionary Priest at St. George's Cathedral in 1858.

District visiting was weary work, with poverty ever present. The clergymen laboured long hours to try and alleviate some of the misery and depression in the slums. Lightfoot gathered together groups of coloured people for classes of instruction. He held evening classes for adult catechumens and day classes for children in rooms and stores scattered throughout the Town. From these small missionary beginnings grew schools and churches with large congregations. (260)

Zonnebloem's Warden is Appointed to the Parish of Papendorp

Papendorp contained a large number of Malays. They were considered to be promising material for mission work as they had neither mosque nor priest of their own. (261) When the Glovers moved to Zonnebloem in 1860, the Anglicans in the village were struggling to erect their own church. They had no resident minister and so the Warden of the Kafir College was given charge of the Parish of Papendorp as part of his duties. The clergy at Zonnebloem continued to serve the parish for the next sixteen years.

The foundation stone of St. Mary's was laid on St. Peter's Day, June 29, 1859. (262) The Glovers looked forward to the day when the College would have a church close at hand; (263) but it was many years before the building was completed, its progress constantly being hampered by a shortage of funds. "Richer Cape Town" was asked to come to the aid of the poor fishermen and shell-gatherers of Papendorp, "to enable them to complete their pious work". (264) But the money trickled in slowly.

The Kafir pupils watched the building activities at St. Mary's with great interest and rejoiced when the church was finally finished in 1865. One youngster gave a lively account of the proceedings, in a class essay, the following year :

St. Mary's Church of Papendorp took great many years before it could be finished. The reason was because there was no money enough to finish it. I do not know when the foundation of it was laid. At the time of my coming in Cape Town, I took walk with some of my friends and went to that place where the church is. On looking at the stones, I said to some of the friends that were with me, "I do not think it will be completed soon". I was in the year 1861.

The people of the place used to go to church in a little schoolroom. However, about three years after it got into the hands of another clergyman, (Glover) who worked very hard for it until he again put in the hands the bricklears, who began to raise it higher than it was. At last a subscription was written for it: everything seemed to be very scarce, seats and other things. Before it was finished, the people use to go to church in it: its finishing was in the year 1865.

At this time the man of whom I said was working very hard for it succeeded in finishing it; it was consecrated on Tuesday of Whitsun week, in the month of April. At the day of its consecration there were many in it. The boys (Kafir College pupils) of the man I said was working very hard for the church, went and helped the singers of that church that day, although they were very few in number, as the others did not like. Soon after that the very same man gave the singers a splendid tea-party, which was attended by many who came in by ticket. That man was Rev. E. Glover, who done so much good for the Church. (265)

This commentary is of particular note as it clearly shows the esteem in which the Kafir pupil held the Warden of his School. The College students and staff no longer attended the Cathedral once St. Mary's was completed. They used the parish church regularly for Sunday worship, and for baptismal services. (266)

Mission work amongst the poor parishioners of Papendorp was a demanding duty, and an added responsibility, for the already overworked Warden of Zonnebloem. The Rev. J. Espin who succeeded Glover as Warden of the Kafir College and parish priest of St. Mary's, in 1870, testified to the many difficulties attached to the work in the district, and to Glover's devoted efforts :

Papendorp was a good mile from the college, and a trying walk, especially on Sunday evenings after divine service, in the teeth of a furious south-east wind. Nor was the parish itself what would be called a "desirable" one. The inhabitants were mostly coloured fishermen, not in a very advanced condition considering the proximity of the place to the Cape metropolis. Nevertheless this part of their work, no less than at Zonnebloem, was very dear to the hearts of both Mr. and Mrs. Glover. The schools were carefully looked after, district visiting organised, and everything possible done to promote the spiritual as well as the material interests of the people, who affectionately cherished the memory of their clergyman and his wife long after they had lost them from their midst. (267)

The Kafir College clergy had charge of this parish until 1876. Dr. Arnold, who was instituted to St. Mary's at the beginning of that

year, was also made responsible for the Mission to the Moslems in Cape Town. (268)

10. The Kafir College is Established on a Permanent Footing

Sir George Grey Returns to the Cape : July 1860

The continued uncertainty of the College's financial position caused Bishop Gray much anxiety during the first half of 1860. Although the pupils and staff had settled down well in their new home at Zonnebloem, the Institution could not be permanently established until it was freed from debt and assured of regular support. What with the additional expenses of the removal, the College had cost the British Treasury nearly £1610, in its second year. (269) The Warden was confident that the expenditure could be reduced to £1000 a year; but, even then, there was no guarantee that the State would meet this amount. (270) Besides which, £2500 was still owing on the purchase price of the property.

It was, therefore, with a sense of profound relief that the Bishop welcomed Sir George Grey back to the Cape, for his second term of office as Governor and High Commissioner. The administrator's reinstatement was a popular appointment and Sir George was given a tumultuous reception by the colonists when he arrived at Cape Town on July 4, 1860. (271) But the Governor's return was rather overshadowed by private troubles, for he had separated from his wife on the voyage out from England. Lady Grey, accused of a ship-board affair, had been left behind at Rio de Janeiro with orders to return home. (272)

Sir George resumed work at the Cape with little spirit. Apart from his personal problems, the British authorities had clipped his wings by clamping down on his administrative powers. The Governor had promised to pursue the official policy - this precluded any extension of the Empire and put an end to his plans for Federation in South Africa. In future, Grey was to be allowed little latitude in exercising that statesmanship which had been the hallmark of successive governorships. Rutherford states that Sir George's - one great purpose during his second term of office at the Cape was to 'complete his task of settling the affairs of the frontier'. (273)

The Kafir College at Cape Town, an integral part of Sir George's Frontier Industrial Education programme, was not forgotten. Its affairs were at long last settled by the Governor to Bishop

Gray's satisfaction.

Sir George Proposes a Trust Deed for Zonnebloem: October 1860

Before his return to South Africa, Sir George had informed Bishop Gray that he heartily approved of the risk which the Metropolitan had -run in purchasing Zonnebloem. (274) The Governor looked forward to seeing the Industrial Institution in its new home. He was taken on a tour of inspection by the Bishop, on his first Sunday in Cape Town.

It was the first occasion on which the founders of the Kafir College had visited their joint undertaking together. By an extraordinary quirk of fate they had never been at the Cape at the same time during the two and a half year period of the College's existence. Sir George was suitably impressed with what he saw of the students and the school. But Bishop Gray, hopeful that the Governor would be sufficiently enthused to offer immediate financial relief, was doomed to disappointment. The two leaders came to "no understanding", and the Bishop was left in suspense as to Sir George's intentions for the College's future. (275)

As Bishop Gray anxiously awaited the Governor's decision, his patience was sorely tried by a few months further delay. Sir George was fully occupied during this time in entertaining a Royal visitor and in settling political matters in British Kaffraria. Prince Alfred, the second son of Queen Victoria, arrived at the Cape only three weeks after the Governor. He was the first member of the British royal family to come to South Africa. Sir George, determined to make political capital out of the prince's visit, took him on an extensive tour of the country. Meanwhile, the settlers on the eastern frontier were agitating for their independence and the Governor was forced to journey to King William's Town immediately after the prince's departure in September. The Anti-annexationists finally got their way and British Kaffraria was proclaimed a separate province of South Africa on October 26, 1860. (276)

The following day marked the turning point in the Kafir College's affairs. Sir George Grey had at last found time to consider ways and means of establishing the Institution on a permanent footing. On October 27, he sent Bishop Gray the draft of a Trust Deed relating to the estate of Zonnebloem, which promised to free the property from debt. In his accompanying letter, Sir George placed on record the State's purpose in linking with the Church to found

such an Institution. This statement, vital to Zonnebloem's history, is given in full.

My Lord, One of the objects to which the Government has for a long time considered of primary importance, with a view to the peaceable occupation of the interior of Africa by a European race, and the civilization and advancement in Christianity of the races within or immediately beyond our borders, is the establishment in the vicinity of Capetown of an Industrial school of a superior order.

2. Such a school would be situated near the Capital, where European civilization is to be found in the most perfect form in which it exists in South Africa. It would be in the vicinity of the residence of the Governor, and, in some sort, would be regarded as being connected with him. These are all points which would exercise a great influence over the native mind, and would probably induce many of the leading chiefs in the interior to part with their children, in order to send them to a school of such a character, whilst they might be unwilling to send them to one of an ordinary kind in some unfrequented district.

3. In no other place could native children under our care be so thoroughly removed and kept apart from heathen and barbarous influences, as near Capetown. In no other place could females be so secure from being taken away and disposed of to some heathen husband, whom they had never seen, and for whom they had no regard. In no other place could all the force and appliances of civilization be brought to bear with the same uninterrupted effect upon the children of barbarous and savage chiefs.

4. As your Lordship is well aware, these considerations have long weighed upon my mind, and have led me to do my utmost to establish upon a firm foundation the School under your superintendence, to which, from time to time, I have brought the children of the leading chiefs of the interior.

5. That school has prospered in a manner that has fulfilled our expectations; and I understand from you that, by the aid of private subscriptions, given by generous and noble-hearted persons, you have obtained £3,500 of the total sum of £6,000 which is necessary to complete the purchase of the estate of Zonnebloem, where the School is now established.

In order, therefore, to attempt now to place this valuable institution, from the future of which so much good for South Africa may justly be looked for, upon a stable and lasting foundation, I shall be prepared to direct the payment from public funds, applicable to the establishment and support of native industrial schools, of the remaining sum of £2,500, if your Lordship is willing, on these terms, to consent to hold the whole estate of Zonnebloem from the Crown, under a deed which will vest the property in the Bishops of Capetown, in perpetual

succession, upon the trusts set forth in the draft deed. (277)

Bishop Gray was more than willing to agree to these terms and accepted the Governor's offer with gratitude. In his reply to Sir George, the Bishop declared that his views thoroughly concurred with those of the Governor :

Believing that the Institution which we are seeking to found will with GOD'S blessing confer incalculable benefits upon Africa - that it is almost essential to the success of our daily extending missions, - that it will be the means of maintaining a friendly connexion with many of the tribes and chiefs of the interior, and thereby influencing them for their good, - I hail with great satisfaction the prospect of seeing it placed upon a safe and permanent footing. (278)

The co-founders were satisfied that the Institution would admirably serve the purpose of both Church and State, at one and the same time.

The College is Freed from Debt

The formalities connected with the transfer of Zonnebloem estate went speedily ahead. The money to pay the debt was appropriated by Sir George from the Colonial Grant for British Kaffraria. In line with their mutual agreement, Bishop Gray surrendered the property to the Governor. He then received it back, freed from its incumbrances, to hold it in trust-

as an endowment for the erection and maintenance of an industrial school, or schools, for the native inhabitants of Africa and their descendents of pure or mixed race, and for the education of destitute European children, so long as a religious education, industrial Training, and education in the English language shall be given. (279)

The Trust Deed was signed conjointly by Bishop Gray and the Governor on November 2, 1860. (280) The terms were purposefully left general so that the Bishop should not be "too much fettered". (281) The College was not to be limited to the children of African chiefs, but was to be open to all races. The three main private benefactors - Miss Burdett Coutts, the Duchess Dowager of Northumberland, and the S.P.C.K. - were mentioned by name in the deed.

On the Bishop's recommendation, provision was allowed for the possible failure of the College for want of sufficient endowment. If such a contingency should arise, the Bishop of the diocese would be at liberty to dispose of the property as he saw fit,

upon refunding the sum of £2500 to the Government. (282)

Plans for the College's Future

Although Zonnebloem was now freed from debt, Bishop Gray remained fearful for its future. The present expenditure exceeded the actual endowment by £900 a year. (283) While Sir George was Governor, the College was assured of regular support. But should the funds granted out of public revenue be withdrawn, the Bishop could not see his way clear to maintaining the school in that state of efficiency, and on such a scale, as would answer the purposes and fulfil the expectations of the founders. The Bishop suggested to Sir George that a greater endowment was needed to give the Institution permanent security. (284)

The Governor responded by promising to grant land in British Kaffraria, property which would surely increase in value with time. Such was the intention but the actuality seemed less certain. It was rumoured that Sir George was to be offered the Governorship of New Zealand. If he accepted the appointment, and this seemed highly likely, he might leave the Cape before he could make arrangements for Zonnebloem's additional endowment. (285)

Meanwhile, Sir George, inspired by the Institution's potential, entered enthusiastically into plans for its expansion. He proposed that they should erect buildings to house a common hall, a chapel, and dormitories for the girls. Bishop Gray, ever cautious, would have preferred to consolidate first. But, lest he should appear ungrateful to the Governor for his interest and aid, the Bishop fell in with Sir George's plans. At the same time, he was filled with foreboding at the thought of incurring further financial liabilities, especially when the College's affairs had at last seemed settled. (286)

1. G. Glover (Ed.), Memorials of Edward Glover (London : Macmillan, 1895) 1 et seq.
2. "In Memoriam - the Venerable E. Glover", CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21.
3. Glover, op.cit., 6.
4. Dr. Newman had not yet been replaced.
5. CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21.
6. A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Capetown (Capetown, 1901) 36.
7. Glover, op.cit., 6.
8. Canon Clayton is quoted in Glover, op.cit., 6.
9. CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no.2:21.
10. Bishop Gray paid £3250 for Schoonberg, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:425.
11. Glover, op.cit., 6.
12. The marriage took place after the first Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:422.
13. Gray to Douglas, 5.7.1858, LB6:259; Gray to Grey, 5.7.1858, LB6:262.
14. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
15. Gray to Douglas, 27.10.1858, LB6:329.
16. Gray to Grey, 3.1.1859, ZP.
17. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
18. S. Gray to L. Glover, 29.12.1858, MR.
19. Gray to Douglas, 2.3.1859, LB7:47.
20. Frere to Gray, 21.2.1859, ZP.
21. Ibid.
22. Gray to Hirsch, 3.5.1859, L37:68.
23. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
24. Gray to Hirsch, 3.5.1859, LB7:68.
25. Gray to Hirsch, 24.4.1860, LB7:236.
26. Gray to Hirsch, 22.11.1859, L87:137.
27. Gray to Douglas, 18.4.1859, LB7:74.
28. Hirsch was succeeded by the Rev. Alfred Morris who remained at Oudtshoorn for 40 years. CCM, Sept. 1903, 12 no.9:234.
29. Gray to Hirsch, 24.4.1860, LB7:236.
30. "Native African School at Capetown", Report by Glover to S.P.G., 19.9.1859, MF, 1.1.1860, 5:6.
31. Ibid.
32. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
33. Ibid.
34. Gray to Hawkins, 28.3.1859, LB7:54.
35. Ibid.

36. The Rev. W. Breach arrived from England on 7.5.1859, Glover Report, 1860, Z.P.
37. Gray to Douglas, 5.7.1858, LB6:259; 30.8.1858, Lb6:296; 1.1.1859, Lb7:19. Gray to Glover, 29.4.1859, LB7:68. Gray to Lady Grey, 31.3.1859, Lb7:72.
38. Gray to Lady Grey, 31.3.1859, LB7:72.
39. Gray to Glover, 29.4.1859, LB7:68.
40. Ibid.
41. CCDG, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:37.
42. Fleming, op.cit., 141.
43. Gray to Glover, 29.4.1859, Lb7:168.
44. Samuel Moroka to Grey, July (1859), GCAL. See African Letters II.
45. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
46. Glover Report to S.P.G., 19.9.1859, MF, 1.1.1860, 5:7.
47. Gray to S.P.G., 9.11.1860, MF, 1.2.1861, 6:32.
48. Glover Report to S.P.G., 19.9.1859, MF, 1.1.1860, 5:8.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 9.
52. Mruceu to his brothers, 25.5.1859, ZP.
53. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, LB7:134.
54. Travers to Pier, 13.5.1859, GH 30/13, CA.
55. Travers to Pier, 16.5.1859, GH 30/13, CA.
56. Travers to Pier, 19.5.1859, GH 30/13, CA.
57. Glover, op.cit., 7.
58. Glover Report to S.P.G., 19.9.1859, MF, 1.1.1860, 5:8.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., 9.
61. For a discussion on Sir George Grey's Feud with officialdom, see Cory, op.cit., 6:67ff; Rutherford, op.cit., ch.27.
62. 8 different consecutive Secretaries of State held office during Sir G. Grey's Governorship at the Cape, between 10.6.1854 and 18.5.1859.
63. Lytton to Grey, 6.9.1858, quoted in Cory, op.cit., 6:69f.
64. Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB6:328.
65. "His Transkeian colony was left in a strange state of suspense - purloined, policed but not populated" - Rutherford, op.cit., 404.
66. Egerton, op.cit., 350 et seq.; Rutherford, op.cit., ch.28; Wilson & Thompson, op.cit., 1:432f.
67. The British Government later changed their views and withdrew their objections to Grey's federal plans. Rutherford, op.cit., 438.

68. Egerton, op.cit., 354.
69. Gray to Bishop of Oxford, quoted in Rees, op.cit., 237.
70. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
71. Lady Grey had suffered a nervous breakdown in 1858, and had returned to England on the same ship as Bishop Gray and his wife. Her health had so improved that she had later rejoined her husband at the Cape. See Gray to Grey, 5.2.1858, 5.3.1858, 28.12.1858, GC.
72. Lord Palmerston's Government replaced Lord Derby's.
73. Rutherford, op.cit., 427.
74. Bishop Gray had raised about £14,000 with an additional £1200 a year in subscriptions pledged over 5 years. The money was to be divided between a number of projects - the further subdivision of his diocese with the endowment of the See of St. Helena (to include Tristan d'Acunha, Ascension, and the English congregations on the East Coast of South America); the maintenance and extension of missions to the Malays and heathen in the Cape diocese; the founding of Missionary Bishoprics beyond British territory (Zululand, Basutoland, and Free State - £2000 having been promised to the latter); and the foundation of "an Institution for the training of a Native Ministry for the various races of South and South Central Africa". See "A letter from the Bishop of Cape Town to friends who had assisted him, on leaving England", SACM & Ed., Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82: 392 et seq.
75. CCM, Dec. 1892, 1:b.
76. Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 30.7.1859, LB7:90.
77. Ibid.
78. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:448.
79. The Gray's sailed with a large party of church workers on the "Phoebe".
80. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
81. Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 17.9.1859, LB7:97.
82. Ibid.
83. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
84. The father of a couple of the boys, the Namba of Magoma, at the Ishoxa, wrote to the Great Chief (Sir G. Grey) asking that he be given land alongside that of his sons, "who are still with you in Cape Town", for he did not want to live any longer on the land of another chief. Namba of Magoma to Grey, (Translation), 9.5.1859, GCAL.
85. Grey to Glover, 5.8.1859, GH 30/13, CA.
86. Travers to Glover, 20.8.1859, 17.12.1859, GH 30/13, CA.
87. Gray to Douglas, 27.10.1858, LB6:329.
88. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
89. The Management Board was dissolved on 16.8.1859. Travers to Frere, 18.8.1859, ZP.
90. Ibid.

91. Rev. W. Breach's Reminiscences, Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 126.
92. Gray to Glover, 29.3.1859, Lb7:68.
93. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, L87:134.
94. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
95. Ibid.
96. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:448.
97. Gray to Miss Cole, 4.6.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:456 n.l.
98. "Ecclestial Intelligence", SACM & Ed., Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82:398.
99. Gray to S.P.G., 16.11.1859, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7, 1850-1859:911.
100. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, Lb7:134; Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, LB7:97.
101. Recollections of Rev. J. Eedes (Published in CCM, 1892-3) quoted in Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 68f.
102. Gray to S.P.G., MF, 1.5.1860, 5:120; Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.11.1859, 187:131.
103. Record Book at Bishop's Court, 1859, clxxii.
104. Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 69.
105. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.11.1859, LB7:131; Gray to S.P.G., 16.11.1859, MF, 1.4.1860, 5:89.
106. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, LB7:122; Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
107. Gray to S.P.G., 16.11.1859, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7, 1850-1859:911.
108. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:448.
109. Gray to C.N. Gray, 17.10.1859, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:449. An account of this Visitation also appears in MF, 1860, 5:49ff and 85ff.
110. Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 61f.
111. The best horses had all been bought by the Remount Agency, for service in India.
112. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, Lb7:134.
113. Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98; Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, L87:134.
114. Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, LB7:97; Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, LB7:134.
115. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.11.1859, L87:131.
116. Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, LB7:97.
117. SPG, Jan. 1860, 105.
118. Miss Ainger's Diary, 22.12.1859, quoted in Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 66f.
119. Ibid., 67.

120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., 70.
122. Ibid., 200ff.
123. Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, LB7:97.
124. Gray to Douglas, 20.7.1858, LB6:272f.
125. Gray to Douglas, 20.7.1858, LB6:272f and 28.8.1858, L86:296; Gray to Glover, 25.10.1858, LB7:328; Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, L87:97.
126. Cloete was thought to have given £1500 for "Kirstenbosch". Gray to Douglas, 26.1.1859, L67:32; Gray to Glover, 29.4.1859, Lb7:68.
127. Gray to Douglas, 26.1.1859, L37:32.
128. Cruywagen wanted £4500 for "Newlands". Gray to Douglas, 20.7.1858, LB6:273 and 27.5.1859, LB7:85.
129. Gray to Murray, 18.11.1859, L37:131.
130. Gray to Douglas, 27.5.1859, LB7:85.
131. Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, Lb7:97; Gray to Hawkins, 16.9.1859, LB7:98.
132. Gray to Newcastle, 17.9.1859, Lb7:97.
133. For a short history of Zonnebloem Estate, see Appehdix V.
134. Dr. Bickersteth was Superintendent of Somerset Hospital. He was a member of St. George's Cathedral Choir and "a sincere Churchman". Bishop Gray considered him to be the best layman in the Diocese". See Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 218.
135. The appraiser was Mr. Jones. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1859, LB7:123.
136. The "Old Place" was valued at £5000, while the "New Place" was said to be not worth more than £750. Gray to Bickers-teth, 14.10.1859, LB7:118.
137. Gray to a member of his family, 17.10.1859, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:449. See also Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, LB7:122.
138. Gray to Murray (S.P.C.K.), 18.11.1859, LB7:131.
139. The Remount Agency used the Zonnebloem stables as temporary quarters for the horses which were awaiting shipment to India.
140. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, LB7:122.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Gray to Bickersteth, 14.10.1859, L37:118.
144. Ibid.
145. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, LB7:122.
146. Gray to Murray, 18.11.1859, L87:131.
147. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1859, LB7:123.
148. Gray to Bickersteth, 14.10.1859, LB7:118.

149. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1859, LB7:123.
150. Gray to Bickersteth, 14.10.1859, Lb7:118.
151. Gray to C.N. Gray, 17.10.1859, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:449.
152. Ibid., 338.
153. Gray to Cole, 24.9.1849, Ibid., 246 n.1.
154. Gray to Bickersteth, 19.11.1859, L87:136.
155. 7500 lbs. of Forage. Agreement signed by Bishop Gray and Captain Wilson, 23.11.1859, ZP.
156. Gray to Bickersteth, 19.11.1859, Lb7:136.
157. Bishop's Court Record Book, 1860, cciif, BA. When the schoolroom at Bishop's Court was vacated by the Kafir pupils it was turned into a Mission school for the children living on the estate. On January 23, 1911, the English Church Mission School at Protea, Claremont, moved into a new building which had been erected by the Rev. H.B. Cole, M.A., as a memorial to his father who was for many years a Master at Eton. An inscription, illuminated on vellum and framed, was placed in the old schoolroom. The translation from the Latin read : "Three Bishops of Cape Town have successively maintained in this building, which was once the slave-quarters, the Diocesan College, for one year; the Native College, subsequently moved to Zonnebloem, for nine years; and the school for the children of the woodcutters and vinedressers of Protea for fifty years". CCM, June 1911, 20 no. 6:286.
158. Bishop Gray's agreement with Captain Wilson, 23.11.1859, ZP.
159. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1859, LB7:123.
160. Bishop Gray's Memorandum respecting the Estate of Zonnebloem, 26.11.1859, ZP.
161. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, LB7:122. See also Memorandum.
162. "Kafir College, Capetown", MF, 1.3.1860, 73. The Second Battalion sailed for China in March 1860. See Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:178.
163. Bishop Gray envisaged that once the Kafir College was freed from debt, the profits from the farm could be used as part of the Institution's endowment. Gray's Memorandum, 26.11.1859, ZP.
164. Payments to the Missionary Institutions in British Kaffraria authorized by Sir G. Grey, 1.7.1859 to 31.12. 1859: Anglican Church, £14,842 10s 10d; L.M.S., £1350; Wesleyans, £1100; Berlin, £283; Lovedale, £380. Total : £16,855 0s 10d. Cory, op.cit., 6:84 n.1.
165. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, Lb7:122.
166. Bishop Gray's Address to the Colonists on his return to the Cape. SACM & Ed., Oct. 1859, 7 no. 82:395ff and Dec. 1859, 7 no. 84:452f.
167. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1859, LB7:123; Gray to Murray, 18.11.1859, LB7:131.
168. Gray, "The Churches Call to Missionary Labours". SACM &

- Ed., Dec. 1859, 7 no. 84:453.
169. Gray to Murray, 18.11.1859, Lb7:131.
 170. Gray to Secretary of S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, LB8:64.
 171. The "adoption" of Zonnebloem pupils is dealt with in greater detail at a later stage.
 172. The Kafir pupils took up residence at Zonnebloem on 4.1.1860.
 173. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:451.
 174. Gray to C.N. Gray, 18.11.1859, Ibid., 450.
 175. Louisa Glover to C.N. Gray, 20.12.1859, Ibid., note 1.
 176. Ibid.
 177. Two other jetties had been built - below Bree Street and the Castle. Lightfoot, op.cit., 57f.
 178. Sir George Grey turned the first sod at Papendorp for the new railway on 2.4.1859. Cape Advertiser, 2.4.1859.
 179. The 58 mile long railway to Wellington was built by the Cape Railway and Dock Company. The construction on the suburban line to Wynberg was begun in 1862 and it opened on 19.12.1864. It started at Salt River and was owned by the Wynberg Railway Company. The two lines were taken over by the Government in 1873. Lightfoot, op.cit., 55.
 180. The fare from Cape Town to Papendorp was 6d, to Rondebosch 1s, and to Wynberg is 6d. Lightfoot, op.cit., 56. There were no horse trams until 1862. Ibid., 49.
 181. Mr. Melville introduced Cabs to Cape Town in 1849. The stand was in Adderley Street. Ibid., 57.
 182. Glover, Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
 183. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 126. See also engraving "Zonnebloem in 1840".
 184. Bishop Gray's Memorandum, 26.11.1859, ZP.
 185. Ibid.
 186. Glover, Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
 187. Ibid.
 188. Glover, op.cit., 7.
 189. The painting was done by Mr. Hawkins, son of the late Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. "The Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 16.
 190. Ibid.
 191. Zonnebloem Record Book, 1.11.1872, ZP.
 192. Miss Ainger's Diary, 5.1.1860, quoted in Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 126.
 193. Bishop Gray's Memorandum, 26.11.1859, ZP.
 194. Ibid.
 195. Ibid.
 196. Miss Ainger's Diary, 5.1.1860, quoted in Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 126.

197. "Zonnebloem College, Cape Town", ZP.
198. L. Glover to C.N. Gray, 20.12.1859, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 450 n.1.
199. "Kafir School Boys", TN, 1.6.1858, 24.
200. Bishop Gray's Evidence to a Commission appointed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, to inquire into and report upon the Government Educational System of the Colony, 25.11.1861. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament, April 1863. No. 825, 97.
201. A.L. Walker (nee Crammond), Unpublished autobiography, 1889, 8.
202. Ibid., 8f.
203. Ibid., 7.
204. Journal, April 1858, Lightfoot, op.cit., 68.
205. Kafir College Record Book, Sept. and Nov., 1860, ZP.
206. Espin to G. Glover, n.d., Glover, op.cit., 7.
207. Walker, op.cit., 7f.
208. Breach to Morshead, n.d., Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 127.
209. Gray to Murray, 18.11.1859, LB7:131.
210. Dr. Dale's Speech at the Opening and Dedication of Zonnebloem Chapel, schoolrooms and dormitories after the Fire, Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.
211. CCDG, Feb. 1881, 8 no. 2,39f.
212. Population in 1859: 25,189. There were 3,528 Houses and 363 Stores. H.W.J. Picard, Grand Parade (Cape Town :Struik, 1869) 29. See also Lightfoot, op.cit., 46 - population of 25,000 in 1858.
213. The Commercial Exchange was built in 1819. The General Post Office was later built on the site.
214. The Public Library was started in Somerset's time. Opened to the public in Jan. 1822. Hattersley, Social History, 142. The Foundation stone of the new Public Library building was laid on 17.11.1857. The North wing was opened to the public on 1.4.1860. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:152.
215. Dr. Sleek was given charge of the S.A. Museum, and of building up the collection of books and manuscripts in the Library. Sir George Grey also sponsored the compilation of a collection of Africana. Rutherford, op.cit., 302f.
216. Lightfoot, op.cit., 53.
217. "Kafir School Boys", TN, 1.6.1868, 85.
218. The foundation stone of the Cathedral was laid in 1830. The building, which opened for worship 4 years later, was completed in 1836 at a cost of £20,000. The church was originally owned by a company and rents were obtained from letting the pews. It was only consecrated in 1851 when it was freed from debt. Lightfoot, op.cit., 59f.
219. Hattersley, Social History, 122 and A Victorian Lady, 31.

220. 28.11.1861, Life at the Cape a Hundred Years Ago by a Lady, 53.
221. Lightfoot, op.cit., 62ff.
222. Hewitt, "St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town", CCP, 26.4.1905, 17.
223. Lightfoot, op.cit., 60ff.
224. Ibid., 62.
225. Hattersley, Social History, 122.
226. Hewitt, op.cit., 17.
227. 20.12.1858, Lightfoot, op.cit., 63n.
228. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 17.4.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:456.
229. Entries for 1860, Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP.
230. Gray to Hawkins, 16.4.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers. Dioceses of Sierra Leone, Capetown, and Grahamstown. 1860 - 1867 : 303. USPGA.
231. Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP.
232. Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
232. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 17.4.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:457.
234. Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
235. Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP.
236. Gray to Hawkins, 9.11.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 454, USPGA. Printed in MF, 1.2.1861, 32.
237. Gray to Miss Cole, 4.6.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:456 n.l.
238. Walker, op.cit., 8.
239. Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
240. Gray to Hawkins, 9.11.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 454, USPGA.
241. Ibid.
242. Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, LB8:16.
243. Gray to Hawkins, 9.11.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 454, USPGA.
244. Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, Lb8:16.
245. Ibid.
246. Gray to Grey, 17.10.1859, Lb7:122.
247. For a short history of Zonnebloem Estate and Papendorp, see Appendix V.
248. The small village of Papendorp was excluded when the Landdrostyd of the Cape was established in 1809. (See Laidler, The Growth and Government of Cape Town, 402) But by the early 1880's, it had grown so large that it merited the institution of a Village Management Board to run its affairs. A public meeting was called to discuss

the selection of a new name. A policeman later recalled how the name "Woodstock" was chosen by the majority of local inhabitants : "The greater number of these were fishermen who patronised the Woodstock Hotel and outvoted those who frequented the New Brighton Hotel then built, as a scheme was on foot to boom Papendorp as a watering place. Thus the name of the favourite village inn became the name of the new township". (Major M. Kenny, "Thirty Years a Policeman", Cape Argus, 2.9.1922. Quoted in C. Graham Botha, Place Names in the Cape Province (Juta : Cape Town, 1927) 81f).

249. Life at the Cape ... by a Lady, 3.
250. Picard, Grand Parade, 24.
251. Kanaladorp was designated Number 6 District in 1867 when the Municipality of Cape Town was divided into 6 areas.
252. The Monthly Magazine, 1861, quoted by G. Manuel in District 6 (Longmans : Cape Town, 1967) 2.
253. District 6, op.cit., 1; Hattersley, Social History, 179; Picard, Grand Parade, 24.
254. Lightfoot, op.cit., 130.
255. Dr. W.H. Ross, "Laughter and Tears", 1861, quoted in Lightfoot, op.cit., 123f.
256. Lightfoot, op.cit., 124f and 131.
257. Lightfoot Journal, 14.4.1858, Ibid., 69.
258. ' Arnold to S.P.G., "A Mission Among the Malays at Capetown", 11.1.1876, MF, 2.7.1877, 246.
259. A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Capetown (S.A. 'Electric' Printing : Capetown, 1901) 36.
260. S. Paul's S. Philip's, S. Mark's and S. Mary's - Gibson, op.cit., 37.
261. Arnold to S.P.G., 11.1.1876, MF, 2.7.1877, 246.
262. "Ecclesiastical Intelligence", SACM & Ed., July 1859, 7 no. 79:266.
263. L. Glover to C.N. Gray, 20.12.1859, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:450 n.1.
264. SACM & Ed., July 1859, 7 no. 79:267.
265. "Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 78f.
266. Register of Baptisms, St. Mary's, Woodstock and Zonnebloem Baptismal Register.
267. Espin to G. Glover, n.d., Glover, op.cit., 17.
268. Arnold to S.P.G., 11.1.1876, MF, 2.7.1877, 246.
269. Abstract account of Expenditure of the Kafir College for the First Year end 31.3.1860, Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, See Appendix VI.
270. Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
271. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:179.

272. Lady Grey was accused of a romance with Rear-Admiral Keppel. Keppel, on his way to take over the Naval command at Simon's Bay, had accompanied the Greys from England on the frigate 'Forte'. See Gutsche, op.cit., 176ff; Rutherford, op.cit., 427.
273. Rutherford, op.cit., 428.
274. Gray to Hawkins, Jan. 1860, L67:166.
275. Gray to Bullock, 12.7.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867, 303, USPGA.
276. Cory, op.cit., 6:83f; Rutherford, op.cit., 429.
277. Grey to Gray, 27.10.1860, ZP. Reprinted in MF, 1.2.1861, 6:30ff.
278. Gray to Grey, 29.10.1860, LB7:334.
279. Gray to S.P.G., n.d., MF, 1.2.1861, 6:29f. See also Trust Deed, ZP.
280. Trust Deed, ZP and Bishopscourt Record Book, 1860, cciiif, BA.
281. Gray to S.P.G., n.d., MF, 1.2.1861, 6:30.
282. Gray to Grey, 29.10.1860, LB7:334, and Trust Deed, ZP.
283. Gray to S.P.G., n.d., MF, 1.2.1861, 6:32.
284. Gray to Grey, 29.10.1860, LB7:334.
285. Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, L38:16.
286. Gray to S.P.G., n.d., MF, 1.2.1861, 6:32.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF POWERFUL CHIEFS: 1860-1861

1. Moshesh and his Son George Tlali

A Friendly Connection with the Chiefs

Sir George Grey and the Bishop both believed that the Kafir College could offer a unique service to the country. They visualized the Institution being instrumental in opening up channels of communication, and of maintaining a friendly connection, between the leaders of many of the African tribes, the State, and the Church.

Proposals to educate the chiefs' children would provide the initial contact. The youngsters' schooling in Cape Town would foster closer friendships. Once such a bond had been established between the black and the white leaders, the scope of their dialogue could be expanded to include matters of wider political and religious import. In this way, the Institution would be the means of influencing the chiefs for their good - that is, to the Westerners' way of thinking. (1)

A case in point was that of Chief Moshesh, the powerful independent ruler of Basutoland, and his son George, also known as Tlali.

The Plan to Educate George Moshesh in England

After George had started his studies in Cape Town in 1857, the Governor asked Bishop Gray to arrange for the Basuto prince to receive further education in England, in fulfilment of a promise which Sir George had made to Chief Moshesh. Plans went ahead and the Warden of St. Augustine's agreed to admit the young man to the Missionary College at Canterbury, as their first black student. (2)

The newly formed Missionary Studentship Association of the Arch-deaconry of Hereford entered enthusiastically into the scheme. (3) They offered to finance George's studies by granting him their first scholarship. Bishop Gray was dubious about the Mosuto's intellectual abilities and doubtful as to whether he would ever qualify as a teacher, nevertheless, he was eager to accept Hereford's offer because of the political importance of educating this particular chief's son in England. (4) The Missionary Association generously offered a second scholarship when it was suggested to them that two black students would be happier

together in a strange country, far from home. (5)

George's return home at the end of 1859, to stake his claim as his father's heir, made his further education questionable.

Bishop Gray was most disappointed at this setback to his plans. Writing to the Warden of St. Augustine's, he said :

I am not able to form an opinion as to George's prospects of succeeding amongst so many sons to the undivided authority over the nation; or as to the ambitious views which he may have formed He maintained his high character to the last with us, and promised to come back for his confirmation. (6)

On the strength of this promise, Bishop Gray persevered with his negotiations to send George to England. Joseph Orpen, a confidant of Moshesh's, acted as intermediary. (7) But he strongly dis-advized the Church against encouraging George to accept the offer. Early in 1860 Orpen sent word to the Bishop that the young man was on "a downward course". (8) George had been accused of a liason with a woman in the Chief's serai, a most serious offence. This was followed, shortly afterwards, by Orpen's announcement that George had "declared for heathenism" and was to be married to the daughter of the celebrated Mantchupa, the chief prophetess of the tribe at Thaba Bosiu. (9)

Bishop Gray, distressed at this news, was somewhat mollified by his Basuto agent's other tidings. Orpen informed the Metropolitan that Moshesh wished the Anglicans to send a mission to his people. (10) The chief was motivated by his desire to strengthen Basutoland's ties with England. (11) Co-operation with the Church of England seemed to him to be a diplomatic move. (12)

And so it was, that the arrangements for the education of a chief's son, paved the way for an invitation to the Church to enter an important new field in the interior. This was proof, indeed, of the significant role which the Kafir College was able to play in establishing a friendly connection with the chiefs.

Bishop Gray Keeps in Touch with George in his Homeland

Bishop Gray was eager to accept Moshesh's invitation, provided that the chief asked him personally. Gray was, however, wary of trespassing on what had hitherto been the sole domain of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. Even though the Bishop had been told that the French missionaries also wanted the Anglicans to go to Basutoland, for they "greatly felt the want of a head",

(13) he stipulated that the Church would only start a mission there if it could be done without clashing or improperly interfering with the French missionaries. He told Orpen :

I am afraid that they are not likely to be desirous of joining the Communion of the Church of England, and I fear two unconnected missions would not co-operate harmoniously - that jealousies would arise - that this would be to the hindrance of the Gospel.

(14)

While the Anglicans' future in Basutoland hung in the balance, Bishop Gray believed that it was essential to keep in touch with George Moshesh. The ex-College student was an indispensable link between the Church and his father, the chief.

George had a younger brother at Zonnebloem at that time; but, unfortunately, Jeremiah did not appear to be very clever. Although he was well conducted, worked diligently and gave no trouble, he was not making as much progress as most of his fellow pupils. The Bishop considered that of the two brothers, George would be more likely to make a positive contribution towards pioneering the Church in Basutoland, than Jeremiah. (15) And so every effort must be made to stop George from backsliding.

Bishop Gray was greatly encouraged to receive "a very nice note" from George in July. (16) The young man asked that he might be allowed to return to "his old home" in Cape Town, bringing his wife with him. Orpen's accompanying letter gave a good account of the couple's conduct, much to the Bishop's relief. (17)

Bishop Gray was able to discuss the matter fully with Sir George when he resumed office soon afterwards. (18) The Governor instructed the Metropolitan to write to the Basuto prince, inviting both he and his wife to enter the new Institution at Zonnebloem. The Bishop made use of the opportunity to give the young man some spiritual advice :

Write and say when I may expect you. I take a great interest in you, and so does the Dean; and I shall always be glad to hear from you, and to do anything in my power for you. I hope that you continue to pray: that you are trying to live in a way to please GOD - and that you still believe in Jesus Christ, who once died for you. Your brother Jeremiah is quite well. He is a good young man. I have never seen your father, but I send my respects to him. (19)

The Governor's Plan to Meet Moshesh and his Sons

Sir George agreed to make the final arrangements for the young

couple's removal to Cape Town. He was shortly due to leave on a country-wide tour with Prince Alfred. They were scheduled to meet Moshesh at Aliwal North and the Governor promised to take the matter up with him then. (20)

The Bishop hoped that the important issue of the Anglican Church's entry into Basutoland would also be discussed at this meeting, and that Moshesh's son would be able to use his influence.

When our Prince sees your Father, (he told George)I hope that he will tell him that we would be glad if the Queen of England would send Teachers of her Church into his country; and that he thinks that as he is a great Chief, it would be well if a Chief minister, i.e. a Bishop were sent. (21)

Bishop Gray needed reassurance that the Ministers of the Queen's religion would receive a hearty welcome in the independent African country. (22) George Moshesh would now have the opportunity of proving the strength of his newly acquired commitment to the Church and to Britain.

2. A British Prince's Visit to South Africa

While in England, Sir George Grey had persuaded Queen Victoria that a visit to South Africa by a member of the Royal family would be a diplomatic move. Her Majesty agreed to send her second son, Prince Alfred, and the sixteen year old Sailor Prince arrived at Simon's Town, as a midshipman aboard the "Euryalus", on July 24. (23)

The Governor was the Prince's constant companion during the next two months, as the Royal visitor was taken on a comprehensive tour of the country. Their progress through the Colony and the neighbouring territories inspired extraordinarily fervent displays of loyalty by both black and white alike. (24)

The British Prince Visits the Chiefs' Children at the Kafir College

Prince Alfred's visit caused tremendous excitement in cosmopolitan Cape Town and he was given a tumultuous welcome by all sections of the community. He was feted at a succession of entertainments and public ceremonies - balls, receptions, dinner parties, displays and excursions. An entourage of local and official dignitaries were in constant attendance at these festivities. The Prince, a handsome, shy lad, slight in stature, was somewhat overpowered by the formalities and the fuss.

Sir George, who was responsible for planning the Prince's programme,

arranged that his first country excursion, on July 26, should start at the Kafir College. Mrs. Gray and her daughter Agnes arrived at Zonnebloem that morning with the news that the "Great White Queen's Son" and his party were expected at half past twelve. Chaos and confusion reigned supreme as the children were hurriedly got ready. The preparations and subsequent proceedings were graphically described by Miss Ainger in her diary :

It must be confessed that both boys and girls received the tidings with most gloomy, not to say sulky faces. They didn't like having to tidy, they didn't like having to clean, and, most of all, they didn't like having to do these two most objectionable things to the Kafir mind in a hurry. However, we all set to work in earnest, everything was got in order, all dressed in Sunday suits, and practised in singing "God Save the Queen".

So soon as Mr. Glover gave notice that the cortege was approaching, they all went out on the stoep of the school-house. We awaited the arrival in the drawing-room, Mr. Glover at the bottom of the steps. The effect was decidedly picturesque as the Prince came up to the house. The boys struck up "God Save the Queen". Mr. Glover, in cap and gown, advanced and held the Prince's horse while he dismounted. And then the Prince and Governor stood bare-headed towards the boys till the verse was over.

The Prince was invited into the house, and the little, pleasant, serious, modest-faced sailor walked alone into the drawing-room, soon followed by our Governor, Sir George, Major Cowell, and Captain Tarleton of the "Euryalus". They sat talking a few minutes, and then went to admire the view from the stoep; from thence to the school-room, where the bashful Michael presented his drawing, which was graciously accepted and approved. Then the dinner bell rang, and they went to hear grace sung. Thence to inspect the dormitory; back to the dining-hall, where Jeremiah, son of Moshesh (to whose country the Prince is going), and Emma and George (Gonya baptized Edmund) Sandilli were presented - and they all sang a Kafir hymn. The ostriches were duly exhibited, and then, they mounted and rode away, en route to Constantia, - their next part of call being Bishop's Court. (25)

The interest which the Royal visitor took in the "Kafir chieflings" and their school was said to be equalled by the admiration which the scholars showed of their guest. (26) The Prince sent a present of a musical box and an engraved portrait of himself to the College, as a memento of his visit. (27)

Prince Alfred's short sojourn in Cape Town was followed by a six

weeks' long journey through the Colony. British Kaffraria, Orange Free State and Natal. This expedition provided the re-instated Governor with the welcome opportunity of re-establishing personal contact with the leading chiefs, many of whom were parents of Zonnebloem students. Their childrens' education proved to be a subject of common concern which helped to break the ice at their meetings and to prepare the ground for more far-reaching discussions.

The Progress of Prince Alfred through British Kaffraria

The Royal party travelled up the coast by ship and then overland by wagon. In British Kaffraria, the scene of so many bitter battles between black and white in the past, the settlers and the tribesmen now joined together to give the Queen's son an enthusiastic reception wherever he went. (28)

The Prince's arrival at the Kaffrarian outposts and mission stations was marked by the presentation of gifts and the reading of addresses. Besides expressing their allegiance to the Queen, the people were unanimous in their praise of Sir George and joyfully welcomed the return of their "wise ruler" to South Africa, the chiefs calling him their father and their best friend. (29)

It was the Governor's intention to impress upon the African leaders the personal interest which the Queen took in their welfare, the proof of which was the presence of her son amongst them in this distant land. (30) Evidence that this purpose was appreciated came from George Maqomo, one of the chiefs' sons. This ex-Kafir College pupil, who was then furthering his studies with a private tutor at Nuneaton in England, had learnt of the Prince's visit from his family. He wrote at once to the Governor, saying :

I am sure I was very glad indeed to hear that Prince Alfred is so happy and enjoyed himself on his Journey very much and that he likes Kafir land and that the people were so kind to him and pleased to see him for that I feel very happy - I thank the Queen for trusting us I mean that she sent her son to see our Country and visit there - we cry to God to give him good health while there. I hope he will stay as long as he can. (31)

Sandile showed his loyalty by heading a large welcoming party of his tribesmen. The Prince stopped to greet them as they waited at the roadside near the Rev. Tiyo Soga's mission station. Following the formalities, the Ngqika chief, accompanied by Commissioner Brownlee, led the African escort which travelled

with the Royal entourage for part of the way. After they had covered some distance, and were preparing to leave, the Governor impulsively invited Sandile to join the "Euryalus" on its return voyage to Cape Town. The chief was rather dubious about accepting the offer. An incentive was the promise of seeing his children at the Kafir College at Zonnebloem. He eventually agreed to go, provided that the Rev. Soga and Mr. Brownlee were members of the party. (32)

Included in the Prince's Kaffrarian itinerary were visits to the Industrial Institutions at Lovedale, Lesseyton and Healdtown, as well as St. Mark's mission station across the Kei. The sister establishments to the Kafir College had all received substantial grants from Sir George during his Governorship and he took a keen interest in their progress. He was impressed with the development which had taken place in the year since his last tour of inspection. Kreli's former followers, who were living at St. Mark's, asked the Rev. Waters to express their gratitude to Sir George for saving them from certain death after the Cattle Killing, for giving them a home at the mission settlement where they lived under the Christian law and were encouraged to join the Christian faith, and for training their sons in various trades at the mission school. They voiced the wish that the Prince's visit would "join the hearts of the Amaxosas to the English, so that we may dwell in the land as people with one heart". (33) After listening to many such speeches, the Governor would be justified in believing that his civilizing policy had been an unqualified success.

3. The Basutos, the Barolong, and Children of Other Chiefs

The Meeting with Moshesh and his Sons

The Prince and his party arrived at Aliwal North on August 19. Moshesh and his followers received the visitors with a display of dancing and singing and firing of guns. Clouds of dust and smoke filled the air as the Boer farmers and townsfolk vied with the Basuto tribesmen in their efforts to outdo them in the effusiveness of their welcome. (34)

George and Tsekelo Moshesh played a leading part in the proceedings that followed over the next two days. Even though their association with Christianity and civilization in Cape Town had been of comparatively short duration, and they were certainly not considered to be finished products of the Kafir College, their education had

nonetheless qualified them to become invaluable aides to their father. Their command of English, ability to read and write, and knowledge of the Western world and way of thinking, stood them in good stead as interpreters, scribes and diplomatic consultants. These were the accomplishments which had formerly been the prerogative of the white men in Moshesh's intimate circle of confidants. The chief was now able to turn to his own flesh and blood for assistance, advisers steeped in the tradition of their tribe.

It was George who rode out at his father's side to meet the Royal cavalcade as it wound its way through the "Nek" and down the steep hill on the outskirts of the little town of Aliwal North. And it was Tsekelo who conducted his tribesmen in a lusty three-part rendering of "God Save the Queen" as the official party processed down the main street. Tsekelo looked very professional as he walked up and down before the ranks of his Basuto singers, keeping time with his walking stick in the air. (35)

George was constantly at his father's side during the welcoming ceremonies and ensuing discussions, acting as the official interpreter throughout the proceedings. Politically speaking, this was a very important meeting. Moshesh, an old man and in poor health, had made the exhausting journey from Basutoland with the express intention of personally delivering a letter to Prince Alfred in which he begged the Queen to form an alliance with his country. (36)

Church matters were included in the deliberations, as promised. As a result of the Governor's representations to Moshesh, and possibly on George's advice, the chief wrote officially to Bishop Gray requesting that missionaries from the English Church should be sent to his people. This appeal was promptly passed on by the Metropolitan to the Mother Church in England, hopefully for immediate implementation. (37)

The subject of the education of chiefs' children also received due discussion. Disappointingly, the plan to send George and his wife to Cape Town in the Government wagons which were returning from Aliwal North, came to nought. Either the young man, or his father, had a change of heart and George never continued with his studies. The Governor naturally regretted this decision. Nevertheless, George's conduct at the meetings had shown that his education was benefitting his people, that his loyalty to the British cause

could be relied upon, and that the Basuto tribe might be influenced through him, so fulfilling the object of the Kafir Institution. George did eventually visit Zonnebloem, in 1901, in the company of a group of Basuto chiefs.

Despite the setback occasioned by George turning down the offer of further training, the wagons returning from Aliwal North still carried four passengers destined for the Kafir College in Cape Town. These lads, the sons of petty Basuto chiefs, had spent some time at the French mission at Beersheba. They had lived in the home of the Rev. Rolland, Superintendent of the French Mission in the Free State, and had been taught by the missionary's wife.

Joseph Orpen, the father of Madame Rolland, had recently retired from service with the Free State Government and was also living at Beersheba. (38) It was he who approached Bishop Gray about sending these Basuto youngsters to Zonnebloem to complete their education.

The Bishop was enthusiastic about receiving new pupils who had already had some schooling, unlike the first batch of Kafir children who had come to the College completely "raw". (39) Sir George had promised to make provision for increased numbers at Zonnebloem and so arrangements had gone ahead to admit the Basuto boys. The Government wagons had been an opportune means of transporting them to their new school. (40)

Chief Moroka Entertains the Queen's Son

From Aliwal North, the Prince and his companions crossed the border into the Orange Free State, leaving British territory behind them. It was now the turn of Chief Moroka, a staunch ally of both Boer and Briton, to entertain the Queen's representatives.

The Barolong leader was an ardent admirer of Sir George's and had been overjoyed to learn of the administrator's re-instatement. The chief, though a heathen, was under the influence of the Methodist missionaries at Thaba 'Nchu. This explains the wording of the letter which had been written to Sir George, on Moroka's behalf, praising the High Commissioner for being "a God-fearing man ... whose philanthropic heart has done so much already for the temporal and spiritual improvement of the aborigenes and whose name guarantees further blessings for the future". The chief had also written that he prayed that Sir George's "exalted wisdom and Christian firmness may long be spared to ... a people

that love you". (41)

Moroka was indebted to Sir George for having made the arrangements for two of his sons to be educated at the Kafir College. Samuel and George were then in their third year of studies and were making good progress in the advanced class. The chief was determined to lay on a memorable entertainment for his visitors.

A spectacular hunt was organized at Hartebeestehoeck, just outside Bloemfontein. A thousand Barolong tribesmen were deployed for days beforehand beating up game from the surrounding countryside. On the day of the hunt, August 24, thousands of wildebeeste, bonteboks, springboks, ostriches, quaggas and zebras, were driven by a living fence of Barolong beaters into the firing line of the Royal huntsmen. It is estimated that at least 25,000 head of game were slaughtered that day. The Africans were rewarded for their labours by being given the meat from the dead animals, food for a massive feast. (42)

The Children of Other Chiefs

While on this Grand Tour of South Africa, Sir George not only had the opportunity of visiting present Kafir College parents but, also, of interesting other chiefs in sending their sons to the Institution. He was keen to spread the net far and wide, and attract representatives from as many tribes as possible.

The missionaries played an important role in putting prospective parents in touch with Bishop Gray. The Anglican missions were, unfortunately, too new and too few to have established any sort of understanding with influential chiefs, and were not able to supply many pupils at first. But the missionaries of other denominations, long attached to specific tribes, were only too eager to persuade their respective chiefs to give some of their sons the chance of receiving higher education. Few other Missions could offer comparable educational facilities. Applications streamed into the College, and Bishop Gray sanctioned all the requests.

The French missionaries were particular protagonists of the School. Following Sir George's visit, M. Daumas forwarded the application of Chief Molitzani to have three of his sons accepted. (43) Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, also responded to the High Commissioner's invitation and suggested sending some of his children. (44)

The Governor told Dr. Moffat that Zonnebloem would receive the children of any chiefs amongst whom the London missionaries were labouring. (45) Dr. Livingstone wrote personally to the Bishop asking that Sechele, chief of the Bakwena, to whom formerly he had been attached as a missionary, might have the privilege of having his children educated at the College. (46)

As a result of Sir George's enthusiastic advertising, the Kafir College had been brought to the notice of chiefs throughout the country. Through the Governor's scheming, Sandile had the distinction of being the first royal father to visit his children at the School.

4. Sandile Visits his Student Children at Zonnebloem : September 1860

The Royal tour drew to a close at Durban and the Sailor Prince rejoined the "Euryalus" there to resume his midshipman's duties. Waiting on board the ship were Sandile and eight of his councillors. They were escorted by the Rev. Tiyo Soga, two of his African elders, and Mr. Brownlee. The Kaffrarian party had joined the ship at Port Elizabeth.

The Motives Behind Sandile's Visit to the Cape

The Governor's motives in persuading Sandile to accompany the Royal party were the subject of much speculation, especially among the African people. According to the Rev. Soga, the Presbyterian clergyman who had founded a mission to his own Ngqika countrymen, the invitation to his tribal chief was purely political. As he explained to his superiors in Scotland :

It was to give Sandilli confidence in himself and in the kindness of the English people. It was also designed to give Sandilli and his people an opportunity of seeing to some extent the greatness and power of Great Britain; so that from what he would see in Cape Town, the capital of the colony, he might learn something for the future good and the peace of his people. But as Sandilli knew that the other Kafir chiefs were, through crimes proved against them, in confinement on Robben Island, he had no confidence in going to Cape Town alone. He agreed to go, only if Mr. Brownlee and I accompanied him. (47)

The Rev. Soga had gladly accepted the invitation, seeing it as a God-sent opportunity. He was desperately in need of money with which to build a church at his newly established station. All his friends had advised him to go to Cape Town on a fund-raising mission. (48)

When the Zonnebloem students were told that the Paramount Chief of the Ngqikas was coming to the capital, they reacted with scorn and disbelief. "They think Sandilli come", said one of the boys, "he not come, he knows better. The Queen of England doesn't come, she sends her son; and Sandilli sends his son", (49) - this referring to the fact that Gonya (Edmund) Sandile was a fellow pupil.

A Zulu and a Bechuana were overheard discussing the coming event, in Cape Town. They were equally incredulous of the news. The Zulu explained that : "It was a regular custom of the English to catch great potentates who were her enemies, and shut them up in islands - Napoleon in St. Helena, Magomo on Robben Island". He maintained that Sandile was "too old a bird to be caught with chaff". (50)

Great was the Africans' astonishment when Sandile actually arrived in Simon's Bay.

The Voyage to the Cape

The voyage was stormy, a traumatic experience for the Africans who had "an instinctive hereditary dread of the ocean". (51) It was supposed that Sandile would be overawed by the workings of the ship; but what impressed him and his councillors most, was the sight of the Queen's son hard at work at his midshipman's duties. The young Prince, who had been constantly pampered and praised during his tour of South Africa, had risen daily at dawn while on board ship, to join his bare-footed fellow sailors in the menial task of washing down the decks. (52)

Sandile presented the Captain of the "Euryalus" with an address, written in Kafir, before leaving the ship. The translation reads :

Sandilli and his counsellors give thanks.

By the invitation of the Great Chief, the Son of the Queen of the English people, are we this day on board this mighty vessel. The invitation was accepted with fear. With dread we came on board; and in trouble have we witnessed the dangers of the great waters, but through your skill have we passed through this tribulation.

We have seen what our ancestors heard not of. Now have we grown old and learnt wisdom. The might of England has been fully illustrated to us, and now we behold our madness in taking up arms to resist the authority of our mighty and gracious Sovereign. Up to this time have we not ceased to be amazed at the wonderful things we have witnessed, and which are beyond our comprehen-

sion. But one thing we understand, the reason of England's greatness, when the Son of her great Queen becomes subject to a subject_, that he may learn wisdom, when the sons of England's chiefs and nobles leave the homes and wealth of their fathers, and with their young Prince endure hardships and sufferings in order that they may be wise, and become a defence to their country, when we behold these thing , we see why the English are a great and mighty nation.

What we have now learnt shall be transmitted to our wondering countrymen and handed down to our children, who will be wiser than their fathers, and your mighty Queen shall be their Sovereign and ours in all time coming. (53)

Sandile Visits his Children at Zonnebloem

Sandile was as good as his word. When he visited Zonnebloem the next day and learnt that the College pupils considered it degrading to work on the land, he gave them all a stern talking to. The Kafir boys were astonished to hear that the Queen's son did his share of the-common work of the ship. Subsequently, they made an effort to carry out their agricultural tasks more willingly but they never managed to summon up much enthusiasm for this branch of their training. (54)

The Kafir children were wildly excited about the coming of the great African chief. They considered it an event of far greater importance than the visit of British royalty. The Ngqika ruler, although deprived of most of his power, still commanded great respect amongst his people. Miss Ainger faithfully described the arrival of the Kaffrarian contingent, and the reunion of the chief with his children, in her diary I

There, at the bottom of the steps, stood a tall, decently-dressed Kafir, with his hand on Emma's head, and, by the side of him, a tall, bearded Englishman talking to Mr. Glover. They were, of course, Sandilli and Mr. Brownlee, who had come in a cab; the councillors were en route, walking. It was very funny to see the great man send in Emma for a chair, and seat himself in front of the boys, and have those he knew pointed out to him.

One little fellow, Dabane, a queer, sturdily little rogue, came forward on hearing that his father was among the coming councillors, and Sandilli took him very kindly by the hand and gave him a very affectionate and resounding kiss. We found he was his nephew. Meantime Emma stood with her hand on his shoulder, looking very happy. They had a sort of dinner-tea at the same time as the boys. (55)

Sandile and his councillors spent the next fortnight at Zonnebloem. (56) They shared in the life of the College, even to going to Church twice on Sundays. (57)

The Political Importance of Prince Alfred's Visit

Highlights of the Africans' holiday in Cape Town were a visit to a circus and the Table Bay Breakwater Ceremony, both of which took place on September 17. The Kaffrarian party, who were taken to see Mr. McCollom's American Circus with the Prince and his suite, enjoyed the show immensely. They were particularly astonished at the equestrian feats performed in the ring. Afterwards, one of the councillors told Brownlee - "that it would be impossible for him to describe to his compatriots at home the wonders he had witnessed since he left; the Kafir tongue was inadequate for the purpose, and he must first acquire some other language". (58)

But even more impressive than the circus was the Breakwater Ceremony at the Chavonnes Battery, when Prince Alfred tipped the first truck load of stones for the new breakwater into the sea, so starting the work of making the harbour safe. The proceedings were carried out with due pomp and pageantry, cheered on by the citizens of Cape Town. It is more than probable that the Kafir College students were present among the crowd of 5000 school-children, waving their banners and flags vigorously with the rest. (59)

The party of visiting African dignitaries caused a sensation among the spectators. The Governor, in his speech, told the Prince that "if only he would marry Emma Sandilli he would have the merit of ending the Kafir wars for ever". (60) Two days later, Sandile and his companions were once again conspicuous in the crowd as they gathered at the Pier to bid Prince Alfred farewell. (61)

The Prince's visit was acclaimed by the Press as an event of great political importance. The chiefs and their tribesmen who had witnessed the Royal visitor's triumphant progress through the land, had at last been given some idea of Britain's greatness and power. One African spectator had been heard to exclaim, as the Prince and his train of armed horsemen passed by - "If this is done for a child, what would be done for a man?" (62) The example of Moshesh and Sandile, in showing allegiance to the Queen's son and the Governor, was thought to have made a deep impression on the neighbouring native nations. (63)

5. Plans to Educate the Children of Central African Chiefs

The Universities Mission to Central Africa

No sooner had Prince Alfred departed for England, and Sandile and his councillors for British Kaffraria, than the routine of the Kafir College was again disrupted by the arrival, in November, of the members of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

Charles Frederick Mackenzie had been selected to head the Mission, the first Missionary Bishop of the Church of England. He already had some experience of conditions in Africa for he and his sisters had worked in Natal for a number of years under Bishop Colenso.

(64) When home on holiday at the end of 1859, Mackenzie had been invited to lead the mission to the Shire River Valley and Highlands, the country beyond the Zambesi which Livingstone had selected as being ideally suited for a pioneer mission settlement in Central Africa. (65)

The question of Mackenzie's consecration had been much disputed by the Church authorities. Besides the legal difficulties of the Bishop taking an oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the practical consideration that Mackenzie would be working thousands of miles away from England, there were also those who considered Missionary Bishops to-be "unscriptural". Convocation had eventually decided that the consecration should take place in Africa and that the new Bishop should take his oath to the Metropolitan, in Cape Town. (66)

Following their arrival at the Cape, the Central African missionaries had to mark time for two months while they waited for the Bishops of St. Helena, Grahamstown and Natal, to arrive for Mackenzie's consecration, and for their ship to finish re-fitting. The Bishop designate, his sister Anne, and three other members of the group were accommodated at Bishop's Court, while the overflow- were housed at the Kafir College. The cottage at Zonnebloem where they stayed, was known for long afterwards as "Zambesi Cottage".

Zambesi Cottage

The Zambesians, as the Universities missionaries were nicknamed, set a precedent at Zonnebloem, for subsequent to their stay the Cottage was used regularly to accommodate visiting missionaries.

From the beginning of her association with the Kafir College, Miss

Burdett Coutts had been smitten with the idea of Zonnebloem serving as a reception centre for missionaries passing through the capital. Although Bishop Gray had agreed to the proposition in principle, he had demurred at putting it into practice. He believed that there was a great danger in giving legal right to general hospitality, as the cost would be enormous.

The Metropolitan had learnt from experience, for Bishop's Court had become "a perfect Hotel". (67) The Grays received a constant stream of clergymen, catechists, schoolmasters and missionaries into their home. The visitors were often accompanied by large families and stayed for anything up to six months. The extra expenses amounted to at least £200 a year, for which the Bishop received no special allowance.

The Church could not possibly afford the additional financial burden if Zonnebloem were known to keep open house. Besides which, the cottages were the only available accommodation on the estate, and they brought in much needed income. The rent of £110 a year would be forfeited if the buildings were to be turned into guest houses. (68)

Nevertheless, although the Kafir College was not advertised as being able to provide accommodation, Zambesi Cottage was set aside for this purpose. Over the years, successive Wardens welcomed a steady flow of churchworkers to Zonnebloem, as guests. The hospitality paid dividends for the missionaries were so impressed with the College's work that they later sent pupils to the Anglican Institution from all over the country.

The coming of the Zambesians focussed attention on the exciting new mission field that was about to be opened up in the interior of the African continent. Bishop Gray, enthusiastic as ever, looked forward to the day when the Universities missionaries would be able to send suitable students to Zonnebloem to be trained as evangelists to their countrymen - so realizing his vision that the Kafir College would be an essential part of the work of the Central African Mission, and fulfilling the avowed intention of his fund-raising drive in England.

Indeed the Bishop had already written a number of letters to Dr. Livingstone, who was then carrying out further explorations in the Shire River area, inviting him to make use of the Kafir College.

If you have any promising lads, (Gray had told Livingstone) whom you want to educate, and more especially the sons of Chiefs, and have an opportunity of sending them down, I will gladly receive them. Till I see my way clearly however about funds, I should not like to have very many. If this Institution succeeds, it should be for any part of Africa that we can reach. (69)

But correspondence with the explorer was fraught with difficulties. One batch of letters from Bishop Gray was lost when the boat delivering them was swamped. (70) And Dr. Livingstone's letters to the Cape were also lost en route to their destination. (71) After a year's delay, the Bishop's message finally got through, and Livingstone gave his promise to support Zonnebloem. (72)

The Central African Expedition's Preparations in Cape Town

The Zambesians were kept busily occupied during their enforced stay at the Cape. They attended to business, collected together the necessary supplies, and held meetings to publicize the venture and raise more funds. Bishop Gray acted as chief consultant in all these matters, while the Governor was also brought into the discussions. (73) The staff and students at Zonnebloem took a lively interest in the expedition's preparations and the Kafir pupils were able to give some valuable advice. Glover and Mackenzie, both Cambridge men, struck up a close friendship during the waiting period. (74)

The mission members spent long hours working at their lessons in Kafir and Portuguese. They were assisted in their language studies by Central African natives living in the capital. Prior to the Zambesians arrival, the Bishop had made searching enquiries in Cape Town to try and find Africans from the East Coast to accompany the mission party. (75) He had been delighted to discover, in Lightfoot's coloured congregation, several emancipated slaves who had been "torn away in childhood" from the very region to which the Mission was proceeding. (76) They had been taken from Portuguese slave ships by British cruisers off the East African coast and had been set free at the Cape. The exiles had banded together in the strange town to form a closely-knit community and, consequently, had retained their native language. At the same time, a number of them had become Christians and had learnt to speak English. (77)

Bishop Gray hoped to persuade some of these civilized Central Africans to join the expedition as guides and interpreters. They

would be of invaluable assistance in communicating the purpose of the Mission to their "savage" countrymen. They would be able to remove any misapprehensions and allay the fears of a people whose only previous association with white men had been at the hands of the Portuguese slave traders. The tribesmen must be taught to understand the Church's abhorrence of slavery and its intention to put an end to the traffic. (78)

Mackenzie was invited to address Lightfoot's congregation in the Mission Chapel school-room of St. Paul's, Bree Street. Of the twelve Africans who volunteered to return to their country, only three were chosen as being suitable for the job. (79) It was to Charles Thomas, their leader, that the Universities expedition chiefly looked for assistance. He had been an exceptional example to his compatriots in Cape Town, regularly gathering groups of them together to meet in his home for Christian instruction. These Africans, who responded to the call of the Mission, left their wives and families behind them, not to return until 1863. (80)

The difficulties experienced in providing the Mission with dependable black Christian assistants served to emphasize the important function which the Kafir College could fulfil in the future. Both Mackenzie and Dr. Livingstone, who arrived in Cape Town at the end of 1860, were enthusiastic about sending children of Central African chiefs to the Institution within the next few years. (81)

The Departure of the Universities Mission

Livingstone's timely arrival meant that he could assist in making the final arrangements before the expedition's departure. The main body of the Universities Mission set sail for the mouth of the Zambesi in December, accompanied by the famous explorer.

Mackenzie was left behind to await his consecration. This ceremony finally took place in St. George's Cathedral on January 1, 1861, in the presence of the Bishops of Cape Town, St. Helena and Natal. The Bishop of Grahamstown was unable to reach the capital in time for the service. (82) It was an historic occasion for the Anglican Church. Mackenzie was the first bishop to be consecrated in a British colony by the local metropolitan, and the first Anglican missionary bishop outside the British Empire. (83)

The warship which conveyed Mackenzie north soon overtook the slower Vessels carrying the rest of the party, and the bishop

trans-shipped to join them for the remainder of the journey. (84) His sister, Anne, was left behind at the Cape and was not summoned to join the Zambesi Mission until the end of the year. She assisted in the local mission schools in the interim, taking a particular interest in Zonnebloem. (85) Although she was then in her late forties, more than twenty years Miss Ainger's senior, Miss Mackenzie became good friends with the Kafir girls' teacher and nursed her through her last illness. (86)

6. The Kafir Girls and their Teacher

Miss Ainger's Achievements

Mary Adelaide Ainger, who was engaged by Bishop Gray in England in 1859, had the distinction of being the first English-woman to come to South Africa as an independent Anglican missionary worker. (87) Her board and salary, of £3 10s a month, were provided by the S.P.G. out of their special grant of £100 a year. (88)

The Kafir girls at the College were placed under the female teacher's sole care. She was responsible for giving them their school lessons, and instructing them in housework and sewing. Zonnebloem's housekeeper assisted with cookery classes. (89)

A cousin of Miss Ainger's, with a private income, joined her at the Cape in 1860 with the intention of helping her with the girls. Regrettably, the female department was still limited to three, and so the good lady was put to work in the neighbouring mission district of St. Mark's. (90)

Bishop Gray made every effort to attract more chiefs' daughters to the Institution. He tried to persuade Moshesh to follow Sandile's example. In a letter to the Basuto chief, written in December 1860 he said :

A nation will never rise to be a great people unless it educates its women. We have a daughter of Sandilli's now with us. She is very much improved since she came. I have a Christian lady from England who teaches them, and is a Mother to them. (91)

But although a stream of Basuto boys entered Zonnebloem over the years, not one Basuto girl was ever admitted to the school.

Miss Ainger achieved remarkable success with her charges, in a very short space of time. The Bishop was a great admirer of hers, considering her to be "an excellent young woman". (92) The Warden sang her praises in his Report to the S.P.G. in April 1860 :

This lady has effected wonderful improvemeht among her pupils, more so than the most sanguine could have anticipated for whatever may be the case generally with regard to the female natives of Kaffraria, of the girls now in the Institution, it may be said that in ability ... they are far below the average of the boys.
(93)

Sadly, though, Miss Ainger was not physically strong. A tubercular patient, it had been hoped that the change in climate would benefit her health. Her superiors were very disappointed when her condition deteriorated and she had to leave the College after only a year's stay. The dying woman was taken to Bishop's Court where she received devoted care during her last few months. (94)

Emma Sandile's Homesickness

The Kafir girls missed their teacher terribly when she left. Emma Sandile, bereft of her foster-mother and unsettled by her father's visit, became very homesick. She had, by then, been away from her family for nearly three years. She wrote to Sir George at the beginning of November, begging to be allowed to return home for a short holiday :

My Lord Governor, I want to ask if you please sir to let me go back to see my parents for a short time and I will come back again I will not stop any longer. It is because I do desire to see my own land again I beg you to let me go to see my parents and if you do let me go I shall never forget your kindness. I should be so pleased to see my Mother's face again. I beg you do let me go my Lord Governor of your kindness I am quite sure that you will. I cannot do as I like now because you are in my fathers place if you do listen to my ask I am-sure I do not know what I shall do, because I cannot do any thing for you, and you can do so much for me.

Emma Sandilli. (95)

Emma's request was refused. She was then about eighteen years old and of considerable standing in her tribe. The Governor realized that if this eligible chief's daughter was allowed to return to her people she would probably be married off to some heathen countryman at once, no matter that the match might be against the girl's wishes. The Church and the Government would be powerless to intervene. All the College's years' of work, to raise her from her "savage" state, would go to waste.

The Death of Miss Ainger

Bishop Gray, who had always taken a fatherly interest in Miss

Ainger, seldom left her side during her last illness. He insisted on carrying the patient up and down the stairs at Bishop's Court, himself. She died on May 23, 1861, at the age of twenty-five. (96) The Bishop announced the news with a heavy heart - "She is a great loss to our Institution; she was a thorough Christian lady and a very good teacher. I do not know where to look for such another". (97)

Mary Adelaide Ainger was buried in the kloof behind Zonnebloem, a cross marking her grave. The new burial-ground was fenced off and consecrated by the Bishop the day before the funeral. (98) Subsequently, at least twenty-five people - Zonnebloem students, staff and their children - were buried there. (99) A Kei-apple hedge was planted around the little cemetery and the Kafir pupils were required to keep the place clean.

A brass plaque was erected in Zonnebloem chapel as a memorial to Miss Ainger, a tribute to the female missionary's short, but dedicated, service to the school. (100) Bishop Gray maintained that the instruction that the Kafir girls had received from their teacher would make a lasting impression on them - "they will be the better for it all their lives". (101) Emma had turned into a particularly nice girl.

The Coming of the New Girls

The Bishop was unable to find an immediate replacement for Miss Ainger. The situation was serious for, besides the tuition of the present pupils, a batch of new girls was expected to arrive at the Institution at any moment. Sir George Grey had returned from the Frontier in February and had announced that twelve young women would be coming down in the next Mail Steamer. (102) But there were neither teacher nor adequate accommodation for them at the College. Although those boys who had made least progress had been weeded out and sent home, new boys had taken their place and Zonnebloem was still somewhat overcrowded. (103) The girls had no proper schoolroom and would have to use a wooden stable for a dormitory. (104)

After months of anticipation and false alarms over the new girls' arrival, three eventually turned up in the middle of June. (105) Their ship's departure had been so delayed that the other nine, who were intending to come, had given up waiting and had gone

home. (106) The girls' enrolment now totalled six. Even with their numbers doubled, Bishop Gray believed that Zonnebloem could not possibly fulfil its aims unless it educated more Christian young women. A concern shared by the Governor. And so the Bishop tried to interest the S.P.C.K. in granting further funds for the expansion of the female department. (107)

7. Two Chiefs' Sons Study Privately in England

The Plan to Provide English Education

We have seen how that, right from the start, Sir George Grey had intended to send the sons of some of the most powerful chiefs to England, to further their studies. The Governor had, in fact, used such promises to entice certain of the young men to come to the Cape for their preliminary schooling. Their instruction at the Kafir Institution had been designed to give them a basic grounding in subjects that would be part of the normal curriculum in an English school. When they had reached a satisfactory standard of proficiency, they would be sent overseas. While in England, not only would they be able to continue with their training but they would also be given the opportunity of broadening their minds by being exposed to civilization in its finest form. Such was the scheme at any rate.

George Mandyoli Magomo (Macomo) and Boy Henry Duke of Wellington Tshatshu were the first two Kafir pupils to be chosen for this further experiment in educating chiefs' sons. Selected by the Governor according to rank rather than scholastic ability, they had been taken to England by the Bishop of Grahamstown in March 1859. Despite Bishop Gray's forebodings that the young men were not yet ready for this experience, they settled down well in their new environment, pursuing their studies under the private tuition of the Rev. Savage, the Rector of Nuneaton in Warwickshire.

Studies and Sightseeing

George and Duke, as he was usually called, wrote to the Governor nearly two years later, to report on their progress. They revelled in their newly-acquired knowledge. George, in his letter, said : "We get on much better now with our learning and to speaking English". (108) Duke-was more explicit about their academic advancement :

We have got to the 48th Proposition in Euclid and we now understand it very well we have also begun Latin which we like very much our School master is so kind to us and tries to explain all the difficult parts to us. (109)

The young Africans had been made to feel completely at home with their English hosts. They had made friends with the Savages' sons and had shared in the family's festivities and outings.

We have spent a very nice Christmas here this year, (wrote Duke). We have had snow on the ground for the last few weeks it has been very cold, but I think George and I stand it as well as the English people. I think it is a great blessing that we have been so well ever since we came to England. (110)

This sentiment was certainly echoed by their sponsors. The African boys' health was always a great worry to their mentors, they being particularly susceptible to lung infections. George was known to have a delicate chest for his lungs had been affected before he went to England; but, surprisingly enough, his health had improved while overseas. (111) The visiting students were taken on numerous sightseeing expeditions. They were greatly impressed by all the new wonders they were shown.

Last month, (wrote George) we went to Tamworth to see the Castle and also we saw the house where they make paper they give me a piece to show the people when we go home and explain to them the way they make it. (112)

Another memorable occasion was their visit to Atherstone to see the Cattle Show. George's impressions were given in a lively description of the excursion. Although he liked the cattle "very well", he confided that -

the things I like best of all were the ground, and gardens, and parks. There were some nice little Pigeons - The prizes were some ten shillings and some two or three pounds. There were nice horses but although they have not reached up to yours, (this reference was to the Governor's horses) There were very pretty flowers, and some Bulbs too, And the soldiers played the trumpets they came from London they played very nicely indeed - And we dined with Mr. Savage's friends there. (113)

A chance meeting with a friend of the Governors turned the boys' thoughts to Cape Town and their school days at Bishop's Court.

One day little longer ago, (related George) I went to the station to meet Mr. Savage's boys from Atherstone School. And I saw in there, some body called

me, I could not tell whom and he asked me if I remember him at Sir George Grey's house and it was Colonel Newdegate I was quite astonished to see him there. (114)

The Colonel lived nearby. He asked to be remembered to the Governor.

News from South Africa

During their stay in England, the boys had kept in touch with their family and their friends at the Kafir College. Duke even mentioned having received a letter from the Bishop. (115) They took a keen interest in the news from home and were overjoyed to learn of the Governor's return to the Cape - "We are thankful to God for his mercy to hear our prayer, when we pray for you to send you back again because you did so please us", said George. (116) The young man was anxious to have first-hand information about his grandfather, Chief Magomo, who was still exiled on Robben Island.

Please Sir, George (begged the Governor) to tell me if you have seen my Grandfather since you being there how is he now or how does he get on. I am looking forward to hear from you about him, I shall be very much pleased to hear of him. (117)

Duke enquired rather apologetically of the Governor as to whether the piece of land which Sir George had promised him in British Kaffraria, along with the other chiefs' sons at the Institution, had been granted to him. Commenting on a letter the boys in England had received from pupils at the Kafir College, Duke spoke of his homesickness and of his determination to complete his education despite his longing to return to his country - unlike his friends and relations at Zonnebloem :

We had a letter the other day from the boys to say that the boys from my home are going to leave the Cape I felt very sorry to hear of it for I never thought that they would leave such opportunity of learning God's word - I told my cousin after he wrote to tell me that he was going home that I hoped he would not think of such a thing again for I often think of home myself but I want to finish the duty I came here for - I should not like to go till I have learned a great deal more and I think it is very wrong of their people to send for them. (118)

The Two Chiefs' Sons Hopes for the Future

In their letters to the Governor, both George and Duke expressed their fervent desire to take the gospel to their heathen countrymen. This correspondence gave ample evidence that the chiefs' sons'

English education promised to bear good fruit on their return home. In addition to their school lessons, they had joined a Bible class - "What we learn there", wrote Duke, "we hope will be a blessing so that we may go back and teach our people about Christ and his sufferings for sinners". (119)

Their religious instruction had manifestly made a profound impression on the boys. Addressing the Governor, George wrote :

We do hope that God will bless thee and help thee to rule there in the righteousness way of, as St. Matthews 5th Chapter one verse says. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled. I am sure it does make me feel to wish to be there - When Mr. Savage preaches I understand almost all that he says. I desire of him to go to our country to preach to our people and I hope God will rise up that dark country now become christians we pray to God to help the Missionary to try (tried) there and teach them to know their Saviour and save their souls - As Mr. Savage says last night if we can all of us feel Jesus Christ saying I am thy Salvation what nice thing it is It would make us very happy to know that he is full of love to us. (120)

George and Duke were very excited about the prospect of four more chiefs' sons coming to England from the Kafir College, in 1861. Edward, George's brother, was to be one of the group. The African students were being sent to St. Augustine's to complete their education.

8. The Selection of Four Zonnebloem Students for St. Augustine's The Scholarships Lie Vacant

After the plan to send George Moshesh and a companion to St. Augustine's had fallen through, Bishop Gray was left in a quandary. He could not decide whether to avail himself of the opening offered at the Missionary College, or not. He was tempted to accept the offer, for the Hereford Scholarships were lying vacant, waiting to be taken up by the Zonnebloem students. On the other hand, he did not think that any of the Kafir pupils, who had left the Kraal but a year ago, were sufficiently advanced to reap the full benefits of the training at St. Augustine's. (121)

The main purpose of sending the Africans to the Missionary College was to allow them to receive an education that would render them useful to their own people on their return home. (122) It was hoped that they would all qualify as teachers and that some might be found fitting to train for the ministry. (123) But it was one

matter to send pupils to study privately, under the tutelage of a clergyman in a protected environment, where they could advance at their own pace; and quite another matter to send them to a College where they would be expected to function in a competitive atmosphere and attain certain academic standards.

Two chiefs' sons were chosen as possible candidates for St. Augustine's, at the end of 1859. It was left to the Warden of the English College to make an assessment of their academic qualifications. Bishop Gray believed that they showed fair promise of becoming useful missionaries in the future; but, after their short school life, he doubted their present readiness for advanced training. (124) In the end, it was decided to keep them at Zonnebloem for another year.

The Difficulties of Selecting Suitable Students

The Scholarship students were eventually named in October 1860. Bishop Gray and Warden Glover had great difficulty in making the final selection. Not only were there problems of language and age, but there was also the difficulty of satisfying Sir George's demands that the nominees should be the sons of leading chiefs.

Glover explained the complexities of the language question to his counterpart at the College in England. In the first place, the school had been in existence for so short a time that it was hardly to be expected that "any untaught savages suddenly transplanted among people of a strange tongue should in that time have acquired much knowledge through the medium of that tongue". (125) And secondly, the teachers had found that the younger pupils had acquired the new language, and consequently all instructions communicated through that language, in one quarter of the time that their elders had done.

The Warden's experience was that most of the elder boys, although apparently not deficient in ability, had found it an absolute impossibility to learn to speak and write the English language correctly. Competence in language was, therefore, the main difficulty in deciding whom to send to St. Augustine's. Those most suitable in respect of age were generally least so in respect of knowledge and the power of understanding English. (126)

Sir George's demands complicated the issue still further. His insistence on tribal rank being taken into account in the selection,

narrowed down the field of suitable candidates considerably. The Governor had the final say and the four boys chosen were all sons of eminent chiefs. Explaining the selection, Bishop Gray said :

They were not all of them the most intelligent of the lads, but Sir George Grey wished them to go, chiefly on account of their family connections Many of the others wished much to follow them; they are longing for it, and look forward to it with much hope. (127)

The Selection of Four Chiefs' Sons

The Archdeaconry of Hereford ultimately made three Scholarships available, while the Archdeaconry of Ludlow, also in the Diocese of Hereford, offered one. They were all tenable for three years. (128)

First to be chosen was Samuel (Lefulere), son of Moroka, chief of the Barolong tribe. He was about twenty years old and was considered to be a remarkably steady, well educated youth, who was possessed with a very strong desire to benefit his people and his father's tribe. He had been trained in the shoemaker's trade and had made good progress. The Warden commended him for being equally steady in and out of the schoolroom and workshop, and said : "I have never once had occasion to find fault with Samuel from the day that I undertook the charge of this school to this day".(129)

Jeremiah (Libupua), son of the Basuto chief, Moshesh, was also aged about twenty. He was said to be a steady good boy, gifted with a considerable amount of good sense and industry, and a competent shoemaker, too. But his temper was not naturally so placid as Samuel's. However, he was fully aware of this defect and had made every effort to subdue it with praiseworthy results. (130) Whereas Samuel had been baptized in Cape. Town, Jeremiah had been baptized by the French missionaries at Thaba Bosiu. (131) He had come to the College with the intention of being trained as a missionary and was dedicated to serving his people. (132)

Neither of these young men were seemingly possessed of any great abilities, but owing to the age at which they had come to the Institution and their difficulties in learning English, it was hard to make a fair judgment. They both read Sechuana better than English, and both were apt to make mistakes in English grammar and spelling. (133)

Bishop Gray had grave doubts about sending Jeremiah. Although he

praised the Basuto prince's behaviour, (134) and assured Moshesh that his son was getting on steadily at the College and would benefit from going to St. Augustine's, (135) the Bishop, nonetheless, was worried because the young man was backward in his work. Gray consulted with the Governor as to whether they should send Jeremiah, or a younger lad much cleverer than himself. Sir George felt that it was very important that a son of Moshesh's should receive an English education, and urged his being sent. (136)

Arthur (Waka), son of the Amaxhosa chief, Toise (Toyise), was the third Zonnebloem pupil to be given a Hereford Scholarship. He was the youngest of the trio and was said to be very superior to Samuel and Jeremiah in ability and knowledge. In addition, he was a very proficient carpenter. He had a gentle and affectionate disposition, his one grave fault being that he was somewhat proud or "sensitive". But the Warden was sure that he would be enabled to subdue this failing with time. (137)

Glover was diffident about sending Arthur because he was below the usual age for entrance at St. Augustine's, being then not quite seventeen years old. After much consideration, however, the Warden decided to include him, reasoning that it would be fairer to the South African races and to the Missionary College to send out at least one who might be considered a fair representative of the intellectual progress of South Africa, even though he was younger than the regular age. (138) The youngster was quite as dedicated as the other two chiefs' sons in his desire to serve his people.

Edward (Dumisweni) Magomo was included in the group at the last minute, when the Archdeaconry of Ludlow offered to sponsor a Kafir pupil as well. (139) Nothing is known about his character or scholastic ability prior to his going to St. Augustine's.

All the boys were very grateful for the opportunity being offered them. They were especially pleased to learn that they were being sent to the place where the Rev. Lightfoot, their clergyman friend from the Cathedral, had been educated. (140)

Concern about the Students' Lack of Scholastic Competence

The students' departure for England was delayed for some time as they had to wait for a passage and for someone to take charge of them during the journey. (141) It was eventually decided that the Glovers should accompany them. (142) Louisa was very frail and the deterioration in her health was causing concern. The Warden decided

to take her to London for medical advice, obtaining leave of absence from the College. (143) The four chiefs' sons were confirmed in St. George's Cathedral by the Bishop shortly before the party set sail in April 1861. (144)

Glover had assured the Warden of St. Augustine's that all the boys had knowledge enough to be able to profit largely by the privilege of their three years residence in England. (145) But Bishop Gray was very pessimistic about the scholastic competence of this first batch of Kafir pupils to go to the Missionary College. He told the S.P.G. :

We could have wished to keep them a couple of years longer before sending them to England, as they came to us as young men, and are backward in some things, and especially in a thorough knowledge of the English language. The next lot will, I trust, be more satisfactory. At all events, we shall send them with more comfort and confidence. (146)

Arthur Toise wrote a letter to a friend at the Cape, soon after his arrival in England. His description of the voyage and his first impressions of the strange country, make fascinating reading; but there is no doubt that his grammar left much to be desired. Such a deficiency would have been a decided handicap at the start of his new academic career.

My dear Friend, (wrote Arthur) I write this few lines to you to tell you that we are quite well; but when we were on the ship we was not well - when we came from Capetown - because that the sea make us very sick. I was sick more than the others; only Samuel, he was not sick at all; and after three or four days we was better: and when we was near on the land mists was very thick. The ship was nearly on the rock, and they stopet her, and make her went on her backward; and she turned the other side of the rock, and she came in Plymouth on that day. And she stoped there about three or four hours, and went in Southampton Land.

We landed there, and we went in London by the train on the Saturday, and slept there; and on the morrow we went in the church - I don't know what they call it. On the afternoon we went in a great one, what is called Westminster Abbey. I think St. George is better than Westminster Abbey; I don't like the places to sit in. On the Monday we went in the house of the Bishop's brother, and after one o'clock we went Canterbury, and after two or three days we went in the Cathedral. Oh yes 1 Cathedral is very beautiful than all that I was here and Capetown. I like it, but the people say "more better one". I don't think that is man's hand do it. Now I saw very well. I been many times in it. And now I give my love to you: please give my love to Bishop and Mrs Gray and all her children. (147)

9. St. Augustine's Interlude

A New Building to Accomodate the Africans at St. Augustine's

The historic Gothic-style buildings at St. Augustine's, with their flint-stone walls and weathered red tile roofs, were a strange contrast to the white-washed Dutch farm buildings at Zonnebloem. (148) The Missionary Coleege was entered by the Main Gateway, imposing with its upper turrets. (149) This led into the central quadrangle. The immaculately kept lawns, fringed with beds of flowers, were flanked on three sides by the College buildings. These had been erected around the remains of the old Benedictine Abbey.

The Library had been built on the site of the Abbot's Banqueting Hall, the original design being followed as far-as possible with an Undercroft below. On the far side were the ruins of the Norman Church, the crumbling stone walls and pillars being all that remained of the original buildings.

The College was rich in history. The Gateway Chamber, now used by the students for meetings and social gatherings, was supposed to have been occupied at different times by several crowned heads of England. From this room there was a fine view of Canterbury Cathedral and the old city walls that surrounded it. Beyond the Gateway Chamber was the Dining Hall, the original Guest Hall of the Abbey in which the visiting pilgrims had once been entertained. The College students now dined there with the Warden and his staff.

There were two Chapels, one above the other. The Upper Chapel, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, occupied the site of the old Pilgrim's Chapel. The Lower Chapel of the Good Shepherd was a memorial chapel to past members of the College. Inscribed tablets on the walls recorded their names.

The Africans from Zonnebloem were the first black students to enter St. Augustine's. An extension was built onto the southern wing, adjoining the Warden's house, to accomodate them. The S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. each gave £500 towards the building fund, and past students also contributed generously. (150)

The Native Building, or Foreigner's Building as it was later known, was not completed until 1862. (151) It faced onto the formal Tudor Garden, originally planned by Henry VIII, and used

over the years alternately as a tennis court and croquet lawn. This garden was separated from the main quadrangle by a striking black and white chequered Saxon brick wall.

College Life

The aims of St. Augustine's, founded as the Anglican Missionary Institution in 1848, were :

To provide an education to qualify young men for the Services of the Church in the distant dependencies of the British Empire, with such strict regard to economy and frugality of habits as may fit them for the special duties to be discharged, the difficulties to be encountered and the hardships to be endured.
(152)

The Zonnebloem students were admitted to St. Augustine's on June 3, 1861. (153) They soon settled down to their new pattern of life - studies, industrial training, parochial work and sport, keeping them busily occupied. Their day ended at 10.30 p.m. with the ringing of the Curfew bell, the signal for all the lights in the College to be extinguished. Worship played an important part in the students' daily routine. Prayers were said in the Chapel at 7 a.m. and 9.30 p.m. (154) The Africans celebrated their First Communion at the College Commemoration in August, a memorable event for those present. (155)

The College offered a course of studies in Theology, History, Mathematics, Medicine and the Classics - Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The students were also given practical experience in parochial work. They assisted the Canterbury clergy with district visiting, and taught in the Sunday schools and Night schools. (156) The parishioners in the Cathedral city must have wondered at the novelty of being ministered to by black men from Africa.

The students' medical studies were rather gruelling. They were required "to walk the hospital" and be present as observers at operations. The Rev. Lightfoot described witnessing an operation, when he was a student at the College ten years earlier, in which a man had had his leg amputated. Although chloroform was administered to the patient, it was not very effective and the man became restless during the surgery. Eight College students fainted and had to be carried out of the operating theatre. Stamina and strong nerves were a prerequisite for these prospective missionaries. (157)

Instruction in the printing trade was the chief form of industrial training. The College possessed its own Printing Press and this was moved into the basement of the Native Building following its completion. The St. Augustine's Occasional Papers were printed on the premises. These publications contained College news, articles on religious subjects, and correspondence from former students who were now serving the Church throughout the world. The fledgling missionaries' letters made fascinating reading to those still in training, for they gave vivid descriptions of life amongst primitive people in strange countries. In this way, the students were able to gain an insight into the nature of their future work.

The African Students' Assimilation

A fellow student of the Zonnebloem contingent, who came to know them well, considered that the most significant aspect of their life at the College was the rapidity with which they became assimilated. He commented on - "the quickness with which they observed, and the readiness with which they adapted to English ways. They took very kindly to our English games, excelling especially at foot ball". (158)

But although the African lads identified themselves completely with their new environment, they, nevertheless, maintained an awareness of the contrast between their present surroundings and their home environment - "There was a constant recollection in their minds of their own country, and a continual thought of the way in which the things they were seeing and hearing in England would strike their countrymen when they went back". (159)

Bishop Gray came to England in 1862 on one of his periodic visits to raise money and discuss Church affairs. He welcomed the opportunity of seeing his former Kafir College pupils, at Canterbury, when he was invited to speak at the St. Augustine's Commemoration in August. The Bishop of Cape Town told the gathering of students about the work of Old Augustinians in the mission field opening up in South Africa. A number of his listeners were so inspired by his talk that they offered to dedicate themselves to this work after completing their training.

After the formal proceedings were over, the Bishop was taken on a conducted tour of the College, the Native wing receiving his special attention. He was able to have long talks with his proteges from the Cape and expressed himself well satisfied with

their progress. He looked forward eagerly to their return home.
(160)

10. Colenso's School for the Sons of Zulu Chiefs Closes Down:1861

Before making an evaluation of the first four years' achievements of the Kafir College at Cape Town, we shall first make a short survey of the progress of Colenso's Kafir Harrow in Natal during the same period. By following the fortunes of the sister school, at Ekukanyeni, which came to an abrupt end in 1861, we shall be enabled to view the past, present and future work of Zonnebloem in its proper perspective.

Ironically it was Mkungo, the son of the Zulu King, Mpande, and the most eminent pupil at the Natal Institution, who was the central figure in the drama which brought about the dramatic closing of the school for the sons of Zulu chiefs.

Colenso's Attempts to send a Son of the Zulu King to England

It appears that Sir George Grey also promised to send some of Bishop Colenso's high-born students to England. In 1859, the Bishop of Natal asked the Governor for financial assistance in carrying out this plan; (161) but he made no further move until the following year. Then, prompted by the Bishop of Cape Town's preparations to send Kafir chiefs' sons to St. Augustine's, Colenso took action to follow Gray's example.

The most eligible candidate at Ekukanyeni was the Zulu Prince, Mkungo. But the difficulty would be to obtain his father's permission. Whereas the promise of English education had been tempting bait to Moshesh, Moroka, and the other Kafir chiefs, Mpande was decidedly antagonistic to white men and highly suspicious of their intentions.

Bishop Colenso made an official visit to the Zulu King in 1860, to prepare the way for the founding of the Anglican Zulu Mission. In his audience with Mpande, he touched on a great number of subjects before broaching the delicate question of Mkungo's future. Colenso then explained that he loved the boy, and wished to secure his welfare as his own child, that was why he was going to suggest something to the King that might seem hard to him at first. But Mpande was a wise man and would consider for himself, and see the value of what the Bishop was about to propose - Would the King allow his son to go to England to be

educated

The Bishop made every effort to impress the Zulu leader with his arguments. Colenso's reasoning is of particular interest for it must have been similar to that which Sir George had used to great effect with the other African chiefs. Colenso told Mpande :

Umkungo would, perhaps, see the Queen's Face, and become known to some of the English izikulu (gentlemen), and learn to speak the English language, and see all the wonders of England, and acquire a great deal of most valuable knowledge, which he could never gather here. We could teach him a little, and would do our best to do so; but there he would see everything: and if he remained one year, or two, or three, he would grow to be a clever man, well acquainted with English affairs, and that might help a great deal hereafter. (162)

To strengthen his case, Colenso quoted the example of Moshesh, who had already sent a son of his, on Sir George Grey's advice, to England to be educated. This news intrigued Mpande immensely and he questioned the Bishop closely as to which of the Basuto chief's sons had been sent. The Zulu King rather disconcerted his visitor, however, by asking - "Where was England?" (163) When told that if he went through Moshesh's country he would be going in the right direction, he could not understand why it was not possible to go there on foot. He was averse to the idea of many weeks of travel in a ship. Colenso tried to allay his fears by assuring him that Mkungo would be sent with one or two companions and that the Bishop, himself, would probably be one of the party. Colenso continued with his argument with patient perseverance. He showed the King a recent photograph of Mkungo to reassure him that his son was being well looked after by his teachers at Ekukanyeni. The Bishop also produced a printed sheet done by Mkungo at the Institution, as proof of the skills of the English which the boy had already learnt. It was vital that the Zulu prince's father should be won over to the Bishop's proposition. Monase, Mkungo's mother, was strongly opposed to the idea and might only become reconciled to it if Mpande gave his consent.

The Zulu King, however, insisted that it was a woman's business, not a man's, and said : "The child is young, and is the only son of his mother. If she consents to it, I shall not object; but still, for my part, I am afraid". (164) Colenso's persuasions were in vain. Monase cried bitterly and said she would kill her-

self if her son was sent so far away. Mkungo's exile in Natal had caused her enough heartache already.

Colenso did not give up trying, and brought the matter up for discussion on successive visits to Mpande. Although the King was interested in the idea, he refused to be pressed into making an immediate decision. His final words to Colenso, were :

I want Umkungo to learn all the learning of the white man, and when he is a little older, you must come back to me and speak again about his going to England. There is no wild cat that has caught a rat by sitting still. So I hope Umkungo, having had to go abroad, will acquire manhood and wisdom, and make himself a house one day. But he is not my child now: he is yours, and you must do the best you can with him. (165)

The "Zulu Panic" : 1861

This was a critical period in Zulu history. With the waning of the aging King's authority, the disputed succession resulted in constant outbreaks of fighting. The continual unrest in the African territory caused thousands of refugees to seek asylum in the neighbouring colony of Natal.

Cetshwayo, jealous of his position as number one contender to the Zulu throne, kept a wary eye on the doings of his few remaining half-brothers. The Zulu exiles in Natal regarded Mkungo as their chief. As his following swelled, so did Cetshwayo's suspicions of his rival's designs on the throne, grow. Cetshwayo made repeated demands to the Natal Government to have Mkungo handed over to him. (166) The young Zulu prince's presence at Ekukanyeni was fast becoming an embarrassment to the authorities.

Early in 1861, Bishop Colenso, anxious for his ward's safety, wrote to Bishop Gray to ask if Mkungo might be received into Zonnebloem. (167) But before the boy could be transferred to the Kafir College at the Cape, he was forced to flee Ekukanyeni in fear of his life.

A strong rumour had given warning that a Zulu impi, mounted on Basuto ponies, was scheming to storm the Anglican mission and kidnap Mkungo. It was said that Cetshwayo had given orders for the murder of his half-brother. The alarm was given - volunteer troops turned out to guard the border, Colenso and his family were evacuated from Bishopstowe in the middle of the night and took refuge in Pietermaritzburg, Mkungo was sent into hiding in

a neighbouring kraal, and the pupils of the Industrial Institution were all sent home. (168)

The End of the School at Ekukanyeni

Although the Zulu attack did not materialize, the school at Ekukanyeni was closed down and did not re-open. The "Zulu Panic" had coincided with Bishop Colenso's decision to go to England. He believed that he must be on the spot to make a personal defence of his recently published controversial Biblical expositions. And so, in mid-1861, he packed up his family and departed for overseas, leaving the Mission to its sad fate. (169)

Despite the Bishop's absence from Ekukanyeni, it would have been possible for his friend, Theophilus Shepstone, to arrange for the pupils to be collected together again from their various kraals, once the scare was over. But there was no staff left at the Institution to teach them - the remaining master was ill, Colenso's daughters had accompanied their father overseas, and Alice Mackenzie had left the colony as well. (170) Colenso's Kafir Harrow, begun so auspiciously five and a half years earlier, had come to an abrupt end.

Colenso remained in England for a number of years while the Church controversy which he had aroused raged round him. In 1863, he was convicted of heresy, in his absence, by the Court of the Metropolitan of Cape Town. (171) When his deposition became final in April 1864, Bishop Gray journeyed to Natal to take temporary charge of the diocese. While in Pietermaritzburg, he rode out to Ekukanyeni to inspect the once famous model Mission. He found the place looking desolate. A skeleton staff of two catechists and a Zulu printer were making a valiant effort to keep things going, but the native institution had been abandoned. (172)

Colenso returned to the colony in 1865. According to the Judgment Committee in England, he was still Bishop of the Church of England in Natal; but as a result of the schism in the Church brought about by his case, he had few supporters and little money with which to carry on his missionary work. He tried to revive the school at Ekukanyeni and eventually managed to obtain small grants from the Natal Government. (173) His daughters, Harriet and Agnes, assisted him with the teaching and they kept the little school

going after their father's death in 1883. (174) But the mission establishment was a shadow of its former self, and the Industrial Institution for the sons of Zulu chiefs was never refounded.

An Evaluation of Colenso's Kafir Harrow

It is difficult to make an evaluation of the achievements of the Industrial Institution at Ekukanyeni as there is so little information to go on. On the other hand, the very fact that there is almost no record of the students' subsequent careers is in itself evidence that Colenso's experiment in education failed to achieve its objects.

Mkungo was the star pupil at the Kafir Harrow as far as rank was concerned, and the only one who can be used for purposes of comparison with the sons of chiefs at Zonnebloem. One extraordinary charge that was levelled against Colenso by Bishop Gray, and others, was, that they feared that the Natal Bishop intended to use the Zulu prince, "to further the ends of the Faith in Zululand". (175) This seems to be a strange accusation considering that Gray intended to use his Kafir College pupils for just such a purpose. We can only assume that this is an indication of Gray's distrust of Colenso's theology.

The Metropolitan did not wish Colenso to establish a mission in Zululand for he feared that the Natal Bishop's dubious theological views "would be propagated in an area hitherto undefiled by false teaching". (176) At any rate, according to Burnett, Colenso's relations with Zululand, both then and later, amply proved that Gray's fears regarding Mkungo were groundless. (177)

Cetshwayo ultimately succeeded to the Zulu throne in 1873. Mkungo remained in Natal for the rest of his life. His only claim to fame is that he joined the Natal Native Contingent, a force of Natal Zulus under European officers and non-commissioned officers, which was formed in 1878 to assist the British forces in their assault on the Zulu Kingdom. Mkungo was assigned to Lonsdale's regiment. It was hoped that his presence in the Zulu enemies' ranks would sow dissension among the warriors.

But Mkungo suffered from obesity, a family failing, and he was too fat to take the field. His son was detailed to serve in the ranks as his substitute during military operations. (178) And so, all that we know of the fruits of Mkungo's education at Ekukanyeni, is, that he was loyal to the British cause and presumably influenced what following he had to emulate his example. There is no record of

his having worked for the Church in any significant way.

As far as the other pupils were concerned, it is probable that those who had been trained as printers and carpenters took up their trades and professions. Those that returned to their homes must surely have passed on at least some of their newly acquired agricultural expertise. Colenso had set such store by their leading the way in improving African farming practices and had made sure that all his scholars received basic agricultural training.

John Shepstone, an outspoken critic of Colenso's views, dismissed the Bishop's efforts to educate the Zulu boys with the assertion that "they learnt to play the piano and the organ and subsequently went back to their kraals and never did any good". (179)

There is, in fact, no record of the pupils having involved themselves in missionary work among their people, so carrying the "light" of Ekukanyeni to their kraals, according to Colenso's grand design. Most of the boys left the Institution at too young an age to have acquired sufficient spiritual strength with which to confront the heathenism of their countrymen, alone. The youngsters were left to fend for themselves in a hostile environment and had no organized backing from the Church. When we follow the careers of the Zonnebloem students, we shall see how essential it was for the fledgling Christians to have the Church's support in their readjustment to tribal life.

The Kafir Harrow certainly did not fulfil the purpose for which it had been founded. Undeniably it was the victim of circumstances beyond Colenso's control, nevertheless, it is hard to fathom how he could have allowed his erstwhile pet project to fade into oblivion once his theological studies had become the ruling passion in his life. The Natal Bishop had expended so much time, energy and enthusiasm on the school, not to mention a large sum of other peoples' money, yet he made no attempt to secure the future of the Institution when he left the colony.

At the time of his departure from Ekukanyeni for England, Colenso's only thought for his Zulu pupils, was - "Let us hope that the education which they have received will not be lost upon them in after-life". (180)

11. A Constant Supply of Well Educated Christian Children

In this section, an attempt has been made to evaluate the work of the Kafir College in Cape Town from the time of its establishment

to the end of 1861. In reflecting on the first four years' achievements it is important to try and assess in what measure the Industrial Institution had achieved its aims and objects, apart from the more spectacular cases of the children of leading chiefs already reviewed in this chapter. Colenso's Kafir Harrow forms a useful basis for comparison. At the same time, it is essential to determine what the co-founders envisaged the College's future development would be, so that their expectations can be used as a measure against the actual developments.

Bishop Gray's Evaluation

Bishop Gray was well satisfied with the progress of his Kafir pupils. He considered that the fact that, by 1861, four sons of influential chiefs had gone to St. Augustine's to complete their education as teachers to their respective tribes, was evidence enough that the Kafir Institution was already bearing good fruit. In addition to which, as he told Sir George :

The promising state of many other lads within its walls leads me to hope that a constant supply of well educated Christian men may go forth from it, in future years, to civilize and convert their still Heathen countrymen. (181)

The Bishop was much encouraged by the considerable progress which most of the children had made both in Industrial work and learning. Even so, the economics of such education caused concern. This is now dealt with in some detail.

Industrial Training

Although the Bishop could lay claim to several fair carpenters, tailors and shoemakers at Zonnebloem, (182) the Industrial Institution was far from reaching its goal of becoming self-supporting. The Industrial department struggled to cover its own costs and could not be relied upon to provide any revenue for running the school, as envisaged. The trade teachers were housed on the estate and so their accommodation cost nothing; but their salaries, and the materials for their shops, had to be provided for out of the profits of their department. (183)

By the end of 1861, the Carpenter's Shop had proved to be the most financially successful and it had helped to carry the other two trades. Under the guidance of the instructor, a former foreman of a cabinet-maker's establishment at Bath, the boys had turned out

a steady supply of church fittings and furniture for the new churches which were continually springing up in the diocese and beyond. They had made window-frames and doors, as well as more skilled items of workmanship such as pews, lecterns, altar-tables and reading-desks. (184) All the internal fittings for St. John's Church, St. Helena, had come from Zonnebloem. (185)

The Tailor's and Shoemaker's Shops had kept the children supplied with clothes and shoes, but they had not paid well. (186) Bishop Gray much regretted the fact that lack of funds prevented the establishment of a printing department. (187)

The Agricultural department was a disaster from beginning to end. Not only were the boys totally disinterested in this section, and so received no practical experience in agriculture, but the failure to make the farm pay aggravated the financial problems of the Institution considerably. Bishop Gray's hopes that the boys' labour on the land would help provide for their upkeep, proved to be a pipe-dream. The lads' traditional prejudice, that farming was women's work and therefore degrading, died hard. (188) All attempts to motivate them to do farm work failed abysmally.

A scheme was tried in which the boys were each given a garden and encouraged to grow vegetables. Even though they were allowed to sell the produce for their own benefit, the plan was unsuccessful. The boys never worked in their gardens and the plots of ground were completely neglected. (189)

The vineyards were kept going with the help of hired labour and continued to bring in regular revenue; but much of the land on the estate remained uncultivated because of the pupils' lack of co-operation. The Bishop, distressed by this wasted potential source of income, determined, at the end of 1861, that the boys should be coerced into doing their share of farm work so that more land might be developed, at little cost. But the Rev. Squibb, who was Acting Warden during Glover's absence in England, disadvised such a step. He considered that there would be "a great struggle" before the lads might be induced to do any farming. (190)

Rather discouraged by this setback, Bishop Gray decided that it might be more constructive to aim at teaching the pupils the theory of farm management. Some of the chiefs' sons, who had been granted land in British Kaffraria by Sir George Grey, would

conceivably become farmers and should at least be taught how to run their farms efficiently even if they were not prepared to do the work themselves. And so the Bishop went ahead with plans to engage an agriculturalist in England. (191)

Sir George was not so concerned about the failure of the Agricultural department; and even the Bishop conceded that "doubtless there is a danger of developing the industrial work too largely and cramping the purely intellectual, which is that in which the boys take the chief delight". (192)

Intellectual Development

There were no complaints about the boys' work in school. They had retained their enthusiasm for Arithmetic and many of them could work sums in decimals with great ease. They could all understand English, and read well, although the Kafir accent was still marked. Regrettably, they persisted in using Kafir when they talked amongst themselves. (193)

Bishop Gray still believed that the best way of improving the boys' English would be to introduce a number of English lads into the school. Such students would help with the language problems as well as being useful in instilling English ideas into the Kafirs' minds. But this plan was not easy to put into action.

The difficulty is, (said Bishop Gray) in getting boys who should at once be sufficiently poor to value the free education which they would receive, sufficiently good to benefit the boys in a moral point of view, and sufficiently intelligent to keep pace with the Kafirs, and maintain their proper position; but an infusion of a few English lads would be a great advantage, if they were sharp enough and not disposed to look down on the Kafirs. (194)

The Bishop proposed that the English boys should be trained at Zonnebloem as schoolmasters, interpreters and missionaries. (195)

Extracurricular Activities

Participation in activities outside the College walls was encouraged as a means of broadening the students' experience, an important part of their education. Several of the elder boys attended the Second Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town, held in the Cathedral in the middle of January. They showed a lively interest in the debates during their two day visit, particularly when Zonnebloem College came up for discussion under the subject

of teacher training. (196) The suggestion was that the Kafir Institution should be used as a practising school where teachers could be given practical experience in industrial operations. Trade training was considered to be essential to the proper working of mission schools. (197)

"There is an excellent Choir for the College Chapel", wrote Bishop Gray in October 1861. (198) The boys sang well in parts, some having fine voices. (199) The Bishop was justifiably proud of his Kafir pupils who had recently taken part in the opening ceremonies of the new School Chapel at Constantia. The Zonnebloem Choir had chanted the service, and had been commended both for their singing and their reverent and devout manner. On this occasion, the Bishop had been much struck by the fact that although Constantia was predominantly a Dutch district, five races had been present at the service, "gathered by the Church out of their various nations into the one family of Christ". (200)

The Location of the College

The co-founders decision to locate the Kafir College in the capital, far removed from the pupils' homelands, seemed amply justified after the dramatic closing of Colenso's school. The crisis which precipitated the closure highlighted the vulnerability of its position, located as it was in close proximity to the Zulu pupils' countrymen.

Not only was Zonnebloem safe from tribal interference, but it was also too far from the pupils' homes to allow of them running away from school when out of temper, as had happened at some of the Frontier Institutions. When punished, a Kafir College pupil would sometimes write and complain to his parents, as would happen in any English school, but this was the limit of his rebellion. (201)

New Pupils

Although the Governor expressed himself well satisfied with the Kafir Institution, (202) Bishop Gray insisted that it would be wrong to judge the College by its first pupils. (203) Most of them had come when they were too old and would never receive the complete training and instruction which they would have had if they had been admitted at an earlier age. (204) The first batch varied in age from ten to twenty, but twelve or thirteen was considered the ideal age for future entrants. (205)

It was mainly as a result of Sir George's endeavours that a steady stream of young people applied to enter the College during 1861. The Governor held firmly to the belief that the education offered by Zonnebloem could be an important link with leading chiefs. In response to a letter from Moselikatse, in which the chief had expressed his desire "to pave the way between his country and Cape Town", Sir George had suggested that he send his children to the Kafir College in the capital for a start. (206)

The Institution excited wide interest among Africans of many tribes. Five Fingoes from the Frontier asked to have their sons trained as teachers, undertaking to pay £6 a year for each child. (207)

With the constant pressure on the College to accept new pupils, and with the accomodation fully occupied, it was found necessary to send some of the pupils back home, the sickly and the least promising students being repatriated so as to open the doors for others. (208) This weeding out process of present pupils and the better selection of incoming ones, was seen as an essential part of Zonnebloem's future policy.

Nevertheless, the principle of not accepting older entrants was waived in exceptional cases, usually at the Governor's insistence. One lad in his late teens, who had been acting as a teacher in a Frontier mission school, had been so keen to come to Zonnebloem to improve himself that he had paid for his own passage down. (209) The maintenance of discipline among older boys was seen as the chief objection against their admittance. (210) But this situation could not always be avoided and if any young people were sent down from Central Africa, they would naturally be accepted whatever their age might be. (211)

Bishop Gray had high hopes of the second crop of students, maintaining that they were far more promising material than the first group. (212) He believed that the College would go from strength to strength, spreading its net ever wider in the future. As the white man penetrated ever deeper into the heart of the continent, coming into contact with different African tribes, so would students be sent from every corner of Southern and Southern Central Africa.

As years pass on, (said the Bishop) unless some check arises, there will be a growing disposition on the part of the native chiefs and others to avail them-

selves of the advantages which this institution affords. The Government might always keep it full, by inducing through its agents, the chiefs to send down their children. (213)

"It Will Require Time to Show What the Fruits Will Be"

The achievements of the College were not so easily assessed. The Bishop believed that Zonnebloem "must have time to work out its results". (214)

Some of the well-born graduates would presumably take up hereditary positions of political importance in their own tribes. Sir George had promised Government jobs for others. He had been very insistent that some of the students should be trained as interpreters, such skills being urgently needed on the Frontier, while others could become native policemen.

The Church stood in great need of black schoolmasters and catechists, and the ex-Zonnebloem pupils would be placed in missions throughout the country. Hopefully, some might eventually be ordained.

Others again, (predicted the Bishop) will become carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and farmers; but of course we could not have a cut-and-dried system for an institution so new, and it will require time to show what the fruits will be which will result from its foundation. (215)

1. Gray to Grey, 29.10.1860, LB7:334.
2. Gray to Grey, 5.3.1858, GCAL, and 5.7.1858, LB7:262.
3. Missionary Studentship Associations were started in the Archdeaonries of Hereford and Ludlow, both in the diocese of Hereford, in 1858 and 1859 respectively. The Hereford Association made its first grant in 1861. See Diocese of Hereford, Reports of Diocesan Societies and Institutions, 1911.
4. Gray to Lady Grey, 31.3.1859, LB7:59.
5. Gray to Bailey, 18.11.1859, Lb7:134.
6. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1859, LB7:134.
7. For further information about Joseph Orpen see G.M. Theal, A Fragment of Basuto History, 1854 to 1871 (Cape Town,1886) 15.
8. Orpen to Gray, 12.3.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867:241.
9. Gray to Orpen, 12.3.1b60, L67:303.
10. Ibid.
11. Casalis to Grey, 25.1.1855, see Theal, Basutoland Records, 2:138f.
12. According to Walker, Moshesh was then "at the height of his intellectual and political powers, no mere savage but a great man ... using diplomacy as a weapon from choice, war from necessity, and both to perfection". Walker, op.cit.,284.
13. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 17.4.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit.,1:457.
14. Gray to Orpen, 21.3.1860, L67:220.
15. Gray to Rolland, 24.7.1860, LB7:296.
16. Gray to G. Moshesh, 24.7.1860, L67:295; Gray to Rolland, 24.7.1860, L87:296.
17. Gray to G. Moshesh, 24.7.1860, LB7:295.
18. Gray to Orpen, 24.7.1860, LB7:296; Gray to Rolland, 24.7.1860, LB7:296.
19. Gray to G. Moshesh, 24.7.1860, LB7:295.
20. Gray to Orpen, Rolland and G. Moshesh, 24.7.1860, LB7:295f.
21. Gray to G. Moshesh, 24.7.1860, LB7:295.
22. Gray to Orpen, 24.7.1860, L37:296.
23. Prince Alfred later became Duke of Edinburgh.
24. For detailed information see The Progress of H.R.H. Prince Alfred through Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, Orange Free State and Natal in 1860 (Cape Town : Solomon, 1861).
25. Miss Ainger's Diary, 26.7.1860, Anderson - Morshead,op.cit., 127f.
26. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 8.
27. Travers to Glover, 1.8.1860, ZP.
28. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, J:2f.

29. Extracts from Free Press, Queenstown, see Rees, op.cit., 262.
30. Ibid.
31. G.M Macomo to Grey, 1.10.1860, GCAL, African Letters III.
32. Chalmers, op.cit., 206f; Meintjies, op.cit., 266f.
33. Address to H.R.H. Prince Alfred from the AmaXosas at St. Mark's Mission Station, Aug. 1860, MF, 1.11.1860, J:259f.
34. Becker, op.cit., 234; Rees, op.cit., 263; The Progress of Prince A1774(37 77f.
35. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 77ff. Tsekelo had exhibited musical talent three months earlier, when, at a dinner party given by Moshesh for Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, the new President of the Free State, he had led his educated brothers in the singing of English songs as entertainment for the guests. Theal, A Fragment of Basuto History, 1854 - 1871, 9.
36. Progress of Prince Alfred, 78. Moshesh had prepared the way for this request by writing to the Governor. The translation from Sesuto reads as follows :
 "(The) Basutos are (a) nation of Agriculturists. They are shepherds who (are) pasturing flocks and though wars they have been there, they were not commenced by us.
 We Basutos who already have years (are old), we used to grow in darkness and heathenism. And God has found us yet sitting in it.... we blacks (we) admire (the) wisdom of (the) Whites but that which we admire above all is (the) justice (righteousness) of (the) government of (the) Queen".
 See Moshesh to Grey, 1860, GCAL.
37. Gray to Moshesh, 29.12.1860, LB8:42.
38. Theal, A Fragment of Basuto History: 1854 - 1871, 15.
39. Gray to Hawkins, 9.11.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 452; Gray to Orpen and Rolland, 24.7.1860, LB7:296; Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, LB8:16.
40. Gray to Rolland, 24.7.1860, LB7:296.
41. Moroka to Grey, 1860, quoted in Rees, op.cit., 256.
42. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 113ff; Picard, Grand Parade, 30ff; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:160 and 5:5.
43. Gray to Hawkins, 9.11.1860, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 452, USPGA.
44. Gray to S.P.G., 25.1.1861, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 467, USPGA.
45. Gray to Orpen and Rolland, 24.7.1860, L87:296.
46. For further details concerning Livingstone and Chief Sechele, see Livingstone's Travels, 48 and 406.
47. Chalmers, op.cit., 207.
48. Ibid., 206.
49. Miss Ainger's Diary, Anderson-Morshead, op.cit., 128f.
50. Ibid., 129.
51. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 105.

52. Rees, op.cit., 265; The Progress of Prince Alfred, 105; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:3f.
53. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 105.
54. Glover, op.cit., 7f.
55. Miss Ainger's Diary, Anderson - Morshead, op.cit., 129.
56. Gray to S.P.G. 25.1.1861, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 467, USPGA.
57. Anderson - Morshead, op.cit., 129.
58. The Progress of Prince Alfred, 114.
59. Picard, Grand Parade, 30ff; The Progress of Prince Alfred, 113 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:160 and 5:5.
60. Anderson - Morshead, op.cit., 130.
61. Rutherford, 272; The Progress of Prince Alfred, 137.
62. Newspaper reports quoted in The Progress of Prince Alfred, 158.
63. Ibid., 159.
64. Mackenzie, then 36 years old, was a Cambridge graduate. He had been appointed Archdeacon of Pietermaritzburg in 1854. He believed that the invitation in 1859 to head the Central African Mission was a call from God. See Chadwick, op.cit., 19ff; G. Seaver, David Livingstone : his life and letters (London : Lutterworth, 1957, 384ff.
65. Sir George Grey and Bishop Gray were among the distinguished speakers at the "Great Zambesi Meeting" held at Cambridge on 1.11.1859, when it was decided to back up Livingstone's explorations and establish one or more stations in South Central Africa - "which may serve as Centres of Christianity and Civilization, for the promotion of true religion, agriculture, and lawful commerce, with the ultimate extirpation of the slave-trade". Seaver, op.cit., 385. See also Gray to Livingstone, 31.3.1859, LB7:57 and 26.1.1860, LB7:181. The Mission party was to be headed by a Bishop and consist of clergymen and laity, including a doctor and experts in agriculture and building. Seaver, op.cit., 385f.
66. Chadwick, op.cit., 20f; Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 71; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 696f.
67. Gray to Bishop of Oxford, 16.3.1860, LB7:210.
68. Ibid.
69. Gray to Livingstone, 13.9.1859, LB7:92.
70. Gray to Livingstone, 26.1.1860, LB7:181.
71. Gray to Livingstone, 1.10.1860, LB7:322.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 101f and History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, 10ff; Glover, op.cit., 8.
75. Gray to Lightfoot, 8.9.1860, Lightfoot, op.cit., 119.

76. Gray to S.P.G., MF, 1.2.1861, 33.
77. Gray to Lightfoot, 8.9.1860, Lightfoot, op.cit., 120.
78. Gray to S.P.G., MF, 1.2.1861, 33.
79. The Africans selected were Charles Thomas, William and Job.
80. Anderson - Morshead, Universities Mission, 11.
81. Gray to S.P.G., MF, 1.2.1861, 30; Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, LB8:64; Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, LB8:16.
82. Colenso of Natal, Claughton of St. Helena, and Cotterill of Grahamstown.
83. Mackenzie was consecrated a Bishop without a See - "Bishop of the mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire". Chadwick, op.cit., 28. See also Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 72; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 796; Seaver, op.cit., 385.
84. Gutsche, op.cit., 182f.
85. "Anne Mackenzie", TN, 1.4.1877, 26.
86. Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 70.
87. Ibid., 69; also Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 106.
88. Accounts 1859 and 1860, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
89. Miss Ainger's Diary, 5.1.1860, Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 126. Also Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission of Enquiry into the Government Educational System, April 1863, 98n. 833.
90. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 17.4.1860, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 1:457; Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 132.
91. Gray to Moshesh, 29.12.1860, LB8:42.
92. Glover Report to S.P.G., April 1860, ZP.
93. Ibid.
94. Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 70f.
95. Emma Sandilli to Grey, 2.11.1860, GOAL. African Letters IV.
96. Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 71.
97. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:1f.
98. Anderson - Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 71; Bishops-court Record Book, Aug. 1861, ccxl, BA.
99. "A 'Forgotten' Graveyard", Cape Argus, 7.11.45. Zonnebloem Cemetery had to be removed when De Waal Drive was doubled for it lay in the path of the lower carriageway. The remains and headstones were, therefore, removed to Woltemade Cemetery - No. 3, Gate 9b, Plot numbers 95673 and 95674. The site is not far from the Military graveyard. Eight headstones remain, one of these being that of Miss Ainger's. Two are not inscribed.
100. Brass Plaque in Zonnebloem Chapel : "In Memory of Mary Ainger, the first female missionary of this Institution for the education of the native races of South Africa. She fell asleep in Christ, May 23, 1861.
I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Write, Blessed are

the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them".

101. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 96 n. 822.
102. Travers to Glover, 24.1.1861 and 31.1.1861, 2P.
103. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, LB8:64.
104. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 95 n. 811.
105. Travers to Glover, 15.6.1861, ZP.
106. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 95 n. 811 and 99 n. 841.
107. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, Lb8:64.
108. George Mandyoli Macomo to Grey, 1.10.1860, GCAL. African Letters III.
109. Boy Henry Duke of Wellington Tshatshu to Grey, 4.1.1861, GCAL. African Letters V.
110. Ibid.
111. TN, 1.7.1867, 105.
112. G.M. Macomo to Grey, 1.10.1860, GCAL. African Letters III.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. B.H.D. of W. Tshatshu to Grey, 4.1.1861, GCAL. African Letters V.
116. G.M Macomo to Grey, 1.10.1860, GCAL. African Letters III.
117. Ibid.
118. B.H.D. of W. Tshatshu to Grey, 4.1.1861, GCAL. African Letters V.
119. Ibid.
120. G.M. Macomo to Grey, 1.10.1860.
121. Gray to Bailey, 18.11.1859, LB7:134.
122. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 96 n. 821.
123. Gray to Grey, 10.4.1861, LB8:78.
124. Gray to Whitfield, 18.11.1869, LB7:134.
125. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's College, 14.10.1860, St. Augustine's Archives, Canterbury.
126. Ibid.
127. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 96 n. 820.
128. Church Calendar and Clergy List for the Diocese of Hereford, 1866. See also Diocese of Hereford, Reports of Diocesan Societies and Institutions, 1911.
129. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's, 14.10.1860.
130. Ibid.

131. Sermon by the Warden, St. Augustine's, 8.10.1863, SAOP, 1865.
132. J. Widdicombe, Fourteen Years in Basutoland (London, 1891) 69f.
133. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's, 14.10.1860.
134. Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, LB8:16.
135. Gray to Moshesh, 29.12.1860, LB8:42.
136. Gray to Whitfield, 17.11.1860, LB8:16.
137. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's, 14.10.1860.
138. Ibid.
139. Records at St. Augustine's give the names and dates of admittance of the 4 students.
140. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's, 14.10.1860.
141. Gray to Whitfield, 10.2.1861, LB8:64.
142. Bishops court Record Book, Aug. 1861, CCXL, BA.
143. Glover, op.cit., 8.
144. SAOP, 1865.
145. Glover to Warden, St. Augustine's, 14.10.1860.
146. Gray to S.P.G., 9.11.1861, MF, 1.2.1861, 6:33.
147. Arthur Toise to a Friend, 2.7.1861, TN, 1.5.1867, 76f.
148. See Appendix VII for a History of St. Augustine's College.
149. Also known as Fyndon's Gateway after its builder Abbot Thomas Fyndon who erected it between 1287 and 1300. Restored after bomb damage of 1942.
150. SAOP, no. 56, 20.6.1861.
151. SAOP, no. 61, 8.3.1862.
152. Lightfoot, op.cit., 15.
153. Boggis, op.cit., 193.
154. SACM & Ed., 1.1.1851, 2 no. 1:44f.
155. SAOP, no. 58, 8.10.1861.
156. Lightfoot, op.cit., 15.
157. SAOP, no. 58, 8.10.1861.
158. "Africans in England", TN, 1.7.1867, 105f.
159. Ibid.
160. SAOP, no. 66, 15.10.1862.
161. Colenso to Grey, 9.6.1859, GC.
162. J.W. Colenso, First Steps of the Zulu Mission (London : S.P.G., 1860), 88f.
163. Ibid., 89.
164. Ibid., 113.
165. Ibid., 124f.
166. MF, 1861, 6:194ff.

167. Gray to Glennie (S.P.C.K.), 13.6.1861, LB8:93.
168. Burdett, Colenso thesis, 33; Morris, op.cit., 202f.
169. Burdett, Anglicans in Natal, ch.4; Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, ch. 4 and Colenso, ch. 4 and 5.
170. Burnett, Colenso thesis. 33.
171. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 91 et seq. and Colenso, ch.5.
172. Quoted from Bishop Gray's Journal of his Visitation to Natal, 1864, see Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 321.
173. Hinchliff, Colenso, 190.
174. Morris, op.cit., 214.
175. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 29.
176. Burnett to Hodgson, 3.9.1873.
177. Burnett, Colenso thesis, 29.
178. Morris, op.cit., 305ff.
179. J.W. Shepstone's Reminiscences quoted in Burnett, Colenso thesis, 30f.
180. Colenso to Allnutt, Sept. 1861, quoted in Burnett, Colenso thesis, 34.
181. Gray to Grey, 10.4.1861, LB8:78.
182. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.10.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
183. The Carpenter received £100 p.a., the Shoemaker £80-£90 p.a. and the Tailor, less. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 97 n. 829.
184. Ibid., 97 n. 828.
185. Squibb to Bishop of St. Helena, 21.6.1861 and 21.11.1861. Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
186. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 97 n. 830.
187. Visitation Charge of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, delivered at St. George's Cathedral, 16.1.1861, 23f.
188. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 95 n. 819.
189. Ibid., 98 n. 838.
190. Ibid., 97 n. 825,
191. Ibid., 99 n. 840.
192. Ibid., 98 n. 830.
193. Ibid.
194. Ibid., 98 n. 831.
195. Visitation Charge, 16.1.1861, 24.
196. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, LB8:64.
197. Debates in the Second Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town held in the Cathedral Church, St. George's, Cape Town, on Thursday, the 17th day of January, 1861, and the following

- days. See "Education", 73. Reports of the proceedings were published in the Cape Argus.
198. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.11.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
 199. Bishopscourt Record Book, 6.9.1862, cccii, BA.
 200. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.11.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
 201. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 98 n. 836.
 202. Ibid., 98 n. 834.
 203. Ibid., 98 n. 835.
 204. Ibid., 96 n. 823.
 205. Ibid., 99 n. 844.
 206. Ibid., 95 n. 820.
 207. Gray to Glennie(S.P.C.K.), 13.6.1861, LB8:93.
 208. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 96 n. 822 and 98 n. 835.
 209. Ibid., 99 n. 844.
 210. Squibb to Grey, 5.8.1861, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
 211. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 99 n. 844.
 212. Ibid., 98 n. 835.
 213. Ibid., 99 n. 844.
 214. Ibid., 96 n. 822.
 215. Ibid.

Note : Bishop Gray's Evidence, from which much of the material in this Chapter was drawn, was given before the Commission appointed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, to inquire into and report upon the Government Educational System of the Colony, on 25.11.1861. See 94 to 99. The Report was presented to both Houses of Parliament in April 1863. The Commission consisted of : The Hon. Mr. Justice Watermeyer (President), Hon. Mr. Porter, Mr. Solomon, Mr. Fairbairn, Mr. Munnik, Dr. Dale and Dr. Inns.



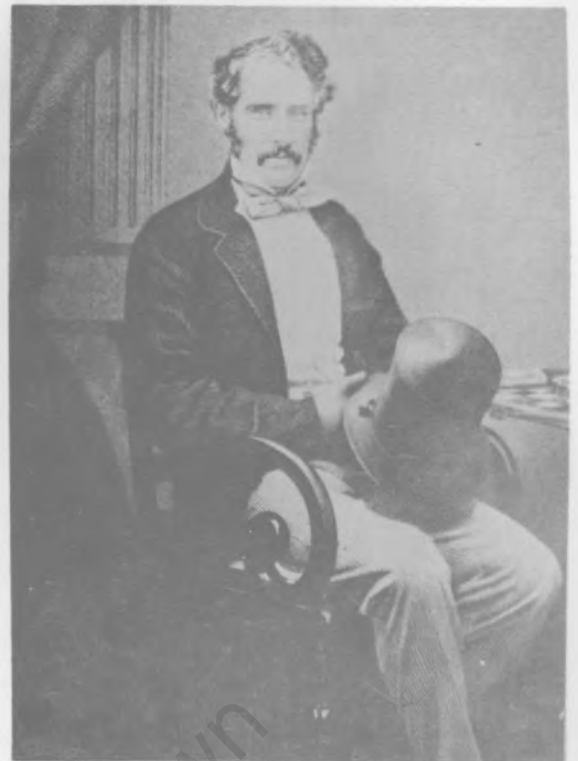
1. Front view Protea (Bishop's Court) - Maynier's Cottage on right. Pen-and-ink drawing by Sir Chas. D'Oyly, Bt., 24 August 1832.



2. Zonnebloem. Engraving by George French Angas. Circa 1846.



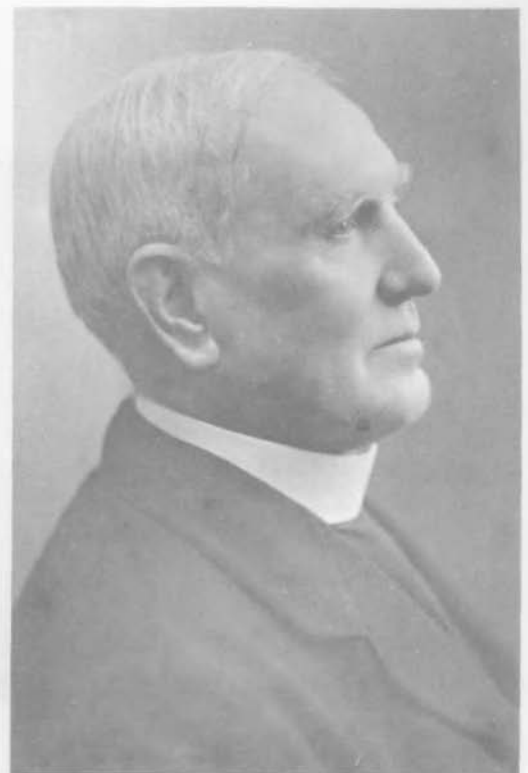
3. Bishop Gray.



4. Sir George Grey.



5. Edward Glover
Warden: 1859-1869.



6. William Lawson Clementson
Student: 1867-1869.



7. Bishop Gray's Interview with Chief Umhala. August 1850.
 (Seated on right: the Rev.F.Fleming, Gray, W.Shepstone)
 By G.A.Towers.



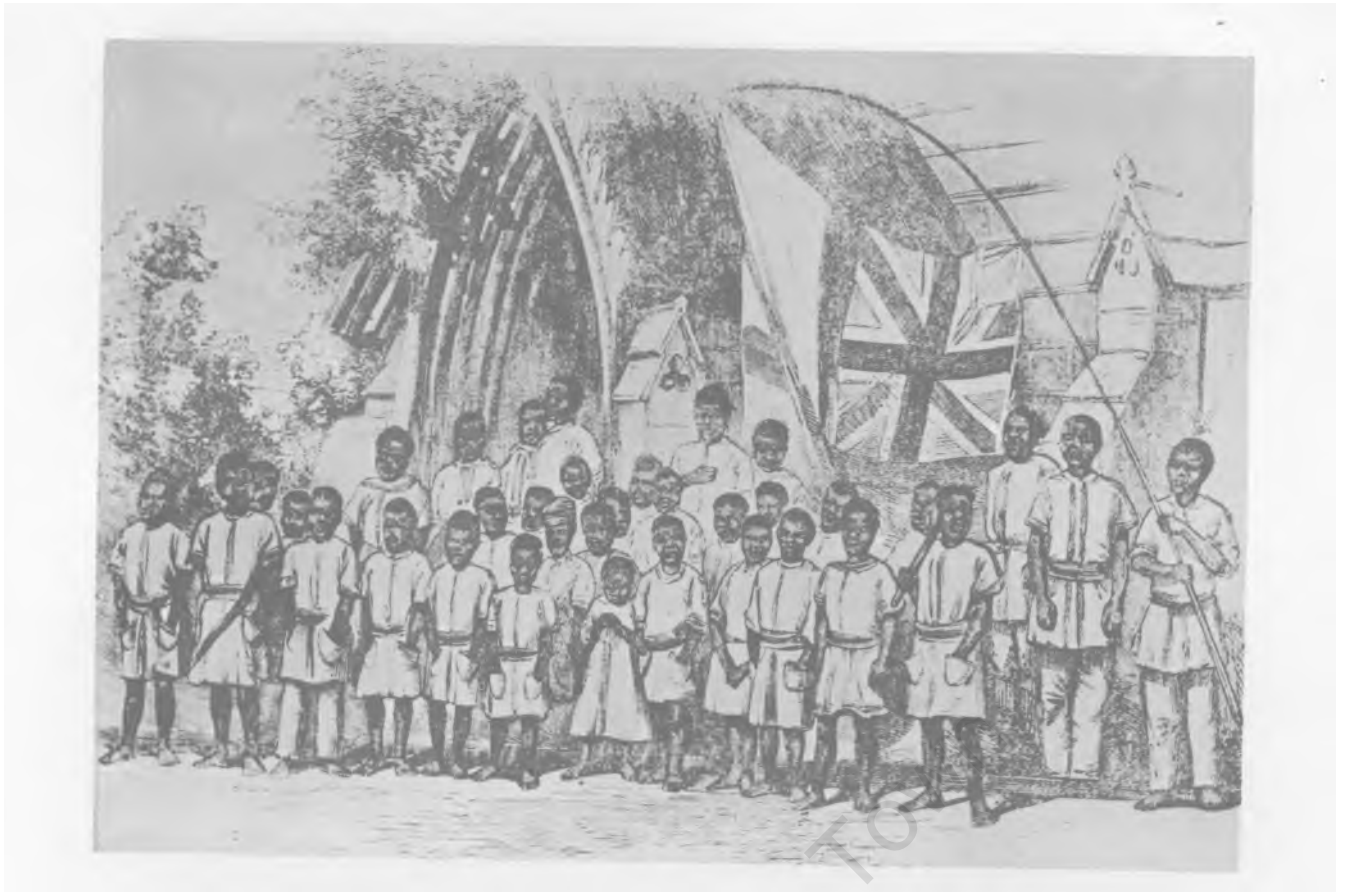
8. Wesleyan Mission Station amongst the Barolong at
 Thaba 'Nchu. 1839.



9a. Sandile's councillors.

9b. Chief Sandile.

9c. Sandile's wives.



10. Bishop Colenso's Pupils at Ekukanyeni. 1859.



11. Carpentry Class at Zonnebloem. 1876.



12. Zonnebloem Choir. 1876.



13. Basuto Students at Zonnebloem. 1876.



14. Xhosa chiefs banished to Robben Island by Sir George Grey.



15. Chief Moshesh.



16. Jeremiah Moshesh at St. Augustine's College. 1861.



17. Zonnebloem Students at St. Augustine's College.

a. Edward Maqomo, Samuel Moroka, Arthur Toise and Tutor. 1861.

b. Stephen Mnyakama 1869.



18. St. Augustine's College, Canterbury - the Native Building is in the centre.

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CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNORS, GRANTS AND GRANDIOSE SCHEMES : 1861-1863

1. The Extension Scheme : 1861

Building Plans

Sir George Grey continued to take an active interest in the Kafir College's affairs during his second term of office at the Cape. Once Zonnebloem's financial problems had been satisfactorily settled, the Governor turned his attention to improving the school's facilities. He believed that for Zonnebloem to fully realize its potential, it must enlarge its outreach. In order to achieve this goal, it must expand. The school must be in a position to accept all prospective pupils and Sir George urged that an extension scheme should be embarked on without delay. (1)

The College was fully occupied in 1861, with forty-three boys and six girls in residence. Bishop Gray had made room for the new pupils by sending the indifferent students home, but this juggling could not be carried on indefinitely. The Bishop, faced with a flood of applications, was embarrassed by the shortage of space at Zonnebloem. "Our buildings", he stated, "large though they may be, are quite inadequate to our wants. We need a chapel, a hall and larger and better dormitories both for girls and boys".

(2)

The girls were the worst off. The Warden had not been able to accomodate the increased number in his house, and so they all now

slept in a wooden stable that had once been the infirmary for sick horses. (3) Such conditions were decidedly detrimental to their health. (4) Apart from which, the female department could not be enlarged until the conditions had been improved, and the co-founders of the College considered that an increased female enrolment was a priority in their scheme of things. They held strongly to the view that it was their duty to educate more girls so as to provide Christian wives for the young men. (5)

The Governor urged that a combined effort should be made to raise the necessary funds for the extension programme, and that they should begin at once with the building of proper dormitories and a dining hall. The estimated cost of the proposed scheme would exceed £3000. (6) The problem, as usual, was to find the money.

Further Appeals for Funds

Bishop Gray, anxious lest the College should again get into debt, nevertheless felt duty bound to support the Governor's plans. The Metropolitan turned first to the local Church in his quest for funds. Directing his appeal to the Churchmen of South Africa, the Bishop pointed out that Zonnebloem had not yet received any financial help from them. (7) But it was a forlorn hope to expect support from this source and the appeal met with no response.

The Colonial Church was expanding rapidly at the time and the settlers were themselves in financial straits as they struggled to build schools and churches to serve their own needs. They could hardly be expected to sympathize with the Kafir College's wants.

The Capetonians, who might have been expected to respond, were involved in raising money for a Mission Church for the Heathen and Mohammedan populace of the city, and had no funds to spare. (8)

The energies of the Cape diocese were concentrated on a fund raising drive to increase Clergy stipends. The Bishop, himself, did not feel justified in diverting Church money destined for this needy cause, to Zonnebloem, a non-diocesan project.

As regards Government funds, Sir George's spending powers had been restricted by the Colonial Office. Without the large Parliamentary Grant at his disposal, he could no longer make liberal donations to the Church institutions. The Governor had paid off the debt on Zonnebloem estate and could give no further financial assistance. He insisted that the Bishop should approach the Church Societies and ask that they should "extend still further a helping hand to this Institution which is second to none in importance in this Land". (9) And so the Churchmen of England were asked once more to come to the aid of the Kafir College.

2. The Governor's Gift : 1861

The Case for an Endowment of Land

Although the Governor was not in a position to give Zonnebloem any more money, Bishop Gray was determined that Sir George should make use of the one loophole left to him - the granting of land in British Kaffraria as an endowment for the school.

The Kafir College was a part of Sir George's Frontier Industrial Education Scheme, and, as such, it qualified for this type of assistance. The Governor had already given the College an endow-

ment of land and houses in King William's Town during his first term of office. This property, valued at £1500, had not brought in much return as yet but it was seen as an investment for the future. (10) The Bishop now brought pressure to bear on Sir George to make another such grant in Zonnebloem's favour.

British Kaffraria, which had been proclaimed independent from the Colony on October 26, 1860, (11) was at that time being carved up, the farms being apportioned to European settlers. The Africans, who had formerly occupied the area, were restricted to reservations. The sale of these farms, considered by the Africans to be their tribal land, brought in much needed revenue to the infant province's exchequer. (12) Bishop Gray maintained that the Kafir chiefs' children under his care had a claim to a share of the land, if only to provide the means for their education.

The Bishop made an official statement of his case to the Governor in April 1861. In his letter, Gray referred to the numerous discussions that he had had with Sir George concerning the future of Zonnebloem. Continuing with his argument, the Bishop said :

It is quite clear that grants from the Imperial Parliament cannot be long depended upon for the Institution's support; and it is very possible that should your Excellency leave us, another Governor might not feel as strongly as yourself, the importance of guiding and improving the native races of Africa, through means of a Christian and liberal education for the children of their Chiefs; - or the great advantages which this particular College offers for the purpose.

Believing therefore that your Excellency feels that in apportioning out the territory of British Kaffraria, regard should be had to the claims of the Kafirs themselves; and that certain portions of it should be set aside for their general use; and that you also are of the opinion that this Institution is conferring a very great benefit upon that nation - I venture to hope that your Excellency may see fit to grant land for the endowment of the College, as I understand that you have felt justified in aiding other Missionary Institutions in Kaffraria, in this way. (13)

In support of his appeal, Bishop Gray referred to the aid that might be expected from the S.P.G. The Church Society had proposed a new scheme, designed to encourage the Colonial Churches to help themselves. They were offering proportionate help and promised to grant an endowment of one fifth of the amount that was raised within the Colony. The Bishop hoped that Zonnebloem would fall

within the scope of the S.P.G.'s regulations and that they would be induced to add one fifth to the value of any land which the Governor might grant the College. (14)

Sir George firmly believed that the Mother Church should honour her missionary responsibilities in the colonies. The S.P.G.'s anticipated endowment prompted him to accede to the Bishop's request. In his official reply to the Metropolitan, he stated :

I entirely agree with Your Lordship that when such large portions of land have been given in Kaffraria to European Settlers, it seems proper to make some provision from the same source, for the education of the present generation of Kaffirs and their descendants, and in this view I will direct that a farm in Kaffraria shall forthwith be set apart for this purpose, on the same trusts as the Estate of Zonnebloem is held. The present value of this farm will I estimate be at least £3000. (15)

The Grant of Land

The farm, 1865 acres in extent, was specially selected as being a sound investment, likely to appreciate in the future. It was situated on the banks of the Buffalo River, fourteen miles from King William's Town, the capital of British Kaffraria. (16)

The Governor's two land grants to the College were together valued at £4500. In addition, Sir George promised to make small grants available for the further development of Zonnebloem estate. Money would be given for irrigation purposes and for establishing a plantation of fir trees. (17)

Unfortunately the rent from the Kaffrarian farms only amounted to about 160 a year. This money was used to good effect - to cover the cost of planting crops at Zonnebloem, and, later, for repairing and rebuilding the cottages on the estate. (18) But the income from the endowment was not sufficient to be of much use to Bishop Gray in his never ending task of trying to balance the Kafir College's budget.

The Governor promised to give Zonnebloem yet another farm which he suggested should be sold at once to provide ready cash for the building scheme. But Sir George left the Colony in August 1861, without the grant being made. In the absence of the administrator's patronage, there was less likelihood of being able to persuade the State to give similar help in the future.

3. The Church Societies' Involvement in the Kafir College Schemes

In compliance with Sir George's bidding, Bishop Gray sent an appeal to both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. for assistance towards Zonnebloem's extension scheme.

The Bishop's Appeal to the S.P.G.

The Bishop made his appeal to the S.P.G. knowing that at that time they were themselves in financial difficulties and were struggling to meet their numerous commitments - £400 a year towards the College's staff salaries being but one of many. It is evident that Gray's correspondence with Sir George, concerning the endowment of land, had been worded in such a way as to put pressure on the Society. Copies of these letters accompanied the Bishop's appeal. Referring to the Governor's gift to Zonnebloem, Gray wrote :

I hope that the Society will be induced to meet this grant, in the way in which they proposed to aid endowments in the Colonial Church, by giving one fifth of what others give. It was my telling him (Sir George) that I thought this probable that led him to say that he now saw his way clearly to making the grant just promised. (19)

Bishop Gray was in a tricky position. He had to move very carefully lest while he was pleading the College's cause he jeopardized the diocese's chances of obtaining aid. He was anxious lest the S.P.G. should include a grant to Zonnebloem with part of any future diocesan endowment which might be given as a reward to the local Churchmen for their fund raising efforts. (20) This would be a considerable grievance to them and a great discouragement to their endeavours. The Cape diocese could not hope to reap much, if any, benefit from the College. The Bishop was careful to point out to the Society that Zonnebloem was essentially an African Institution -

planted in Cape Town because that is the fittest place for it. Not one of the young men educated within its walls will probably ever labour in this Diocese; but it is essential to the success of our missionaries in all parts of Africa, along both our East and West Coast. (21)

An interesting aspect of Gray's argument is that when he was discussing Zonnebloem with the Societies, he was always punctilious in stressing its religious purpose, as a missionary institution designed to serve all Africa. In contrast, his dialogue with Sir

George was perforce restricted to the College's political purpose in serving the needs of African chiefs. There was no question of deceitfulness in the Bishop's reasoning. Both arguments were valid statements of the Institution's objectives. But it shows the manner in which Gray had to maintain a delicate balance between the differing interests of the Church and the State in his handling of Zonnebloem's business and administrative affairs.

The Response to the Appeal

In the past, the S.P.C.K. had responded generously to the Kafir College appeals for funds. They had made two grants of £500 each, one in 1858 and the other in 1860. They now gave a further substantial sum towards Zonnebloem's building fund. (22)

The Bishop managed to raise an additional amount of £250. By the middle of 1861, however, he was still at least £1000 short of the target of £3000, when the extension scheme was temporarily suspended. All thoughts of building at the College were overshadowed by the drama of Sir George Grey's departure from the Cape, to take up the Governorship of New Zealand. This was followed shortly afterwards by the shattering news that the Government support to Zonnebloem would probably soon cease. (23)

4. Sir George Grey Leaves the Cape : August 1861

The Governor's Second Term of Office at the Cape

Sir George had returned to South Africa in 1860 with the fixed resolve of completing the plans which he had devised to solve the country's problems. By the following year, the statesman was worn out with worry, a shadow of his former self.

Saddened by the separation from his wife and frustrated by Government interference in his administration, Sir George gladly accepted the offer of a Second Governorship in New Zealand. (24) The relations between the Maoris and the settlers had deteriorated rapidly since his departure from that colony in 1853. The change of scene and the challenge of the political situation in New Zealand, held out the hope of a new lease of life to Sir George.

Summing up the Governor's two terms of office at the Cape, Rutherford says of Grey :

In South Africa, he overreached himself. There is something pathetically naive as well as tragically heroic about his belief that within the space of

six or seven years he could change the course of history, civilise the Kafirs, humanise the European frontiersmen, pacify the border, unify South Africa, and reconcile the British Government and Parliament to a system which was the very reverse of what which they had just decided upon Success eluded him, and his frantic efforts to perform great deeds with inadequate means only wore out his nerves and undermined the confidence of the British Government in his capacity. The Grey who came back to New Zealand in 1861 was a changed man, bitter, disappointed, his self-confidence sadly shaken by his African experiences. (25)

In reviewing Sir George's services to South Africa, our particular concern is his contribution to education. Not only did he help, either establish or expand, the foremost African educational institutions - Zonnebloem, Lesseyton, Salem, Healdtown, and Lovedale - but he also gave assistance to a nameless multitude of mission schools as well as helping to found and support numerous European educational establishments. Both the Grey College at Bloemfontein and the Grey Institute at Port Elizabeth were the fruits of his inspiration. He also assisted in establishing the South African College on a stable footing and encouraged the formation of the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch. (26)

Sir George Grey's Departure

Sir George Grey's departure on August 15, 1861, was mourned by every section of the South African community - black and white, Dutch and English, alike. (27) For Bishop Gray, the Governor's leaving was a sad loss, not only of a friend but also of an ally in the highest position of authority in the land. The farewell to its benefactor was a sorrowful occasion for Zonnebloem, too.

Sir George, who had been responsible for bringing the many chiefs' sons to the Kafir Institution, was looked upon by the boys as a father and an uncle rolled into one. He had been a regular visitor to the College and, in turn, had invited the pupils to Government House where he had spoiled them with parties and presents. Josiah Bennekazi, one of his protégés, wrote to Sir George nearly twenty years later, nostalgically recalling these treats :

My heart aches when I remember the time you kept us. When you used to give us goodly dinners and used to return to Zonnebloem each time with 5 shillings each boy, and all wishing for the morrow to buy sweets and marbles. (28)

Duke Tshatshu, another of Sir George's proteges, was still pursuing his studies at Nuneaton in England, when he learnt that the Governor was leaving the Cape. The young chief's son, although far removed from his home, was yet keenly aware of how much this able administrator would be missed by his countrymen, and wrote :

I am very sorry indeed to hear that ... we are not going to have you for our Governor any longer in Kaffir-land. I am sure I cannot express how much we shall all miss you. I know all our people will grieve to hear it because we have never had such good Governor before. (29)

The majority of the African chiefs were equally distressed by the Governor's departure. They had come to trust Sir George and considered him to be a friend who cared for their welfare and was concerned for their future. This was in marked contrast to their previous experience of British administrators. Sir George's predecessors had promulgated a succession of contradictory policies, leaving a legacy of confusion and distrust behind them. Now the chiefs were naturally very nervous that the new Governor would not be sympathetic to their cause. Moshesh's parting letter to Sir George typified their uneasiness. The chief voiced his own anxiety, saying :

I have learnt with sorrow that you are on the point of leaving Cape Colony to go to New Zealand.... I ask you ... to speak of me, of what concerns me, to your successor, so that he may have the same kindness which you have had for us. (30)

Accompanying this letter was a message from one of the Basuto chief's sons - George, perhaps - which read : "I have been directed by my father Moshesh, to thank you for the care bestowed on my brother (Jeremiah), whom you have sent to England for his education. He has written to tell of his arrival in Europe". (31)

This communication illustrates the Basuto chief's appreciation of the personal interest which Sir George had taken in his childrens' education. It had manifestly been a factor in cementing the friendship between the two leaders.

George Moroka's Letters to Sir George Grey

The Zonnebloem pupils revered the Governor. The four letters written by George Moroka to Sir George are testimony of the trust which the Kafir children, and their fathers, bore him.

The first letter, dated June 11, 1861, was written by Moroka's son, on the Barolong chief's instructions, to ask whether the rumours about the Governor's departure were true or not -

He say if it is so I must ask you to go with you where you going but but I tell my Father I say to him if Sir George Grey go home I will go with him but he say very well but I tell him if you go I shall go with you

I am your affection Son George Moroka (32)

George's brother, Samuel, had been sent to St. Augustine's, and the lad was sure that it was now his turn to go overseas, according to a promise which Sir George had made him. The African boy held a naive belief that although he had not been allowed to accompany his hero to New Zealand, he would soon be summoned to his side. In the months following the Governor's departure, George waited patiently in the happy expectation of shortly being reunited with Sir George. He was very baffled when, after more than a year had passed, no call had come and his letters had remained unanswered. He wrote to the Governor again, saying :

I inform you that I am quite well and I hope that you are quite well sir as my self sir did you not receive tow letters from me so I wonder that I have not receive a letter from you I am very sorry sir indeed but I will not stop to write to you sir but only one thing I want to tell you sir I want to go to you sir I shall be very much thank to go to see New Zealand I like it very much to go to see you so Sir. (33)

This message was repeated over and over again. George's perplexity is pathetic. He could not understand why his adopted Father had not kept in touch with him. He continued his letter :

oh my dear Sir I must not say my dear sir I must say my dear Father because you was just like my father and my father Moroko say did I never write to you I did say yes, he did ask me why did you not go with Sir George I did tell him that I write to him but I have not yet answer yet from you but now I must say by the power of God we shall meat again the salutation of with mine own hand I sen my best love to you

I am Your Affectionet Son George Moroka the Prince of Barollong Zonnebloem Kiffr College. (34)

This letter was followed by another, written only five days later. George was wildy excited because he had "heard in the newspaper here in the Cape that Sir George wand some people to go to New Zealand to work". (35) He thought that here, at last, was his chance of having his dream fulfilled. Once more, he confided his

hopes to Sir George :

I was wish that I must be there but sir I did ask you I like to go see you very much. I dont think that I shall never see a Governor like Sir George her in the world because he like all the people white and black I dont like to go back to my Country without seeing your head and tell my father how did I see you because I like to go in New Zealand so I hope that I shall be so glad to see you sir if God take care of you and I am always pray to God that he must keepe you allways in your life tell we meet together I shall be very glad when I am here in Cape town see a letter cume to me say I want George Moroko to cum to me in New Zealand how glad shall I am I wish that sir can do so no (now) (36)

But despite George's persistent pleas, he received not a word from the Governor. It seems that Sir George had raised the Barolong prince's hopes by making the boy some sort of promise before he left the Cape. George had clung to this straw. He comforted himself with the thought that the mail might have gone astray - "I am rather doubt about my letters, which I write to you sir I dont think that you did received my letters, because I did writ many letters to you sir I am very, very sorry indeed because sir did not answer my letter". (37)

George could not face the awful truth that the Governor might have failed him. Writing again, in November 1862, the lad made one last effort to persuade Sir George to send for him. His devotion to his patron, after a two year separation, is remarkable - "if you please sir I shall be very glad if sir can take me so I like very muchie. I like to go wher you are my dear sir how I loved with al my hard (heart)". (38) He signed the letter - Your wellwishing Son.

But George, the Kafir pupil, was not alone in missing Sir George Grey. His father grieved for the good Governor, too. The African chiefs were now subjected to the stern regime of his successor, Wodehouse. The Barolong prince's last two letters to Sir George included a "Salutation" from his father, "the old Chief Moroka" - he say I must send his love and best to you, and he say he feel very sorry about you he say he will not forgotten you yet". (39) And again - "he say he dont live well when you was going to New Zealand he remember you very much". (40)

5. The Government Grant

The Uncertainty of Continued Government Support for Zonnebloem

In September 1861, following hard on the heels of Sir George's

departure, came the news that the Parliamentary Grant to British Kaffraria was finally to be withdrawn. (41) The Lieutenant Governor informed Bishop Gray that, as a result, the Government grant of £1000 a year to Zonnebloem would either be drastically reduced or discontinued altogether. (42)

This news was not completely unexpected. The continuance of the Grant, for the financing of Sir George's grandiose civilizing schemes, had been a matter of considerable uncertainty since 1858. It was only through the Governor's personal influence that the British Parliament had been persuaded to make further payments. But with the Colonial coffers drained by the demands of the Indian mutiny and the American Civil War, the British taxpayers were no longer prepared to foot the bill for African development. They believed that the Kafir threat to the safety of the English settlers was a thing of the past, and that British Kaffraria had progressed sufficiently to stand on its own.

Bishop Gray's efforts to obtain a permanent endowment for the College in the form of grants of land, had been made in anticipation of the curtailment or the cessation of State aid. Nevertheless, the news was a bitter blow. It was evident that the College could not continue on the same scale, under these altered circumstances, let alone expand as had been envisaged.

Zonnebloem's Financial Situation

The Kafir College was dependent on State aid for its functioning. Other sources of income were insignificant by comparison. The rental from the Kaffrarian farms brought in little revenue. It would be necessary to wait a few years before this investment in property could be realized at a profit.

Zonnebloem was a rather more remunerative undertaking but the income from the estate could not possibly cover the College's needs. The cottages were let for Z150 a year, (43) but the sale of farm produce brought in a disappointingly small return. The grape crop had sold well for the first year and the receipt of £280 had raised high expectations for the future. But the good yield and high prices were not repeated.

The meagre earnings from the farm in 1861, of £107, were scratched together from the sale of brandy, figs, quinces, faggots, wicker baskets and acorns. Apricots, loquats and cabbages were grown in succeeding years and these, together with the sale of dairy produce

and forage, the hire of grazing for horses, and the cartage of wood, all helped to raise the farm revenue to £170 in 1862. But this money was soon spent on wages for labour, the expenses of cultivating the crops, and running repairs to the buildings. (44)

Profits from the Institution's Industrial Department, such as they were, were used to cover the cost of the materials and to pay the trade teachers' wages. The S.P.G. provided the stipends for the Warden, female missionary and schoolmaster, and so staff salaries were cared for.

The only other source of income came from the private subscriptions which Bishop Gray had raised in England. But these pledges, amounting to £200 a year, were "very imperfectly paid" and could not be relied on. (45)

It was evident that the Kafir Institution was almost entirely dependent on the Government grant to cover the cost of the pupils' maintenance. The Bishop surmised that without State support it would be necessary to give up the industrial work and dismiss two thirds of the pupils. (46) It was not his intention, however, to either limit or abandon this promising educational scheme without first making every effort to save the situation.

Bishop Gray Looks for Help

Bishop Gray's first opportunity to present the College's case and plead for help came in November 1861, when he was invited to appear before the Watermeyer Commission. This body, presided over by Justice Watermeyer, had been appointed by the Cape Parliament to enquire into and report on the Government System of Education in the Colony. Represented on the Board of Commissioners were Members of Parliament, the Attorney General, and both the past and present Superintendent-Generals of Education - Dr. Rose-Innes and Dr. Langham Dale.

In his evidence, the Bishop gave a comprehensive account of the aims of the Kafir Institution, its achievements up to date, and Gray's hopes for its future. (47) He also explained the intricacies of the College's financial position and the measures which had been taken to secure the continuance of State support, aid which was vital for its very existence. The Lieutenant Governor of British Kaffraria, acting on the Bishop's behalf, had forwarded an appeal to the Duke of Newcastle, the present Colonial

Secretary, "with a strong recommendation that the Institution should not be allowed to drop, or get into difficulties". (48)

The Metropolitan followed his testimony with an invitation to the Commissioners to make a personal inspection of Zonnebloem. They visited the Institution and expressed themselves satisfied with its condition. (49) But their findings were not presented to Parliament until April 1863. (50)

In the meantime, the College extension scheme was suspended. The building plans were then before an eminent architect in England. The Bishop still hoped that it would eventually be possible to carry out at least part of the scheme, the improvement of the boarding facilities being his particular concern. (51) He was given permission by the S.P.C.K. to use their contribution to the building fund as he saw fit. (52)

6. The New Governor

Wodehouse's Previous Experience

The colonists at the Cape, Bishop Gray included, awaited the arrival of their new administrator with a certain amount of apprehension. (53) Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Esquire, (54) was considered by the authorities to be eminently suited to the appointment for he had had years of experience in colonial administration.

Unlike the majority of the previous Cape Governors, Wodehouse was a civilian, not a soldier. He had entered the Ceylon Civil Service at the age of seventeen as a writer, and had worked his way up through the ranks to the position of assistant judge at Kandy. After more than twenty years service in Ceylon, he had been appointed Superintendent of British Honduras. This was followed by promotion to the position of Governor of British Guiana in 1854. (55)

Wodehouse's Policy in South Africa

Wodehouse took up office as Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa on January 15, 1862. (56) He came to the country knowing nothing of its history or current affairs, as had been the case with so many of his predecessors. His was not an enviable job.

At that time, the Colony was passing through a critical period,

its manifold problems greatly accentuated by a financial crisis. A severe drought, then in its second year, had caused widespread crop failures and conditions of semi-starvation prevailed in many parts of the land. The Colony, crippled by the consequent commercial depression, was heavily in debt. It was at this crucial stage that the British Parliament decided to put a stop to the accustomed practice of pouring large sums of money into South Africa. (57)

Wodehouse was given strict instructions to enforce the most stringent economies and limit Government spending. He arrived at the Cape determined to follow a policy of making the revenue meet the expenditure. This was in direct contrast to Grey's policy. Sir George had commenced his Governorship of South Africa at a time of prosperity. His schemes for solving the country's problems had had little regard for expense. (58) His generosity, guaranteed by Imperial funds, had earned him wide acclaim. Wodehouse had not inherited such a fortunate state of affairs, however.

The new Governor's penny-pinching soon caused the colonists to complain vociferously. But Wodehouse was impervious to their antagonism. His administration, which lasted until 1870, was noted for the single-mindedness of purpose with which he steered his chosen course. Cory described him, as being a man -

imbued with a high sense of duty coupled with a disregard for either public applause or disapproval. He was dignified in discussion, lucid in the expression of his views and cool in a crisis. He was not beloved by the Colony and expressions of lack of confidence in him were not wanting, but with unruffled temper and often with great foresight he pursued the path which he considered best for the country. (59)

One of Wodehouse's first measures, which caused a great stir, was to announce his intention of working for the annexation of British Kaffraria to the Colony. He maintained that the separate government of the Crown Colony was impracticable, reasoning that the small province had legislative deficiencies and inadequate finances. Undeterred by the opposition which came from all quarters of South Africa, Wodehouse pressed on regardless to overcome the obstacles to his plans. (60) The change in the political situation naturally had considerable repercussions as regards the Kafir College's affairs.

The settlers in British Kaffraria were vigorously opposed to

annexation. They held political meetings, organized demonstrations and deputations, and drew up petitions, which they sent to England. They were determined that they would not be ruled by a government sitting in Cape Town which was far removed from the Eastern Frontier and out of touch with their problems. They maintained that the Kafir Wars might have been prevented, so saving the Treasury a mint of money in military expenditure, if a local government had taken over control after the coming of the 1820 Settlers. They feared that conflict would erupt yet again, if local administration was abandoned.

The Cape Colony supported the anti-annexationists in their defence of the new Governor. They were set against absorbing the province into their fold for they did not wish to have additional financial burdens foisted upon them, nor did they want to inherit further responsibilities. They considered that these duties belonged to the British Government.

Wodehouse was indifferent to the opposition and pursued his policy with ruthless determination. After assuming office, he took immediate steps to limit expenditure. He ordered the stoppage of all work on East London harbour, the port of British Kaffraria. He then proceeded to carry out his plans for annexation.

When the Cape Parliament rejected his proposals, as contained in the Incorporation Bill, Wodehouse approached the British Parliament instead. He requested that they exercise their constitutional power to override the Colonial Parliament's decision. This they eventually did. The "Empowering" Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1865, was enforced the following year. Published on April 17, 1866, it proclaimed the annexation of the province - British Kaffraria was incorporated into the Cape Colony and the Great Kei River became the eastern boundary of the Colony once more. (61)

The mass of colonists deeply resented the Governor's autocratic behaviour and he was heartily disliked. But Wodehouse refused to pander to popular opinion. He held that his motives were unimpeachable, the country's best interests being his priority. He explained his standpoint, saying - "I do not think that a Governor is at liberty to risk the interest of the Colony in order to make himself pleasing to the people".(62)

Further tension between the administrator and the populace followed as a result of the drastic financial measures which Wodehouse felt

obliged to take. The Governor was concerned that the revenue constantly fell short of expenditure and enforced retrenchment wherever possible. He cut all unnecessary spending and, at the same time, persuaded the Cape Parliament to increase taxation - measures which were hardly destined to improve his public image.

Wodehouse Reforms the Industrial Education System

Wodehouse was equally realistic in his approach to expenditure on Education. He was appalled by the high costs involved in running the Industrial Institutions which, with the exception of Zonnebloem were located on the Frontier. (63) Dr. Langham Dale, the Superintendent General of Education, was authorized to inspect the schools, report on their activities, and make suggestions for a more realistic system of State aid for the future.

Dr. Dale's survey contained adverse criticism of the majority of the Institutions. He revealed that there was often insufficient supervision and that the lack of expert guidance resulted in indifferent instruction in the industrial departments. Only Lovedale and Lesseyton received good reports, the work there apparently being satisfactory in every respect. (64)

Lovedale was commended for the "very high rate of education" that was being given to native and European children alike. Two thirds of the enrolment of one hundred and twenty-nine, was made up of native students. (65) Eleven of the latter paid fees of £10 a year each towards their maintenance and education.

Lovedale had received £250 a year from the Government under Grey's system. It was the only Frontier Institution to accept the terms of Dr. Dale's revised scale of aid. Gone were the days of Sir George's lavish schemes and the industrial departments of the other Institutions were subsequently discontinued. (66)

A shortage of funds was Wodehouse's perennial plea during his term of office. This was the case when the missionaries of the different denominations and Societies came together to ask the State for more adequate financial assistance towards establishing schools. Wodehouse gave the deputation a warm reception, listened sympathetically to their wants, but politely refused to give the requisite aid, a chronic lack of money being his ready excuse. (67) Bishop Gray was to suffer similar treatments at the hands of the new Governor, when trying to get help for Zonnebloem.

7. Bishop Gray's Reaction to the New Regime : 1862

Trouble From the Start

It is apparent that the colonists were wary of Wodehouse from the start. Inevitably the new Governor was compared with his predecessor, and found wanting. Typical, was the reaction of the wife of a member of his staff, who said :

He (Wodehouse) is a portly, haughty middle-aged gentleman of good presence, but rather hard-featured. He does not promise to be as popular as old Sir George Grey, who was as thin as a lath, and shambled in his walk, but who was full of urbanity and old-fashioned politeness. (68)

Bishop Gray's first impressions of Wodehouse, as being "an amiable man", were soon dispelled by the Governor's dictatorial behaviour. His interference in Church matters, a sphere in which the Bishop was particularly sensitive, led to the initial antagonism. The Governor's unsympathetic handling of Zonnebloem's financial affairs resulted in further friction between the two leaders.

Wodehouse had been at the Cape barely a week before he acquainted Bishop Gray with the Colonial Secretary's response to his appeal for further State aid to the Kafir College. The missive made unhappy reading. The Governor curtly informed the Bishop that there was a slight chance that the Government maintenance allowance might be appropriated to Zonnebloem for another year. It all depended on whether the British Parliament could be persuaded to sanction a further grant to British Kaffraria. (69) This crumb of comfort was accompanied by a bitter pill, for Wodehouse went on to relay the Duke of Newcastle's censure of the Bishop's conduct concerning Zonnebloem. Gray was taken to task for the extravagant expenditure of the Institution at a time when public funds were expected to fail. The Governor told him :

With respect to any future contribution towards that object, that as Sir George Grey and yourself must have been aware for some time of the intention of H.M. Government not to apply to Parliament for any further grants, common prudence required that the operation of the Institution should be restricted and not, as they have been, extended. (70)

Wodehouse also reported that the Colonial Secretary had turned down the Bishop's request that the endowment of the Institution might be augmented with additional grants of land. The Duke had objected to Gray's "proposed reserve for ecclesiastical purposes ... on the ground that a general disappointment and inconvenience

have usually followed on such measures". (71)

The Governor concluded his letter with the disclosure that the Duke had instructed him to enquire into and report upon the conditions and prospects of the Institution, both as to its utility, and the means to be found for its support after the withdrawal of aid from the Parliamentary grant. (72)

Bishop Gray Fights Back

Bishop Gray was much displeased with the official reprimand. He was even more disheartened by the new Governor's manifest lack of sympathy for the Kafir College's grand design. Wodehouse's pragmatism contrasted strikingly with Sir George's idealism, and boded ill for the future. But the Bishop was not easily crushed and he fought back with a vigorous vindication of his conduct concerning the College.

In his lengthy reply to the Governor, Gray first expressed his appreciation of the contemplated twelve month extension of the College grant. He also promised to make reductions in expenditure, chiefly by reducing the number of pupils. He then proceeded to present his case, exonerating his actions and explaining the way in which the Church had sought to support a scheme, initiated by the State and supposedly backed by them.

The Bishop maintained that he had believed it to be his duty to co-operate with Sir George, to the best of his powers, in any plans which the previous Governor had formed for the social and political advancement of the country which he ruled, particularly with those plans which were to benefit the native tribes which were being broken up under his Government.

I knew, (reasoned the Bishop) that Sir George never allowed money to be an obstacle to plans which he regarded as of great importance to the Community, - that he was prepared, if no other means could be found, to carry them out at his own private cost. (73)

Gray substantiated his argument by stating that he had been aware that the Governor had a considerable local revenue at his sole disposal. He cited Sir George's precedent in using part of these funds for the support of several Wesleyan, Scotch and Moravian Institutions on the Frontier, which had similar objectives to Zonnebloem.

Furthermore, he defended the development of the Kafir College by

saying that he knew the value which Sir George had attached to gaining influence over the native races of Africa by giving their future leaders a liberal education in the capital.

I never for a moment doubted, (said the Bishop) that if means failed from one quarter they would be provided from another, both for the maintenance of the Institution and for the erection of additional buildings of which the plans had been prepared. (74)

Bishop Gray was even more outspoken on the subject of grants of land in Kaffraria for the endowment of Zonnebloem. He held that the Duke of Newcastle was not in possession of the full facts concerning the peculiar circumstances of the country, and more specifically, of the special objects of the Kafir Institution.

First of all, he pointed out that it had been the policy of the Government of the Colony, since the beginning of the British Occupation, to make extensive grants of land not only to the Dutch, who had received more than 50,000 acres in this way, but also to a great variety of religious bodies. The Moravian, Wesleyan, Independents, Rhenish and Berlin Societies held between them several hundred thousand acres of land for the special benefit of the native races. (75)

Bishop Gray argued that these grants of land had been the source of great blessings to the natives themselves as well as to the community at large. It was in large measure due to them -

that the labouring population of this country is that quiet, loyal, orderly race which it at present is, looking, as it does, to the Crown as its protector and benefactor. These lands have furnished them with a home, they have been a shelter to them from wrong and oppression, they have provided them with an Education and means of grace, and will continue to confer these benefits upon them for generations to come. Whatever may be the case elsewhere it cannot be said so far as this country is concerned, that an appropriation of a portion of the land to the special benefit of its aboriginal population, to whom it once altogether belonged has been productive of injury to them or to the Community. (76)

Secondly, Bishop Gray refuted the Duke's contention that the proposed grant of land would be earmarked for Ecclesiastical purposes. He explained that the Institution had been founded as an Educational establishment with a view to the social and political advancement of the native races, particularly the Kafirs, as well as for their spiritual well being. For this reason, he

asserted that the Kafirs were as much entitled to support from the grants of land in Kaffraria, as other similar Institutions for Europeans in the Colony. He cited Grey College at Port Elizabeth as an example. This school, which had been founded by Sir George "with the applause of the whole Community", had been erected and endowed by lands, the sale of which had provided several thousand pounds. (77)

Thirdly, Bishop Gray insisted that the Government were morally bound to compensate the Kafirs for their involuntary displacement from their tribal lands after the Cattle Killing. He reasoned that :

With the leading Kafir chiefs our State prisoners in Robben Island, with their tribes broken and dispersed, - and with their lands confiscated and granted freely to individual white men, or sold for the purposes of Government, it would seem to me that the children of the Chiefs have a strong moral claim upon the country to do something for their advancement in the way of education; and that it would be a great injustice to suffer an Institution expressly founded for their benefit to fail for the lack of support which a small portion of their own land would supply. (78)

The Bishop's final argument in his diatribe on land grants, was, that it was essential that the Institutions, which had been founded or fostered by religious Societies in England, should be supported in their own countries for the Societies could not continue with their grants indefinitely. He declared that lands, which were at present unproductive but would probably become valuable in the future - which did not belong to the Cape Colony and were only regarded as belonging to the Crown recently - seemed to furnish the most legitimate and the only effectual way of perpetuating these Institutions.

Gray concluded his letter to Wodehouse with two constructive suggestions intended to bring about conciliation. He recommended that the Governor should ask the Watermeyer Commission members, who had recently inspected the school, for their opinion of the Institution. He also invited Wodehouse to visit the school himself, examine the proficiency of the pupils and inspect the industrial work that was being carried on. (79)

The Governor's Intention

Wodehouse was most disturbed by Gray's letter. He particularly resented the Bishop's reference to Sir George Grey paying for

projects out of his own pocket. As he told the Duke of Newcastle, "the receipt of such communication is most disagreeable". (80) But the Governor refused to allow such taunts to sway him, and he confirmed his intention of pursuing the policy dictated to him by his superiors - "feeling that I have no alternative but to adhere to the directions already given". (81)

In the end, Zonnebloem was given the maintenance grant of £1000 for 1862. But Bishop Gray had to accept the fact that there was little likelihood of State funds being made available from this source ever again. He had to be satisfied with achieving the College's temporary reprieve.

8. The Bishop's Bid for Further Support in England: 1862-1863

Before long, the Bishop's worries about the College's future were somewhat overshadowed by Church matters of unprecedented importance. Gray was obliged to visit England again, as a result.

The publication of Colenso's controversial biblical views threatened to disrupt the workings of the Colonial Church. (82) The Metropolitan needed to take the matter up urgently at the highest level in England. But Gray's sudden departure for overseas was precipitated by another crisis. In April 1862 he received the shattering news that the Central African Mission had met with disaster. The Bishop decided that he must go at once to England to rally additional support for the venture.

The Collapse of the Central African Mission

The Universities Mission was dogged by adversity from the start. Bishop Mackenzie, following Bishop Gray's instructions to be guided by Livingstone's knowledge and experience, had initially been compelled to accept a radical change in his plans, which had meant months' delay.

The party had arrived at the mouth of the Zambesi at the end of January 1861. They had then had to kick their heels for weeks on end while Livingstone had first used the "Pioneer" to explore the Rovuma River. When they had finally proceeded upstream, the Shire River passage had proved difficult. The evangelists had not reached Magomero, the proposed site of their mission in the Shire highlands, until July.

But the Mission's troubles had only just started. Soon after the Zambesi party arrived, they were involved in a succession of con-

frontations with the slavers. Their subsequent actions were to lead to dispute and ill feeling on the spot, and a bitter controversy back home.

There was great rejoicing when the first party of African captives were freed without bloodshed, their black guards fleeing the scene when surprised by the white men. Succeeding Ajawa slavers, however, were not so easily parted from their prize and put up resistance. Mackenzie resolved to use force in freeing further groups of captives. This decision was taken against Livingstone's advice. He dissociated himself from the Central African Bishop's policy and left Magomero to continue with his explorations elsewhere.

The next few months were marred by misfortune at the Mission. The staff had to concentrate their efforts on survival, there was little time for the work of the Church. They had to endure hardship and hunger for famine prevailed in the land. The missionaries had encouraged the freed slaves to attach themselves to the pioneer settlement, but they had no crops and could barely feed themselves let alone all their dependents. There was fighting, too, and raids were followed by counter attacks. Illness laid the little band low and their ranks gradually became depleted by deaths.

The climax to their adversity came in January 1862 when Mackenzie and the Rev. Burrup died from fever after losing all their drugs and stores in a canoe accident. They had been en route to the Ruwala River mouth to meet the ladies of the party, who had been summoned from the Cape to join them. But the ladies waited in vain at the rendezvous and eventually learnt the tragic news. Mrs. Livingstone died shortly afterwards from malaria. Anne Mackenzie and Mrs. Burrup returned to the Cape, grief-stricken and wasted away from fever. (83)

Bishop Gray was devastated by the turn of events. He, who had done so much to promote the Zambesi Mission, was now faced with the collapse of the whole scheme. But he was determined that there should be no question of withdrawal. He was optimistic about its future, it must be maintained at all cost. He must go to England at once to rouse sympathizers to finance further efforts, to find a new leader, and to recruit staff to augment the depleted force in the Shire Highlands. (84)

Zonnebloem is Included in the Bishop's Appeal for the Zambesi Mission

Gray's visit to England in July 1862 was most opportune as far as

Zonnebloem was concerned. The Bishop, besides raising funds for the Central African Mission, was able to elicit support for the Kafir College, poised as it then was, in a most precarious financial position.

Once again, the Bishop of Cape Town linked Zonnebloem with the Zambesi venture, and he used this platform to good effect to press for further aid for his Kafir pupils. He published an appeal soon after his arrival, in which he asked for contributions towards the permanent endowment of the College as an urgent necessity. (85) He emphasized that the Institution must be allowed to continue on such a scale that would enable him to accept young men and women from all parts of the mission field in Africa. He insisted that it was a vital extension of the Church's work there, the heathen must be served by their own people. At present the College at the Cape provided the only facilities for training the necessary native ministry. (86)

Gray was able to substantiate his argumentation for his appeal with irrefutable evidence. Sir George Grey and Dr. Livingstone had repeatedly expressed their confidence in the College's work and the important role which Zonnebloem could be expected to play in educating Central African students in the future. While Bishop Mackenzie, in one of his last letters before his death, had written to inform Gray that he intended sending two lads from the Manyanga tribe to the Institution. (87) The Hovas (2) from Madagascar were also to be included within the school's scope. (88)

Bishop Gray Publicizes the Kafir College in England

The Bishop spent the next eight months in England, travelling the length and breadth of the country on lecture tours. He held meetings or delivered sermons nearly every day, never sparing himself in his efforts to publicize Zonnebloem's aims and achievements in order to interest the Churchmen in giving the College the support which the State was no longer able to offer. He was determined that the school should not be broken up and this promising work abandoned.

Gray was spurred on by the remarkable response which his Kafir pupils had shown to their education. After four years training, a number of them were now ready to enter the mission field - "The Institution itself is succeeding far beyond my hopes and expectations", he wrote in his appeal. (89)

In the speech which the Bishop delivered on countless occasions to audiences throughout the country, he tried to give an honest evaluation of the way in which Zonnebloem could be expected to contribute to the life and growth of the Church in Africa :

The Institution has not been long enough in existence to show what its fruits are likely to be. There can be no doubt, however, but that nearly all the children have silently undergone a great change. Their habits, manners, tone of mind, have gradually and greatly improved. They are nearly all well grounded in the catechism, and the leading Articles of the Christian Faith. One by one, without invitation, the great number have expressed a desire to be baptized. Several have been confirmed, and are regular communicants. What their future life, conduct, occupation, will be, remains to be seen, and must greatly depend on circumstances. (90)

Almost all the boys were anxious to go to England to complete their education. The majority of them would probably become Schoolmasters and Catechists, while a few might be ordained. One boy had already left the College to take charge of a Kafir school in a village in the Cape Diocese. (91) Half a dozen others were eager to accompany the Rev. Squibb to British Kaffraria and assist him in establishing a mission there. Squibb, "a man of ability and piety", had been Acting Warden of Zonnebloem during Glover's absence overseas, and the boys had become very attached to him. (92) They were thought ready to take subordinate mission posts, and were studying Kafir with Squibb in preparation for their return home to take up work amongst their countrymen. But the undertaking was quite beyond the Bishop's sphere of responsibility and he was entirely dependent on the S.P.G. to make money available for his Kafir pupils' employment. (93)

The Bishop's Plans to Solve Zonnebloem's Financial Difficulties

The Bishop had to find £1250 a year if Zonnebloem was to be maintained on its present scale. Besides the State grant of £1000, Gray had also provided £250 a year towards the pupils' support and the subsidization of the industrial work. (94) All now depended on the liberality of the British religious public.

Bishop Gray's plan was to ask a few wealthy Churchmen to aid the College's endowment, and to persuade fifty individuals and parishes to each adopt a pupil for a period of five years so that the children already at school should not be sent home partly educated. (95)

The response to the Bishop's appeal was sufficient to save Zonnebloem for another five years but the College would perforce have to continue at a reduced level. By the end of 1862, £200 had been given towards the permanent endowment, while the adoption scheme had produced support for thirty children, at a cost of £16 each per annum. The only snag was that the pledges could not be depended on. The Bishop had found, in the past, that the subscriptions tended to diminish each year as a result of deaths, loss of interest, and forgetfulness.

By the time Bishop Gray was ready to return to the Cape in March 1863, he had reached his minimum target of £600 a year. This still left him short of £650. The boys department would have to be reduced and at least six more of the least promising lads sent home, six having already been returned recently. The College extension scheme would have to be scrapped and the S.P.C.K. building grant diverted to the endowment fund. Sadly, this would mean scrapping the plans to enlarge the female department. (96)

The Bishop hoped that these retrenchment measures would be the means of reducing the deficit to £400. Whatever happened, he was determined not to get into debt. As it was, he had already "crippled" his other diocesan mission work to keep Zonnebloem going. Gray was loathe to give up the industrial side of the school and this step would only be taken as a last resort. (97) He foresaw that in the future the Africans would have to contribute towards their childrens' education. Some had, in fact, already offered to pay fees, (98) but this move was not yet possible for it would conflict with the principle upon which the College was presently run.

The Bishop's goal was to raise an endowment of £5000. Such a sum of money, invested at eight per cent in the Colony, would produce £400 a year. This fixed income, added to the subscriptions, would enable Zonnebloem to keep going for the time being. Before leaving England, Bishop Gray wrote a letter which was published in the Guardian, explaining his purpose in trying to establish the College on a more secure footing :

There is no work in which I have been engaged these sixteen years that has appeared to me to hold out prospects of greater good to Africa. I trust that the Church will never allow it to fail. During the next five years it will be my endeavour, if God should spare me, to provide some endowment, in land or other-

wise, against the time when subscriptions fail.
(99)

The Bishop had long given up hope that the Colonial Grant to British Kaffraria might be renewed; but he refused to relent in his attempts to press the State into giving what help they could. His battle with the British Government continued unabated as he bombarded Wodehouse and the Duke of Newcastle with repeated requests to grant Zonnebloem an endowment of land.

9. The Kafir Childrens' Claim

Wodehouse is Unable to Offer Aid

April 1, 1863, was the deadline. Zonnebloem would be without State support from that day on. As 1862 drew to a close, with time running out, Bishop Gray redoubled his efforts to induce the Government to honour their obligations to the Kafir children at the Institution by meeting the expected deficit in its income.

Wodehouse had originally hinted that a reduced grant might be possible. Gray's first step was to ascertain from the Governor as to whether this proposal might be forthcoming. (100) But he met with little satisfaction from this quarter. The Governor replied that although he was very anxious to see the College continued, he had no public funds out of which he could support it. He could only render some small temporary assistance in the hope that the Bishop would be able to find means to maintain it. (101)

The location of the College in Cape Town, which had seemed to be an essential requisite to the whole scheme, was, in actual fact, a stumbling block when it came to matters concerning its management. The Cape Parliament regarded it as a Kafir Institution and therefore Kaffraria's responsibility. Kaffraria, in turn, insisted that it was a Cape Institution because of its situation in the capital. (102) It was a pointless debate anyway, for the revenues of both colonies did not meet their expenditure and neither of them had any funds available.

Gray Argues his Case with the Colonial Secretary

Gray well knew what the Duke of Newcastle's sentiments were regarding endowments of land. Anticipating the Colonial Secretary's objections, the Bishop included several pertinent documents with his appeal, as reinforcements to his argument. Besides Wodehouse's missive, there was a letter from Moshesh's brother - asking for Anglican missionaries to be sent to Basutoland, expressing a

longing for civilization, and begging for a closer connection with Britain. The Bishop represented this as "a specimen of the communications continually addressed to me by influential natives in South Africa". (103) He wished to impress the Duke with the way in which the Church had already established important connections with powerful chiefs, so illustrating the type of benefit that could be expected from educating the chiefs' children at Zonnebloem. Apart from the religious, social and political considerations, the Bishop was determined to fight for what he considered were the Kafir pupils' rights. He accepted the fact that the Duke disapproved of endowments under ordinary circumstances but he maintained that this was a peculiar case. He claimed support on a number of grounds. Firstly, the British Government had assumed the territories of the very children who were at Zonnebloem, driving them out of their lands. Some of the chiefs had been imprisoned in a barren Island in Table Bay, within sight of their children who had been placed under the Bishop's care for their education, by the representatives of the Government.

Secondly, the Government had granted portions of these territories to Dutch and English settlers, large tracts had been sold for the purposes of revenue, while other lands had been given for charitable institutions, hospitals, etc.

Thirdly, it had always been the Government's policy, when taking possession of the native's lands in Africa, to set apart certain portions in trust for the natives. Many thousands of acres of land in various parts of the country were being held in such a way. The Duke, himself, had recently set a precedent by sanctioning the adoption of such a scheme in Natal.

The Bishop's final argument was that Zonnebloem had in actual fact been founded by the Government and that he had given them his full co-operation, contributing £5000 towards the scheme. It was unfair to hand over the whole responsibility to him at this stage, and expect him to manage unaided. The Bishop stressed the fact that **he** could not hope to benefit from the Institution, it would not further his own work in any way for it was intended for tribes **and** races living beyond his diocese - "This Institution was founded by the Government because it felt that it was the duty of **a** Great Nation, if it took possession of the Heathen, to do something, however little, for them". (104)

The Bishop contended that besides the moral obligation which the Government had towards the Kafir children, as representatives of the native races of Africa, the Institution also indirectly served the Government's purposes, for the children acted, in some degrees, as hostages. Apart from the instruction and training that they received, the very presence of the children of the powerful chiefs in the Capital acted as a guarantee for the good conduct of the tribes to which they belonged. These were the people whose previous war-like conduct had cost the Government so much in blood and money.

Bishop Gray proposed that lands, equal to at least two ordinary Cape farms, that is, not less than 7000 morgen, should be granted to the Institution. He suggested that these farms could be apportioned from the territory formerly occupied by Umhala or Maqomo, who were now State prisoners on Robben Island. Otherwise they could be taken out of Sandile's territory. All of these chiefs had children at the College. If this were not feasible, as a result of the land having already been sold or granted away, then he recommended that the ground should come from the possessions which Britain had taken away from other living chiefs.

With the Government grant due to cease at the end of the year, Gray begged the Duke to settle the matter propitiously. It was imperative that the Bishop should know the Government's final and specific intentions for he could no longer delay his decision on the College's future. (105) Unless State aid was promptly forthcoming, he would be compelled to give instructions for the immediate breaking up of the Institution and it would be the Government's duty to convey the children back to their homes, according to Sir George Gray's promises to their parents. (106)

The Bishop hoped that he might be given the opportunity of personally pleading his cause with the Duke, but the Colonial Secretary declined to grant him an interview. Instead of which, the Duke wrote informing him of his refusal to sanction the appropriation of a portion of the confiscated lands of the Kafir chiefs. **The** Colonial Secretary was convinced that "it would not be a `legitimate mode of aiding the Institution, and would not be likely to answer the end of yielding an adequate and steady annual income". 4107)

^wThis was a bitter blow to the Bishop. Apart from his personal

disappointment, he was very perturbed by the way in which he believed the Government was shirking its responsibility to Zonnebloem's pupils. He could not condone what he considered to be their iniquitous behaviour towards the African people. In replying to the Duke, he firmly upheld his contention that the Kafir children had a valid claim. Expanding his argument, he did not mince his words :

The facts stand thus. We have taken possession (justly or unjustly is not now the question) of a new Territory. From it we have thrust out the Heathen and planted ourselves in. When we took possession of it there were in it powerful and independent Chiefs, owning large tracts of country. Several of these chiefs, for real or assumed offences, we have seized, and placed them in a barren Island as our political prisoners. For years they have been living in misery and solitude. Nothing but the fear that their escape or liberation might lead to another Kafir war, has withheld me and others from urging their release, or some amelioration of their condition.

When placing them in this state of captivity the Government felt that it was the duty of a great Christian nation, if constrained to deal harshly with the leaders of a people who have contended with us during many years for their independence, at least to do something for their children. It therefore made provision for their future maintenance out of the lands of their fathers, and aided in the foundation of an Institution for 50 of them, whom it selected and brought to our Capital. For four years it provided means for their education. This year, without any doubt that the Instruction given is well adapted to the circumstances of the people, or that great good is being accomplished, the Government withdrew all aid, and throws the responsibility which belongs to itself upon an individual.

A claim is urged on behalf of these children and their tribes, that they shall have their education completed by aiding the Institution founded for their benefit, out of lands which by right of inheritance are their own. (108)

The Bishop was able to produce fresh evidence to bolster up his thesis, and so refute the Duke's assertion that granting land would not be a legitimate mode of aiding the Institution. He had just received information from South Africa that not only were the lands in question being applied to the purposes of Government and granted to individual Europeans, but that portions of them were actually being set aside for the education of the children of the white men who had dispossessed the natives of their lands. This was the ultimate in injustice. Questioning the Duke as to the fairness of this action, Gray said :

I am quite sure that your Grace will feel that if it is right to appropriate the lands of the natives for the endowment of education amongst the white men who have taken possession of their country, - it is doubly right to do so for the natives and rightful owners of the land, and a moral wrong to refuse it to them. (109)

Despite the Duke's rejection of the argument that land would yield a steady and adequate income, Bishop Gray stuck to his guns. He persisted in claiming that such an endowment was the only means whereby the College could be supported in the future. He upheld his contention by reiterating his assumption that land which was at present worth little, could become valuable in a few years' time. He believed that if houses were built on the farms, they could conceivably bring in a rent of from £300 to £400 in four or five years' time, just when the British subscriptions were due to come to an end. (110)

The Bishop's Grievance Against the Government

The Bishop felt that he had a justifiable grievance against the Government. They were proposing to disclaim all responsibility with regard to the children, whom they had brought from their friends and country and placed under his charge. They were now intending to abandon them in Cape Town. The onus would be on the Bishop to repatriate them, a distance of hundreds of miles involving him in heavy expenses. He had already had to foot a bill of £80 because the Government had refused to undertake the cost of returning some of the boys home.

Bishop Gray's parting words to the Duke revealed his yearning for the good old days, and his dissatisfaction with the present regime - "Had Sir George remained at the Cape I should have been spared all anxiety on this account". (111)

10. Wodehouse's Last Word - The Final State Settlement: 1863

The Governor's Standpoint

In the meantime, with the Bishop absent from the Cape, the Governor notified the Warden that State aid for Zonnebloem was definitely coming to an end. In January 1862, Wodehouse informed Glover that he had received the Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of British Kaffraria. After having given the colony's financial position due consideration, he had regretfully come to the conclusion that even if the Lords of the Treasury should

again grant a small subsidy, of which there was no guarantee, he would still not be in a position to authorize a further contribution towards Zonnebloem's support. (112)

Nevertheless, it appears that Wodehouse was not entirely unsympathetic to the College's cause. In 1863 he applied to the British Government for a vote of £5000 for British Kaffraria. In March of that year, he informed the Duke of Newcastle that if the grant was allowed, he hoped that it would be within his power and consistent with other demands to set apart a reduced sum for the support of Zonnebloem. At the same time, he wished to be scrupulously fair, and he pointed out that the Bishop of Grahamstown had an equal if not greater claim for assistance for his Institution on the Eastern Frontier. (113)

The Governor had no intention, however, of committing himself to any rash promises. He insisted on withholding payment until the middle of the year, when he would be better able to judge the financial position of British Kaffraria.

Wodehouse had an unenviable job, sorting out the problems and trying to solve the financial difficulties bequeathed to him by his predecessor's administration. He was a man of great integrity, unswerving in his dedication to duty. But he was human, too, and did not enjoy the unpleasant repercussions that this often entailed. On this occasion, he told the Duke that he looked with no satisfaction to being an instrument of breaking up Zonnebloem. (114).

Bishop Gray Refuses to Give Up

The Government allowance to Zonnebloem was discontinued at the **end** of March. The College received a final payment of £250 for the **first** quarter of 1863, after that the Bishop was on his own. Gray returned from England in April. In the months following he was **hard** put to it to make ends meet, dependent as he now was upon **the** uncertain pledged giving from England, for the College's **support**. (115)

But the Bishop refused to give up the struggle. He was spurred on **by the** fact that the first fruits of the College were about to **enter the** mission field. The St. Augustine's students had completed **their** studies and were preparing to return home. These **trained Africans** would be working amongst their own people in **Basutoland**, British Kaffraria and the Barolong country, and could **be expected** "to exercise a wholesome influence on the native mind".

Here, at last, was the Bishop's chance to demonstrate the effectiveness of the scheme to educate chiefs' sons and to prove that it was not merely an extravagant experiment. Fortified by this knowledge, he entered the fray once more with renewed energy, persisting in his efforts to persuade the Governor to relent.

The Bishop Tries a New Tack

The first step in the Bishop's new plan of action was to induce Wodehouse to make a personal inspection of the College. Encouraged by what must have been a satisfactory appraisal, Gray then presented the Governor with a novel proposition. He asked that Zonnebloem should be put on the same footing as the State-aided Wesleyan and Scotch Presbyterian Institutions on the Frontier.

The Bishop justified his request by claiming that the Kafir College was entitled to the same aid because it educated precisely the same class of pupils. The only difference was that its students were mainly the children of influential chiefs on the Frontier. Gray argued that this variant was in the College's favour for its products were more likely to exercise a greater influence in the future, as regards the relations of native tribes to the Cape Colony, than would be the case with the children of ordinary men.

Furthermore, Gray maintained that Zonnebloem had made greater efforts than the Frontier Institutions "to meet what were at the time the views of Government", which looked to it as a school for interpreters and others who were likely to enter its service after completing their training. He believed that the education given at Zonnebloem was at least as good as that given in any of the others, and, with the exception of Lovedale, was already "Carried higher" than the older Institutions. (117)

Gray's main difficulty would be in getting the Governor to class Zonnebloem as a Frontier Institution, situated as it was hundreds of miles away from the Frontier. In vindication of its locality, the Bishop explained that its position in the capital was precisely determined by Sir George Grey to avoid the very evils to which the Frontier Institutions were subjected viz. the presence of heathen influences and associations, and the facilities offered there for the students to leave when they were tired or dissatisfied.

Defending his plea for aid from public funds, Gray assured Wodehouse that he was not unmindful of the difficulties which sur-

rounded him. Nevertheless, the Bishop held that his claim was warranted. Dr. Dale had told him that as a result of improved management, subsequent to the introduction of the new system of State aid, the Government would save £3000 a year from the Institutions on the Frontier. Added to which, the Duke of Newcastle had promised that he would authorize the Governor to do his best to help Zonnebloem out of the proposed grant of £5000 for British Kaffraria. (118)

Zonnebloem is Classed as a Native Industrial Frontier Institution

The Bishop was rewarded at last for his pertinacity. In October 1863 he received word from Rawson W. Rawson, the Colonial Secretary of the Cape, that the Kafir College was to be placed on the same footing as the Native Industrial Institutions on the Frontier, and would be the responsibility of the Aborigenes Department in future. (119)

The State subsidies to the various schools connected with this scheme had been allocated from funds reserved under Schedule D of the Constitution Ordinance. Dr. Dale had devised the new arrangements. To qualify, an Institution had to be a place of instruction where both boys and girls would be able to receive a minimum of four hours elementary schooling a day, in addition to industrial training.

In principle, the boys were expected to become apprentices in various trades - carpentry, wagonmaking, blacksmith's work, tailoring, shoemaking, printing and bookbinding. The girls were required to learn the skills and duties of civilized life, needlework in particular. In practice, the paucity of available facilities limited the number of apprentices that could be admitted.

Instead, the native youths were given an allowance towards their maintenance, of £10 to £12 a year, provided that they fulfilled two conditions. They were required to be resident in the Institutions, so that as many as possible could come under the influence of the missionary's home while receiving their education. And they had to have some industrial occupation, such as field or garden labour, or special training as pupil teachers. (120)

According to the scale of aid, Zonnebloem would receive an annual grant of £100 towards the salary of an European teacher for the boys. In addition, a maximum of twenty-five native male boarders would be given an allowance of £12 each a year. The College would,

therefore, receive a total amount of £400 a year in State aid, £300 of which was for the pupils' maintenance. (121)

As a condition of acceptance, the Kafir College would come under the supervision of the Superintendent-General of Education, and would be subject to regular inspection. Grants would be continued only as long as the reports showed that the Institution was being satisfactorily conducted and that it was fulfilling the purposes for which the grants were made.

A further condition, that caused the Bishop much concern, was the stipulation that no more girls of Kafir or other native parentage should be admitted to Zonnebloem. (122)

Wodehouse's Ban on New Girls

Wodehouse's ban on new girls came as a bitter blow to Bishop Gray. In his appeal to the Governor, he had expressed the wish that more should be done for the girls. He had asked that their numbers should be increased and that thought should be given to providing a separate Institution for them. But Wodehouse rejected this plan entirely. He had no desire to interfere with Zonnebloem, in so far as the present pupils were concerned, but he forbade the admittance of any more young women into the College.

The Governor's firm stand followed an incident concerning one of the Zonnebloem girls, "which had engaged his anxious attention". (123) The trouble had arisen when Sandile had tried to have Emma married according to traditional African custom. Waterhouse had **been** drawn into the subsequent dispute between the Ngqika chief and Bishop Gray, and had been placed in a very embarrassing position as a result.

Sandile had written to the Bishop during 1863, claiming his daughter. He had said that he could dispose of her to a neighbouring chief for a 'lobola' of sixty head of cattle. Poor Emma had been very miserable at the thought of such a match. The Bishop, who had called the chief "a horrid savage", had claimed for Emma the rights of a British subject and had refused to let her go home. (124)

Sir George Grey had foreseen just such an eventuality. One of his reasons for establishing the Kafir College in the capital, **far** distant from the pupils' homeland on the Frontier, had been **that** : - "In no other place could females be so secure from being

taken away and disposed of to some heathen husband, whom they had never seen, and for whom they had no regard". (125) Bishop Gray had honoured this intention for Zonnebloem. But Wodehouse was not prepared to alienate the chiefs unnecessarily. He was adamant that every precaution must be taken to prevent the repetition of such an incident. He told the Bishop -

that the political difficulties and embarrassments in which the separation of Kafir girls from their parents, especially when the latter occupy a high position among the native tribes, may involve the Government, render it inexpedient that the Government should be, either directly or indirectly, connected with any institution over which it has no control, in which such girls are being educated. (126)

Although the Governor's decision was a great disappointment to Gray, he, nonetheless, appreciated the fact that the student daughters of Kafir chiefs were a potential source of political trouble. But he asked that Wodehouse's stipulation should be limited to girls from the border tribes only. He promised not to receive any from this area without the knowledge and sanction of the Government. Explaining his position, Gray told the Governor :

I am bound when entering upon new engagements, to remember that Sir George Grey, when aiding in the foundation of the institution, had an eye to girls as well as boys; and that it was intended for more distant races and tribes, with which we have no connection, and from which we can apprehend no danger, as well as for the tribes with which we are brought into immediate contact. (127)

Wodehouse found the Bishop's request reasonable. He withdrew the condition concerning the girls, on the understanding that Gray would honour his promise as regards admitting females from the border tribes. (128)

State Aid for Zonnebloem - "a most seasonable relief"

Bishop Gray readily agreed to all the other conditions which were a requisite for accepting funds from the public treasury. The teachers' names had to be submitted, as well as those of the twenty-five native boarders, with their respective industrial occupations.

The granting of State aid to Zonnebloem was, in the Bishop's words, "a most seasonable relief". (129) By the end of 1863, the College's future had looked very bleak. Even after practising the most

stringent economies, Zonnebloem was nearly £90 in debt. (130) With the pledges promised in England coming in very erratically, there had seemed to be no possibility of making ends meet. The guarantee of a regular income from the Government of £400 a year, saved the situation. Although the State subsidy was less than half of the original amount, it enabled the Bishop to balance the College's budget, so placing Zonnebloem in a viable position for the future.

Summation

During the early part of the 1860's, Zonnebloem's functioning was completely dominated by financial difficulties. These continually thwarted the College's further development, apart from which they threatened the school's very existence. The change in Governors, Wodehouse's critical attitude towards the College, the tightening up of the British Government's control over grants of land and money, all conspired to endanger the successful fruition of this grandiose educational experiment.

The whole scheme would soon have collapsed, as had Colenso's Kafir Harrow at Ekukanyeni, but for Bishop Gray's tenacious perseverance. Deserted by Sir George Grey, the Bishop was left on his own to fight for Zonnebloem's cause against overwhelming odds. The force that drove him to work towards his goal with such single-minded purpose was certainly generated by far more than personal prestige. Bishop Gray felt compelled to persist with his efforts because of his conviction that the Kafir College was of paramount importance to the native races of all parts of Africa. We will now examine the motives behind his endeavours more closely.

1. Gray to Glennie (S.P.C.K.), 18.12.1861, LB8:64 and 13.6.1861, LB8:93.
2. Visitation Charge of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, 16.1.1861, 23f.
3. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.
4. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 97 n. 825.
5. Visitation Charge, 16.1.1861, 24.
6. Gray to Glennie, 13.6.1861, LB8:93.
7. Visitation Charge, 16.1.1861, 24.
8. Gray to S.P.C.K., 18.2.1861, LB8:64.
9. Ibid.
10. Cory, op.cit., 6:84.
11. Ibid.
12. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:18.
13. Gray to Grey, 10.4.1860, LB8:78.
14. Ibid.
15. Grey to Gray, 18.4.1860, S.P.G. Letter Book, 1860 - 1867 : 537, USPGA. See also GH 30/14, CA.
16. Grant of King William's Town farm to Zonnebloem, 10.12.1861, ZP. Appendix VIII. See also Bishops court Record Book, 29.7.1861, ccxliii, for first grant, BA.
17. Gray to Hawkins (S.P.G.), 18.4.1861, LB8:82.
18. Account of Monies received from Endowment, 18.7.1861 - 30.9.1863, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
19. Gray to Hawkins, 18.4.1861, LB8:82.
20. S.P.G. granted £2,345 p.a. in aid of general missionary work of the Cape Diocese, exclusive of the £400 grant to Zonnebloem. SPG, 1862, 105.
21. Gray to Hawkins, 18.4.1861, LB8:82.
22. Gray to Glennie, (S.P.C.K.), 13.7.1861, LB8:93.
23. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.10.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
24. Rutherford, op.cit., 560f.
25. Ibid., 655f. Sir George governed New Zealand until 1868, when he was dismissed from office. He entered politics there and took an active interest in the colony's affairs until his death in 1898. "Soldier, explorer and administrator, man of letters and science, thinker and dreamer, autocrat and demagogue, ... politician and political prophet - Grey stands out as one of the most remarkable colonial figures of the Victorian age". Rutherford, op.cit., 653.
26. Cory, op.cit., 6:15 and 194; Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 135; Rutherford, op.cit., 302; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:18.
27. Cory, op.cit., 6:84f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:18.
28. Josiah Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GCAL. African Letters X.

29. H.D. Tshatshu to Grey, 4.1.1861, GCAL African Letters V.
30. Moshesh to Grey, 20.8.1861, Rees, op.cit., 286f.
31. Ibid.
32. George Moroka to Grey, 11.7.1861, GCAL. African Letters VI.
33. George Moroka to Grey, 21.8.1862. GCAL. African Letters VII.
34. Ibid.
35. George Moroka to Grey, 26.8.1862, GCAL. African Letters VIII.
36. Ibid.
37. George Moroka to Grey, 22.11.1862, GCAL. African Letters IX.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. George Moroka to Grey, 26.8.1862, GCAL. African Letters VIII.
41. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 95 n. 814.
42. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.10.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
43. Bishop Gray's memorandum, Bishop's Court Record Book, 6.9.1862, cclii, BA.
44. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1860 - 1862, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
45. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 97.
46. Gray to Mrs. Williamson, 18.10.1861, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:6.
47. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 95-99.
48. Ibid., 95 n. 814.
49. Gray to Wodehouse, 27.1.1862, LB8:187.
50. The Commission found that Mission Schools were little concerned with secular education - "A great amount of information on Bible History and Geography and of knowledge of the text of the Holy Scriptures is imparted. These exercises, with singing and repeating hymns, form the chief occupation of the day Secular elementary instruction of which the essential subjects are reading, writing and arithmetic is seriously neglected". They found that although all Government schools were ostensibly open to all classes and races they had become, in practice, reserved for European pupils except in the very small schools and poorer districts - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 113f.
51. Bishop Gray's Evidence, Watermeyer Commission, April 1863, 97 n. 825.
52. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1862, LB8:196.
53. General Wynyard temporarily assumed the duties of the Colonial administrator.

54. Wodehouse was knighted in September, 1862.
55. Cory, op.cit., 6:101 n.1; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:21.
- 56. Cory, op.cit., 6:85; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:20ff.**
57. "In British Kaffraria, the deficiency in revenue in 1861 was made good by a grant from the Imperial funds of £16,055. In 1862, the estimates for that year showed an expenditure of £51,732 with a revenue of £38,722". The British Government granted £10,000 towards clearing this deficit - Cory, op.cit., 6:85.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 101 n.1.
60. Ibid., 85.
61. Cory, op.cit., 6:ch.3; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:23ff.
62. Cory, op.cit., 6:97.
63. During the period Jan. 1855 to Dec 1862, a total sum of £49,000 was spent on African education as against £80,000 on White education - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 378.
64. Ibid., 378f.
65. 88 Natives and 41 white students at Lovedale - Shepherd, op.cit., 23.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 26.
- 68. Life at the Cape by a Lady, 111.**
69. The Colonial Secretary intended asking for a Parliamentary grant of £10,000 for 1862/1863 and £5000 for 1863/1864.
70. Wodehouse to Gray, 22.1.1862, GH 31/1, CA.
71. Ibid. It is thought that the Duke was referring to circumstances in New Zealand.
- 72. Ibid.**
73. Gray to Wodehouse, 27.1.1862, LB8:187.
74. Ibid.
75. We note that, in his numerous appeals to the State, Bishop Gray consistently chose to ignore the grants of land and money made by Sir George to the Anglican Church, on the frontier. Because they were included in the Grahamstown diocese, they were of no direct benefit to Bishop Gray's College at the Cape.
76. Gray to Wodehouse, 27.1.1862, LB8:187.
- 77. Ibid.**
78. Ibid.
- 79. Ibid.**
90. Wodehouse to Duke of Newcastle, 8.2.1862, GH 23/29.
- 81 . Ibid.**
182. The Pentateuch Critically Examined was published by Colenso in England in 1862.

83. Chadwick, op.cit., ch. 2 to 5; H. Goodwin, Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie (London : Deighton, Bell, 1865) 390 et seq.; Livingstone's Travels, ch. 20.
84. Chadwick, op.cit., 187.
85. Appeal published by Gray in England addressed "To those who have aided in the extension of Christ's Kingdom in South and Central Africa", 1.7.1862, Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA.
86. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265; Also Statement on the Institution for the Education of the children of African Chiefs and others at Capetown, 6.9.1862. Substance of the Speech which Bishop Gray delivered all over England 1862/1863. Bishops court Record Book cclii, BA.
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88. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.
89. Gray's Appeal, 1.7.1862, Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA,
90. Gray's Speech, 1862/1863, Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA.
91. Ibid.
92. Gray to Hawkins, S.P.G., 20.3.1862, LB8:82.
93. Gray to Bullock, 16.3.1862, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860-1867: 501, USPGA; Gray to Hawkins, 20.3.1862, LB8:82.
94. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.
95. Gray's Speech, 1862/1863, Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA.
96. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.
97. Gray provided £600 a year for local missionary work, Ibid.
98. A number of Fingoes had offered to pay £6 a year per child.
99. Gray's letter, 25.2.1863, Guardian.
100. Wodehouse to Gray, 22.1.1862, GH 31/1, CA; Gray to Wodehouse, 1.9.1862, LB8:244.
101. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265; Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 3.12.1862, LB8:262.
102. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.
103. Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 3.12.1862, LB8:262.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Gray to Wodehouse, 1.9.1862, LB8:244.
107. Duke of Newcastle to Gray, 28.1.1862 quoted in Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 9.2.1862, LB8:286.
108. Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 9.2.1862, LB8:286.
109. Ibid.
110. Gray to Burdett Coutts, 9.12.1862, LB8:265.

111. Gray to Duke of Newcastle, 9.2.1862, LB8:286.
112. Wodehouse to Glover, 10.1.1862, ZP.
113. Wodehouse to Duke of Newcastle, 14.3.1863, GH 23/29, CA.
114. Ibid.
115. Gray to Wodehouse, 9.8.1863, LB8:338.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Correspondence showing the Arrangement made for the Future Aid to be given from Schedule D to Native Industrial Institutions and Schools, Founded upon the Report of the Superintendent-General of Education. Presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1864, G29-'64: 19f.
120. Principles on which aid from the Colonial Treasury is given to the Industrial Institutions, and to the Schools in connection with them, Correspondence ... for the Future Aid, 21f.
121. Schedule of Annual Allowances for Industrial Institutions connected with the Aborigenes Department. Allocation : Lovedale, £440; Zonnebloem, £400; Lesseyton, £150; D'Urban Station, Peddie, £360; Heald Town, £450; English Church Mission, Graham's Town, £280; Shiloh, £125 - Correspondence ... for the Future Aid, 21 et seq.
122. Correspondence ... for the Future Aid, 20.
123. Gray to Wodehouse, 9.8.1863, LB8:338.
124. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867; 563, USPGA.
125. Grey to Gray, 27.10.1860, ZP.
126. Correspondence ... for the Future Aid, 20.
127. Ibid.
128. Gray to Rawson, 4.11 1863, LB9:1.
129. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49.
130. Accounts for 1863 and 1864. A deficit of £86 7s 3d was carried over to 1864. Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONNECTING LINK : 1862-1864

1. Bishop Gray's Vision of Zonnebloem as a Connecting Link

The Bishop's Motives

There is no doubt that Bishop Gray's relentless determination to see Zonnebloem succeed was motivated by his very real belief in the concept of educating the children of African chiefs. The College's purpose, as formulated by the co-founders, was complex, for the Institution incorporated a mixture of political, religious and social objectives in its design. Our problem is to try and assess their relative importance in the Bishop's estimation. In addition, we have to determine what his expectations of Zonnebloem were so that we have some standard against which we can measure the school's achievements.

As we follow the Bishop's successive statements concerning Zonnebloem and try and analyse his motives, the issue becomes somewhat confused for, as we have seen, he stressed different facets of the school's functioning to suit different occasions. We have already noted how skillfully he geared his appeals for aid in accordance with the diverse sympathies of those upon whose beneficence he depended for the College's support. His approach varied markedly as he presented Zonnebloem's needs to different audiences - the two Governors at the Cape, the Colonial authorities, the Church Societies, the British religious public, the South African Churchmen, fellow clergymen, even his family.

The Bishop's motives were manifestly mixed and this makes an evaluation very difficult. The question arises as to what he, himself, really hoped the College would achieve as against what he thought diplomatic to represent as Zonnebloem's purpose.

Zonnebloem as a Political Link

Sir George Grey's African educational policy, of which Bishop Gray was an enthusiastic supporter, has been severely criticized in modern times by Africans and Europeans alike. They maintain that the Governor, in his efforts to ensure peace on the Frontier, encouraged the Xhosa to abandon their tribal customs completely and forced them to adopt the white man's culture, so allowing them to be turned into "tame black Britishers". (1) In retrospect it is easy to criticize such a course of action. But we have seen

how, at the time, Sir George's policy seemed to be the only way that the British rulers could solve the country's problems. And Zonnebloem was an integral part of this policy.

The Kafir College's aims were in large measure political. The first batch of pupils had been brought to Cape Town as hostages. The Bishop shared Sir George's hopes that, while at school, the chiefs' sons would not only learn to conduct themselves as educated gentlemen but would also develop strong British sympathies. It was hoped that on their return home, after completing their education, these Westernized members of the African elite would act as Government spokesmen and be instrumental in keeping the peace amongst their people. In the meantime, the College pupils had already helped to establish bonds of friendship between their tribesmen and the Government. As Bishop Gray commented :

The two races whose representative children we are educating, Basutos and Kafirs, have cost the country much in blood and treasure. If they are hereafter to be guided and influenced, it must be greatly through the confidence which they have in our intentions, and wish to do them good. This Institution is materially contributing to this. There is confidence and in some degree attachment in the children there. (2)

But the Bishop held firmly to the belief that Zonnebloem's influence should eventually stretch far further afield than the Colony's troublesome African neighbours. He envisaged that the Institution would become "the connecting link between this Government and the many important tribes of the interior, with whom day by day we are being brought into closer contact". (3)

Zonnebloem as the Church's Connecting Link

Zonnebloem would not only be a political link, though. It would also be the Church's connecting link with the vast mass of heathen. It would be the centre from which evangelists would be sent to take civilization and Christianity to their tribesmen. The College's influence would radiate out to all parts of Africa. Its scope was unlimited.

It will place Cape Town, (said Bishop Gray) the capital of South Africa, in its proper position, as the point to which the eyes of native chiefs and races from all parts of Africa shall turn, as the centre of religious life and civilization; and I pray God that it may become the school of the prophets of South Africa, and that within its walls may be trained many who shall hereafter become burning and

shining lights amidst the darkness which surrounds their homes, witnesses for Christ, messengers of the gospel of peace. (4)

The Bishop believed that a native agency was essential to the accomplishment of the Church's mission in Africa. Zonnebloem was the only Anglican Institution in Southern Africa which had facilities for training an indigenous body of evangelists. As he told his audiences in England :

The Institution will provide what England is likely to be less and less able to supply, as the field of her operations becomes enlarged, - a body of faithful Teachers for Africa, drawn from the people of that country, educated at a small cost, to labour amongst their countrymen under the leadership of English clergymen. (5)

An Evaluation of the Pupils' Education

"The Kafir College has interested me almost more than anything". (6) So wrote Bishop Bray in 1863. The pupils' response to their education was a great encouragement to the Bishop, and, despite the many calls on his time, he still managed to maintain a personal interest in their progress. His pride in their prowess, and genuine affection for the lads, is very evident in the letters which he wrote to his friends and associates in England.

I wish you could hear those lads sing some of their choruses, (he told Bullock of the S.P.G.) their tune, time, and general precision are all astonishing. There is a healthy air of reality about the whole thing - no nonsense or pushing or studying of effect. It at once impresses one. (7)

Gray was continually amazed at the quickness of intellect shown by many of the students. This must have spurred him on to greater exertions on their behalf, for without their co-operation his plans for their future was doomed to fail.

On his return from England in 1863, the Bishop was delighted to share in the Kafir pupils' new found enthusiasm for chess. They showed a remarkable aptitude for the game. After only two months' practice, a team of five challenged Bishop Gray to a tournament. They played three games. The Bishop only managed to win one, the boys winning another and drawing the third. Gray related the incident afterwards with much amusement, telling the story against himself. - "And I do know something about the game. I had just been playing a good deal on board ship. It was immense fun to **watch** them in council over their next move - ! But they are wonderful fellows". (8)

The senior students at Zonnebloem received the same Grammar School education as was offered at comparable schools, such as the Diocesan College and the leading Government Institutions. Bishop Gray, writing to his son Charles, who was up at Oxford, in May 1863, gave some insight into the advanced nature of the black pupils' studies :

Yesterday we had the annual examinations of the Kafirs; if you were as well crammed as they were with historical facts, you would be pretty safe. They were bristling with facts in English History from the Romans down to George III, especially the Wars of the Roses and Blenheim's Campaign. (9)

This may seem to be rather an odd education to give Africans who were destined to return to their kraals. But developing leaders whether for the Church or for leading their people, requires critical intelligence and perspective. They need to be able to analyse, to reason, and to develop a sense of history, a sense that in some way at least all this has happened before. Add to this a vicarious learning from others' experience.

The fact that the African scholars were taught English history is no more strange than teaching English schoolboys the wisdom and history of Rome. Besides which, there was no recorded African history for them to study and Colonial history, such as it was, was not taught in the other local schools and would hardly have been considered a suitable subject for the Kafir pupils. Their instruction in English history may also have had the dual purpose of exhibiting the British background.

The syllabus followed at Zonnebloem was that set by the Board of Public Examiners at the Cape for a certificate in Literature and Science. The candidates were required to sit a preliminary examination for which they had to have a knowledge of English grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, and the outlines of English History. Greek and Latin were required for the Third Class Certificate and were compulsory subjects for the senior Kafir College students. (10)

The Bishop reported that by 1864, the boys were working problems in Euclid with great precision. (11) Euclid, as with English History and the Classics, may seem a far cry from the kraal. But for that matter just how many English scholars were likely to use Euclid after leaving school. Such a study provided good training in criticism.

As far as the Native Industrial Institutions were concerned, Zonne-

bloem was not unique. Lovedale offered a similar education at the time. Dr. Dale, who visited the Institution in 1864, stated in his Report :

I examined the most advanced native scholar in a portion of a chapter of the Greek Testament, an ode of Anacreon, and a portion of the first book of the AEnid; and put general questions on the parsing and the derivation of words. He also demonstrated the 47th proposition of Euclid, Book I, which I casually selected, and a geometrical exercise connected with it. (12)

It was essential to Zonnebloem's purpose that its senior students should attain a satisfactory academic standard, on a par with English schools. A number of them were destined to complete their studies at St. Augustine's. They would derive the greatest benefit from this experience if they were suitably qualified when they entered the Missionary College, unlike the first batch of African pupils who had gone there. Bishop Gray envisaged that the products of this advanced training would eventually become the key links in his scheme of things.

It was just because the Bishop had so many motives for desiring that Zonnebloem should fulfil its purpose: because he believed that it would serve as the vital connecting link between the Church and the State on the one hand, and the many different tribes on the other, that he drove himself to titanic efforts to ensure that the Kafir College was kept going.

2. The Link Between the Anglican Church and the Africans

The Need for a Native Agency

Bishop Gray's fellow churchworkers in Africa echoed his sentiments on the urgent need for trained native evangelists. The Anglicans entered a number of important new mission fields during the 1860's, and, as the Church's network expanded apace, so did they realize that the English missionaries would only be able to tackle a fraction of the work that needed to be done. They were far too few in number, the climate in many areas was unsuitable for European occupation, and, besides which, Christian natives were considered to be more effective in reaching their own people than white men.

The Rev. Robertson, who pioneered the Anglican Mission in Zululand, (13) summed up the situation when he wrote :

Missionaries from England are essential at first and possibly for two or three generations. to superintend the work of the indigenous clergy; but it is imperative that a native agency should be raised. Even though the native is behind his English brother in attainments, yet in bringing the Gospel to his heathen countrymen, the one (ignorant although he be) is a more efficient instrument than the other. In a fellow-countryman they can copy what in a highly-civilized white man they would (and I know do) consider beyond their reach. (14)

As the new dioceses were founded so did the Bishops of Grahamstown, Natal and the Free State, start their own schools to train Christian native workers. What was so special about Zonnebloem then ?

Zonnebloem's pupils were drawn from the tribal elite, the African aristocracy. Because they were the children of chiefs and councillors, Bishop Gray believed that they would be likely to wield far greater influence over their people than would the rank and file tribesmen, who graduated from the other diocesan institutions. For this reason, the Kafir College offered an education that was considered to be far superior to that given in its counterparts. Its aim was to educate a select group of catechists and teachers who would be the leaders in the political as well as the religious fields.

Furthermore, Zonnebloem's object was to serve South and Central Africa, unlike the other Church schools who were only concerned with training workers for their own dioceses. The Cape Diocese had little need for native evangelists, for most of its mission work was among the Coloured people. Bishop Gray had no jobs for his Kafir College boys. Rather, Zonnebloem was destined to spread its net as far and as wide as possible.

The Role of the S.P.G.

But in order for Zonnebloem to fulfil its function as a service agency for the Church as a whole, instead of a particular Diocese, the College was entirely dependent on the S.P.G. to make positions available in the mission field.

The Society was responsible for most of the mission work of the Anglican Church. From their headquarters in London, the S.P.G. planned the opening up and development of new mission fields all over the world. They kept a firm control on the management of the missions - staffing the stations, paying the salaries, and providing the supplies. In theory, Zonnebloem's role as a connecting link between the Church and the tribes was well worthy of their

support. (15) In practice, however, it was not so easily carried out for the Society was chronically short of funds. Here lay the crunch.

Bishop Gray was obliged to bring constant pressure to bear on the S.P.G. Executive to support the extension of the College's work. No matter how carefully he laid his plans, it was the Society who made the final decisions. It was they, and they alone, who decided what was to become of the Kafir pupils after they left College. This was well illustrated by the case of the African students at St. Augustine's.

The S.P.G. and the African Augustinians

The chiefs' sons had responded well to their training at the English Missionary College and looked forward eagerly to returning to work amongst their own people. But Bishop Gray foresaw that there would be certain re-entry problems attendant on their return to their homelands, and took steps to minimize the expected difficulties by forming supportive groups. He made use of his opportune visit to St. Augustine's in 1862 to discuss the matter with the Warden and make the necessary arrangements.

A number of the English students, inspired by Gray's address at their College Commemoration, offered to dedicate their future services to the mission field in South Africa. Three of the volunteers, contemporaries of the Zonnebloem boys, were given a special charge to form a close friendship with the Africans on the understanding that they would be sent out to work in pairs. In this way, each chief's son would be assured of the support of a sympathetic white companion on his return to tribal life: a re-adjustment which Bishop Gray envisaged as being fraught with risk.

One of the Englishmen had volunteered to work in the new Diocese of the Free State, (16) and it was hoped that he would be allowed to accompany Samuel Moroka to Thaba 'Nchu. The Barolong territory was not far distant from Basutoland, and, from there, he would also be able to keep in touch with 'Jeremiah Moshesh. The other two pairs were desirous of working together in British Kaffraria, the homeland of Arthur Toise and Edward Magomo. With this in mind, the Africans were instructed to teach their English friends the different native tongues. And so, during their remaining years together at Canterbury, the intricacies of Xhosa, Sesuto and

Serolong grammar were included in their studies. (17)

There was no guarantee, however, that once they reached South Africa the friends would be allowed to remain together. Without the co-operation of the S.P.G., Gray's careful preparations could come to nought. At the beginning of 1864, as the time drew near for the Augustinians to leave College, the Bishop wrote to the Society pleading that they should find the Africans jobs in the mission field, and that the black and white companions should be posted together according to his plan :

It is a matter of the greatest moment to the success of our native work, and to the character of the native young men, that on returning to their own country and to the manifold temptations of savage life, they should have the support of the Society of those with whom they have lived, and who have acquired an influence over them. I think it would be most cruel to send young men back to their kraals, who left them perhaps at 15, without European teachers, with them, or near them My deep conviction is, that if these lads are not taken up by the Society and sent out under those to whom they have formed friendships, the whole success of our plans for the education of the natives would be endangered, and the large sums we have spent upon them probably thrown away. (18)

The S.P.G. were, on this occasion, sympathetic to Gray's scheme and created suitable posts for the young missionaries in the different tribal territories. But, as we shall see later on, they were not always able to make similar jobs available for the other Kafir graduates. This break-down in the Bishop's plans threatened to wreck the work of Zonnebloem.

3. Zonnebloem as a Link Between the Basutos, the Bishops and the British

Bishop Gray Aids Moshesh's Efforts to Become a British Subject

Moshesh's solution to his never-ending political problems with his Boer neighbours, had been to ask the British for protection. His avowed wish had been to "let me and my people rest and live under the large folds of the flag of England". (19) He had made overtures to the Queen, through Sir George Grey and Prince Alfred at Aliwal North in 1861. When, by the following year, nothing had as yet come of his request to be received as a British subject, he had renewed his efforts, asking Bishop Gray to assist him in his cause.

The Basuto chief had been in constant contact with the Bishop

over the years because of the involved arrangements that had had to be made for the education of Moshesh's three sons, at the Cape and in England. And so it was, that in 1862, the Basuto Chief used this connection to beg the Bishop to intercede with the British authorities on his behalf.

The Metropolitan, for all his friendliness with Moshesh, was not blind to the crafty old chief's diplomatic manoeuvrings. He was well aware that Moshesh was involved in a deep political game, playing Boer off against Boer, and the Boers against the British, meanwhile turning a blind eye to the gun-running dealings (20) and cattle-rustling exploits of his sons. (21)

Gray also knew that the boundary disputes, which were a contentious issue between Basutoland and the Free State, would not easily be resolved. He doubted whether Britain would be prepared to intervene, and take over the African territory with its many thorny problems. (22) But the Bishop believed that it was a case of peace at any price and he promised to help Moshesh, telling him :-

that taking a deep interest in the condition of the native races of this country, and in you and your peoples welfare especially, I will use my best endeavours both with this Government and with the Authorities in England, to promote the object which you have in view. (23)

At the same time, Bishop Gray made use of the opportunity to lecture the Basuto chief on just what his duties as a British subject would be, so that Moshesh fully understood the implications of his request.

The Queen of England, (said Gray) and the country of England, wish to see the original inhabitants of this country prosperous and happy, - advancing day by day in civilization and living in the enjoyment of their own lands, at peace with all around them. The request that you make, that you and your people may become British subjects, will, if complied with, do much for the advancements of these objects If England receives you into the number of her people, and you should become a subject of the Queen, she will require that nothing should be done by your people to provide aggression upon the part of your Dutch neighbours. She will see equal justice done to all, of whatever race or language. (24)

Moshesh and the Church of the Queen of England

The French Protestant missionaries had served Moshesh well since 1833. They were his trusted friends and he was grateful for all

they had done both for himself and his people. But the Basuto chief, concerned that there was still great darkness in his country, and eager to forge stronger links with the British crown, made repeated requests to Bishop Gray to send him teachers from the Church of the Queen of England. (25) He explained that - "France seems a long way off, and England quite near to us. I consider myself a child of the Queen, and wish to be under her, even as we are all under God". (26)

The chief's enthusiasm for the Church's work was rather more political than spiritual, for he was not a Christian. He had a considerable knowledge of the Bible and was fond of quoting passages; (27) but he had never been baptized, much to the French missionaries' sorrow. He excused himself to his teachers, by saying :

After a certain age, people may learn new things, but they cannot give themselves a new heart. Thanks to the light that you have brought into our land, we hope that the children of our children will, one day, become such as yours are. (28)

Bishop Gray did his best to persuade Moshesh to change his mind. Many of his sons had been baptized, the three who had been at the Kafir College were Anglicans; but the Basutos looked to their Chief to set the example.

You are a wise man and an old man, (the Bishop told Moshesh). As a wise man you cannot but see that Christianity would prove a real blessing to you and your people; and that like other Heathen nations the Basutos will one day know and adore the true GOD and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. As an old man you know that you have not long to live, and that the time given to you of GOD for coming yourself and bringing your people to the knowledge, is fast passing away. No Chief in South Africa exercises a greater influence over his people than yourself. GOD expects that you will exercise this influence for their good, and for his Glory. If before you die you were yourself to turn to the Lord, and lead them to the knowledge of Him, you would save your own soul, and after ages your childrens' children, yet unborn, would call you blessed. (29)

According to an English clergyman, Moshesh dreaded to confess Christianity openly because "he was afraid lest his power should be diminished". (30) He only made up his mind to take this step when he knew that his end was near. Early in 1870, he announced that he would be baptized on the occasion of the Paris Evangelical Society Missionary Conference. Much to the French missionaries

disappointment, he died two days before the ceremony was due to take place. But this is looking into the future.

For the present, the Anglican Church was going ahead with plans to expand in the interior; and the see of Bloemfontein, which included Basutoland, was founded in 1863. Edward Twells was chosen Bishop. Soon after his arrival in the Free State, he made an extensive Visitation of his new diocese, a journey through Basutoland being an important part of his itinerary.

Moshesh, who had waited so patiently for so long for the Queen to send him teachers from her Church, was overjoyed to welcome the Bishop and he was treated to a royal reception at Thaba Bosiu.

(31) Twells endeared himself to the Basuto chief by bringing Moshesh first hand news of his son Jeremiah. The Bishop had met the Basuto prince while on a visit to St. Augustines, shortly before leaving England.

Moshesh was eager for the Anglican Church to start work in his country at once. He gave Twells permission to select any site he liked in Basutoland, saying : "The land is open to you. People, sometimes, have doubted my fidelity to the Queen Now I have missionaries from England, it will be easier to prove my sincerity and the state of affairs here will be more secure". (32)

Zonnebloem as a Link between the Church and the Basuto Leaders

Twells and his party had stayed at Zonnebloem during their stop-over in Cape Town on their way to the Free State. They had been very impressed with the work being done at the school. (33) The Bishop of Bloemfontein was delighted, therefore, to meet one of the first products of the College, George Tlali Moshesh, at Thaba Bosiu.

The Basuto prince proved to be an invaluable aid to the Bishop during his stay in Basutoland. George acted as interpreter at the meetings with Moshesh, and then accompanied Twells on a tour of the country. Together they visited various kraals and most of the French mission stations. They had ample opportunity to talk, as they travelled the long distances on horseback; and the Bishop afterwards professed himself well pleased with the young man.(34)

George was pathetically happy to have an Anglican clergyman visit his country at last. The French missionaries had treated him with great kindness after his return from Cape Town; but, both he and

the other ex-Zonnebloem students, missed the ministrations and the fellowship of their own faith and longed for the familiar Liturgy. George confided his feelings to the Bishop, saying : "I should so like a missionary of my own Church. Please let him be put near me. The French are good, but I like my own Church service and clergy". (35)

The handful of Anglican Basutos felt their isolation keenly and struggled to keep going alone and unaided by their Church. Apollos, the son of Paulus Mopere, had also been educated at Zonnebloem and seconded George's sentiments. This young chief was already well known to Twells by name. In fact the Bishop had read letters about Apollos at countless missionary meetings in England, using the boy's story to arouse interest and support for the Church's future work in Basutoland. Now they met face to face for the first time. Twells described Apollos as "a fine looking fellow" and noted that he had a good command of English. Their meeting was recorded by the Bishop in his Journal :

I had a long talk with him alone, and was much pleased with him. But it is a very hard thing for a young Basuto chief to lead a Christian life. I told him he was always to think of me as his bishop. I gave him my blessing. (36)

The Bishop of Bloemfontein was by no means impressed with all the educated Basuto leaders he met. He had some scathing things to say about Nehemiah Moshesh, who had also spent some time in Cape Town, although not at the Kafir College. Twells maintained that his schooling had merely made Nehemiah more crafty than his fellows and reported that this chief's example was cited constantly by people as an instance of the folly of educating Kafirs. (37)

Nonetheless, Nehemiah had shown a great interest in the Church and had asked Bishop Gray for an Anglican missionary. He had written the Metropolitan "a rather pathetic letter" begging that his little son should be allowed to attend Zonnebloem, for he wished the boy to be brought up in a religious manner. His request had been used to good effect in England to excite interest and support for the College's cause. (38) But Bishop Twells refused to be taken in by Nehemiah's apparent piety. He distrusted the Basuto chief on principle for he was a notorious cattle thief.

Letsie, the oldest of Moshesh's sons (39) and "a thorough heathen", did not fare much better in Twells' estimation, even though the chief was very friendly. (40) Letsie told the Bishop, through an interpreter, that he was glad that Twells had come for he brought peace. The chief was pleased to receive the Bishop's news of Jeremiah's doings in England; but expressed his anxiety lest his brother should return home before completing his studies, saying : "When a man goes to plough a field, he is foolish to return before he has done his work. I hope Jeremiah is not like such a man". (41)

Letsie asked Twells for a teacher for his people. The Bishop, however, was suspicious of his motives. Speaking about the Basuto chief, Twells said : "A Kafir's words are smoother than oil and softer than butter, but as far as principles of truth and honesty, he seems to know nothing about them". (42)

The Proposed Entry of the Anglican Church into Basutoland

The mission field in Basutoland had, up to this time, been the exclusive domain of the French Protestant missionaries. Even so, they bade the Anglican bishop a warm welcome to the country. They told him that they grieved because they had "only been able to touch the work"; and, according to Twells, "expressed pleasure that the English Church intended to enter upon the work in Basutoland". (43)

But the Paris Evangelical Society missionaries took it for granted that the Anglicans would confine their pioneer mission work to untouched tribal territory. The Frenchmen soon changed their tune when they discovered that the newcomers, under Twells' direction, were planning to trespass on their established areas of evangelical activity. The acrimonious correspondence and bitter quarrelling that ensued caused a rift between the two Church groups. (44)

Meanwhile, as a result of the Bishop of Bloemfontein's visit to Basutoland, the small band of Kafir College Old Boys waited expectantly for the much heralded arrival of the missionary from their Church. George Moshesh was very excited to learn that the clergyman was going to be stationed near his kraal. (45) But the faithful few Anglican Basutos waited in vain.

Despite the Bishop's good intentions, it was many years before the Church had men and money sufficient to enter upon the promised work. The Anglicans in Basutoland had to be content with occasional visits from the Bloemfontein clergy and a rare Visitation by the

Bishop. (46)

4. The Breaking of a Link: The Death of a Basuto Prince Zonnebloem as a Connecting Link with Basutoland

The failure of the Anglican Church to found a mission in Basutoland until well into the 1870's, was hard on the young men who had been educated at Zonnebloem. Leaving Cape Town and the comforts of civilization behind them, their return home, to live among their tribesmen, was a transition that was fraught with many difficulties and troubled by much tension. How were they to reconcile their newly acquired Western way of life with conditions in the kraal? Without the companionship of kindred spirits and the support of their Church, they found it difficult to withstand the pull of traditional customs. The faith of these fledgling Christians was sorely tested. Many of them succumbed to temptation, polygamy being their usual downfall.

One can only speculate as to whether things might have turned out differently if the young Basuto prince, Jeremiah Moshesh, had lived to carry out the work for which he had so diligently prepared himself. The sprinkling of Anglicans could have rallied around such a leader and the Church would have been able to put down roots in the country. There is no doubt also, that a chief's lead was a potent force in influencing his followers. The royal evangelist's example would have carried great weight among the Basuto tribesmen. (47)

Jeremiah's sudden death in England in 1863, shortly before he was due to return home, was a severe setback to the Church and a bitter blow to Gray. With the severing of this link with Basutoland and its rulers, the Bishop saw all his carefully laid plans for the country, founder.

Jeremiah's Preparation as an Evangelist

While at Zonnebloem, Jeremiah had shown little promise of academic ability or notable qualities of leadership. His teachers had commended him for his hard work, but his poor command of English had been a handicap to his progress. His temperament had been another stumbling-block. He was very sensitive by nature and it was only by dint of perseverance that he had overcome this and other faults of character. (48) He was sent to St. Augustine's on the insistence of Sir George Grey. His selection being based on

the potential importance of his position as a son of Moshesh, certainly not on his prowess as a student.

But Jeremiah confounded his critics. Once at Canterbury, he soon became fluent in English and made excellent progress in his studies. He took first place in most of the classes in the June examinations in 1863. (49) The Warden had nothing but praise for his efforts :

He invariably commended himself to us, and to his numerous friends ... by his genuine politeness, his remarkable considerateness, his good common sense, his intelligence and persevering industry, his reverential demeanour, his steady pursuit of all kinds of knowledge, particularly the Holy Scripture, and what he thought would be useful to him in future life. (50)

His dedication to preparing himself as an evangelist to his people was substantiated by the testimony of a friend and fellow student, who observed : "Jeremiah made use of every opportunity to improve himself in this Christian land with the steady view before him of doing good service to his relations and countrymen on his return to Africa". (51)

The Death of Jeremiah Moshesh in England : August 1863

But although Jeremiah's general health had been very good during his sojourn in England, he was not robust and was never able to bear much physical fatigue. (52) He took ill during the Summer holidays of 1863. He and Samuel Moroka had gone to stay with friends in Manchester and Herefordshire, the Archdeaconry of which had financed their studies at St. Augustine's. In August, while visiting the Rev. T.M. Bulkeley Owen, the Vicar of Welshampton (near Ellesmere in the Lake District), Jeremiah was laid low by gastric fever. Despite careful and devoted nursing, his delicate constitution was unable to withstand the illness, and he died two weeks later, on August 26th. (53)

The Basuto prince's death was a sensational event in the little English village. Although the harvest season was at its height, the local citizenry turned out in full force for the funeral. Samuel, the chief mourner, was supported by an ex-Augustinian who lived nearby and had been detailed to represent the College. (54) The service was a harrowing experience for the surviving African. He had also been ailing and had risen from his sickbed to be present. How homesick he must have felt, bereft of his friend in a foreign land and among strange people.

Jeremiah was buried in Welshampton churchyard. So much money was subscribed for a memorial black marble tombstone, that the remainder was used for a stained glass window in the village church. The memorial window, set in the north wall, depicts St. Philip baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch. (55) Whereas the headstone on his grave gives the Basuto prince's age as twenty-three years, the window records it as being twenty-four years. (56) A memorial tablet to Jeremiah is also to be found in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd at St. Augustine's, the Memorial Chapel to former students of the Missionary College.

Jeremiah was deeply mourned by his fellow students at Canterbury, his former friends at Zonnebloem, and, not the least, his family. (57) The irony of it was, that while Bishop Twells was recounting the boy's doings in England to his father and brothers, and was stirring up excited anticipation for his homecoming, the chief's son was already dead.

As far as Gray was concerned, the Basuto prince's death was a disaster. At one fell blow, the Bishop's high hopes that Jeremiah would pioneer the Church's work in his country, were dashed to the ground. Added to which was the fact that a vital link between the Basuto court, the Church, and the State, had been broken. All the years of effort, the expensive training, and the expectations attached to educating this chief's son, had come to nought.

5. An Inter-Church Link

Co-operation between the Different Denominations

Few other Church bodies in South Africa had educational facilities to compare with Zonnebloem. On the other hand, the Anglican missionary network covered a comparatively small area in the country. This meant that the Church's contact with the various leading chiefs was limited and its outreach was consequently very restricted. But Bishop Gray was determined to have as many tribes as possible represented at the College, and so he extended an open invitation to the different denominations to make use of Zonnebloem. They were asked to encourage the chiefs of the tribes under their care to send their sons to the Anglican Institution in the capital, for advanced training.

The missionaries were united in their belief that education was an essential part of their work and all the mission stations, no matter where they were situated or by whom they were run, had

schools attached to them. The majority of the Missions, however, could only offer elementary education to their flock. They were only too eager, therefore, to avail themselves of Gray's offer of higher education for select students.

The French Protestant missionaries were the first outsiders to use the Kafir College. They were followed in time by the L.M.S., Scotch and Wesleyans. In this way, Zonnebloem served as a connecting link between the Anglican Church and the different denominations. The other Church bodies, in their turn, were able to put the College in touch with African leaders in remote parts of the country who would otherwise have been out of reach of the Anglicans. Over the years, this inter-Church co-operation helped Zonnebloem to extend its influence over the whole of South Africa.

The Link with the French Protestants

The French Protestant missionaries, in particular, were staunch supporters of Zonnebloem. They were full of praise for the Christian work being done at the College and sent a succession of pupils to study there. (58) They much regretted the fact that the Paris Evangelical Society was not able to offer the Basutos similar facilities in their homeland. Besides the chronic shortage of funds which frustrated the Mission's development, the uncertain political conditions and frequent wars in Basutoland made the large outlay on such a scheme too risky a venture.

The second generation of French missionaries, however, were determined to see the Basutos evangelized by their own people and eventually took steps to train catechists and teachers themselves. But the first school for young men was not begun until 1868, and even then it was started in a small way only, in the home of one of the missionaries. (59) It was many years before the French Protestants had a Training College to rival Zonnebloem. In the meantime they made use of the Anglican Institution at the Cape.

This resource was, of necessity, limited in scope. Basutoland was too far removed from Cape Town to make it a practical proposition. For this reason the Frenchmen selected their proteges, from among the ranks of the chiefs and councillors, with great care, and grounded them well in the three R's before sending them south.

The trouble and expense involved in transporting the African boys the long distances to and from Cape Town were a tremendous drawback to the scheme. This is well illustrated in the case of two

students who returned home in 1863, under the chaperonage of Father Lautrè. The French missionary was returning to his station at Thaba Bosiu and undertook to deliver Faku and Abel to their respective fathers, one a Basuto and the other a Barolong chief.

The voyage to Port Elizabeth was completed without incident, but the party then took a further two months to reach their destination. For a start, they were delayed at the port for a few weeks while they waited for travelling conditions to improve. A severe drought had desiccated the veld in the country through which they had to pass. Food for the oxen was in short supply and was only to be had at great expense. Some carriers had been forced to abandon their wagons along the way, their animals having died of starvation.

The first part of the journey was finally accomplished, not without some difficulty though, because of the shortage of grazing. The travellers were then held up in one place for about three weeks by incessant rain and swollen rivers. Because of the bad conditions of the track, the Zonnebloem boys had to cover much of the distance on foot. They were also required to do their share of the work, assisting the wagon driver and the "voorloper", both Hottentots, with the handling of the team of oxen.

While the journey seems to have been something of a nightmare, Father Lautrè was even more troubled by the expense. Provisions were very dear in that part of the Colony and the boys had been supplied with the usual rations of coffee, sugar, bread and meat. Their fathers, however, had failed to meet the account of £6 15s 4d. The French missionary was most apologetic about having to ask the Warden of Zonnebloem to refund him this amount. (60)

The organization needed to return these two lads to their homes was typical of the complicated travelling arrangements that had to be made in turn for each one of the Kafir College pupils.

As the Zonnebloem students returned to Basutoland, in dribs and drabs, so did the French missionaries try and take them under their wing. They gave the young men every support and encouragement in their difficult re-adjustment to living as Christians among their heathen tribesmen. But, as we have already seen, the Anglican Basutos did not feel at home with the French Protestants and few Zonnebloem graduates became actively involved as evangelists with the Paris Society missions.

The Link with the L.M.S.

The Rev. Robert Moffat, senior, was the first member of the London Missionary Society to support Zonnebloem: possibly at the instigation of his son-in-law, David Livingstone. Moffat had worked among the Bechuana people for nearly half a century, making a special study of their language. Over the years he had gradually gathered together a community of converts, settling them around the mission centre at Kuruman. (61) At the same time the L.M.S. station also served the neighbouring Bechuana tribes and it was the son of one of their chiefs, Mahura, whom Moffat arranged to send to the Kafir College.

Chief Mahura lived at Towns on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. He was not a Christian, neither had his son been baptized nor received any previous education. But the youngster was in good health, an essential qualification. The chief was only persuaded to allow his son to attend Zonnebloem on condition that he retained his family name. The lad was the lawful successor to the Chieftainship and his father insisted that the tribal tradition should be honoured. (62) After lengthy negotiations, the young Mahura eventually made the long journey from Matiti, and was admitted to the College on March 24, 1864. (63)

The Link with the Scotch Presbyterians

Bishop Gray was delighted when two young men arrived from Lovedale in 1863. These fellows were planning careers as interpreters and had come to Zonnebloem with the intention of studying for this profession. The Bishop made somewhat disparaging remarks about their previous schooling, though, saying : "Time will tell whether their education has been such as to hold out any hopes of their being able to accomplish this purpose". (64)

Gray's implied criticism of the rival Frontier Institution was rather misplaced for he was, in actual fact, rather envious of Lovedale's well earned reputation. Nonetheless it was a feather in his cap that the Scotch Presbyterian missionaries had sent some of their students to Zonnebloem to complete their training. And so yet another link was forged with the Anglican Church.

The Wesleyan missionaries did not make use of Zonnebloem until the 1870's, when a large batch of boys was sent from Lesseyton.

6. No Link with the Chiefs in Zululand

The Need for the Chiefs' Co-operation

The Kafir College was wholly dependent on the chiefs' co-operation. No pupils could be admitted to the College without their fathers' consent. The Africans, on the other hand, were renowned for their great love and close attachment to their children. It was hard for the parents to part with their offspring, particularly when they were being sent off to the great unknown in the care of their former enemies.

Prior to the Cattle Killing, the Kafir chiefs had persistently refused to let Bishop Gray have charge of their children. It was only as a result of political pressure and the desperate conditions following in the wake of the Xhosa's National Suicide, that the chiefs were driven to the point where they had little choice but to let their sons and daughters go. Chiefs like Umhala, Xoxo, Sandile and Maqomo, were in a vulnerable position at the time, and, only too anxious to please Sir George Grey, were easily persuaded to hand over their youngsters to the Governor.

The independent chiefs, Moshesh and Moroka, were in an entirely different position though. They lived beyond the boundaries of British control and were not subservient to the Government's bidding. Nevertheless they were anxious to ally themselves to Britain. They viewed the education of their sons at the Kafir Institution in Cape Town as an opportunity for forging a closer link with the British crown, and were only too eager to hand over their offspring.

In contrast, the Zulu chiefs, Mpande and Cetshwayo, wished for no such bond. They were suspicious of the white man's intent, and, determined that Zululand should remain an independent territory, turned down any proposals that threatened to interfere with their sovereignty. Try as the Rev. Robertson might, the chiefs steadfastly resisted all the Anglican missionary's efforts to send some of the Zulu princes either to Zonnebloem or St. Augustine's. Umkungo's admission to Ekukanyeni had taken place as a result of political circumstances beyond the Zulu rulers' control. In no wise had it been their voluntary choice and they did not accept it as a precedent.

Cetshwayo's Opposition to Christianity

Cetshwayo was wary of all missionaries, on principle. Some of them

had taught that it was wrong for Christians to continue to serve and give allegiance to a heathen ruler. (65) Consequently, the Zulu chief maintained that "a Christian Zulu was a Zulu spoiled", and did all in his power to stem the advance of the white man's religion. (66)

Not surprisingly, Cetshwayo viewed the Anglican Church's entry into Zululand in 1860, with some alarm. He regarded the missionaries' intentions with the deepest suspicion. Although the newly established station at Kwa Magwaza remained unscathed during the tribal unrest at this time, the Zulu chief would not permit Robertson to interfere with his warriors and refused to allow two of them to be baptized. Cetshwayo gave his reasons to Robertson, as follows :

You see, he explained, that to believe (become a Christian) is a new custom: we follow the customs of our forefathers. I like you missionaries, but I wish my people only to attend Church on Sundays and then return to their homes. I do not wish any of my people to become Christians. These boys are soldiers: there are the great Kraals at which they are known and where they serve. By becoming Christians they are lost to me; and if I consent to them, all others will follow them,... Shall I diminish my strength by giving away my people to other nations. (67)

The Zulu chief could not be reassured. Even though Robertson insisted that one of the first Christian truths was - "Love your parents and obey your King" - Cetshwayo still distrusted the missionary's intentions. He could not accept Robertson's argument that his warriors, by becoming Christians, would not only remain his subjects but would also be more faithful and true. (68)

Cetshwayo Refuses to Allow the Zulu Chiefs' Sons to Attend Zonnebloem

The Anglican Mission could make little headway in Zululand while the country remained in a state of turmoil. The turbulent conditions continued unabated as the contenders for the throne jockeyed for position and power. The Natal Government, fearful for their colony's safety, eventually intervened in 1861. They persuaded Mpande to fix the succession on Cetshwayo in the hope of putting an end to the unrest. Subsequently the situation in Zululand became somewhat more settled. But with Cetshwayo virtually in control of the country, Robertson was now wholly dependent on the chief's co-operation for the furtherance of the Church's work.

The Anglican missionary was convinced that the country's salvation lay in the hands of the chiefs. He believed that the Church's only hope was to educate the future rulers. Robertson, eager to emulate the example of Gray and Colenso, made plans to start a school for the sons of chiefs in Zululand patterned on Zonnebloem and Ekukanyeni. But he could go no further without Cetshwayo's permission. He first broached the subject to the chief in 1861. Cetshwayo questioned him closely about the Kafir College and wanted to know the names of all the chiefs who had sent their children there. But despite his evident interest, he was suspicious of such a scheme and rejected Robertson's proposal. (69)

The missionary, undeterred, brought up the subject once more while on a visit to the chief's kraal the following year. This time Robertson suggested that Cetshwayo should send his younger brothers and some of his chiefs' sons to the Bishop's College in Cape Town. But the Zulu ruler turned down this plan too, arguing that he could never enforce sending these boys out of the country. He relented, however, to the extent of giving permission for the chiefs' sons to receive instruction in Zululand; but the heir-apparent refused to lead the way himself. (70) Robertson did not give up trying though and ultimately won the chief over. In 1871 Cetshwayo agreed to allow his only son to attend the mission school at Kwa Magwaza. His example carried great weight for he came to the Zulu throne at long last in 1872, following Mpande's death. (71)

But Cetshwayo, alone of all the leading chiefs in South Africa, refused the invitation to send children from his tribe to the Kafir College. If he had supported Zonnebloem it would have been a break-through for the Government as well as for the Church. Although the colonial authorities had no wish to assume control in Zululand, they were nonetheless anxious to find ways and means of forging closer links with their troublesome neighbours so as to promote peaceful co-existence between the black and white nations. Cetshwayo, on the other hand, was jealous of his country's independence and rejected the Kafir College for the very reason that it was a connecting link with the British administration.

7. A Political Link

Zonnebloem as a Link between the Government and Zulu Chiefs in Natal

Whereas the chiefs in Zululand declined to have anything to do with

Zonnebloem, the Zulu chiefs resident in Natal were an entirely different proposition. They had lived under the British flag for some time and were easily persuaded to co-operate with the Church of the Government by sending their sons to the Kafir College.

The first batch of Natal boys were recruited by Bishop Gray in 1864 during his Visitation to the colony following Colenso's suspension. Gray had long felt an interest in the welfare of the Zulus in Natal. Seeing that Colenso's school was now defunct, he offered to educate the children of a number of the local chiefs. (72) Chief Umnini agreed to let three of his sons go, but permission had to be obtained from the Natal authorities before they could be transferred to the Cape. Writing to the Lieutenant Governor of the colony to make the necessary arrangements, Gray said :

I should be glad to educate a few more of the sons and daughters of Natal Chiefs, as I believe that a few years residence at the College would be of the greatest service in the elevating of the minds and understanding of a most interesting people. (73)

Another Zulu boy, who had received some education at a mission school, accompanied the Umninis to Zonnebloem, (74) the four of them being admitted in September. (75) Two months later they were joined by Philip and John, further recruits from Natal. These chief's sons belonged to the tribe of Zangabalili, the most powerful tribe in Natal according to Bishop Gray, who was delighted to have acquired such prize pupils. (76)

But no matter how royal this new blood for the College might be, the high cost of transportation made the enrolment of pupils from so far afield a subject of dispute. The expenses of the Natal contingent amounted to £26 is 6d. (77) The bill could not be presented to the Government for remittance because, even though the State might conceivably benefit from the boys' education in the long run, the arrangements had been made by Bishop Gray. The College, therefore, had to foot the bill, an extravagance that was difficult to reconcile with the exhausted state of its exchequer.

Wodehouse Sends Chiefs' Sons to Zonnebloem

Once Zonnebloem had been placed on a regularized footing as a State-aided Institution, Wodehouse took a personal interest in the school and began to use it for the ends of Government.

Following in his predecessor's footsteps, he gathered together the sons of African chiefs as he travelled around the country, and arranged for them to be sent to the College at Cape Town.

The Governor's first proteges were two sons of Sikonyella. (78) This chief, head of the Batlokwa tribe, had once wielded extensive power. He had succeeded his mother to the leadership of the large Sutu (Sotho) clan which had formed the nucleus of the dreaded Mantatee Horde, causing the terrible devastation in the interior at the time of the "Difaqane". Although Sikonyella's following had decreased after his defeat at the hands of Moshesh in 1852, and his influence had consequently diminished, his name was still held in awe by many a tribesman. (79) The chief's willingness to hand over his sons to Wodehouse, to be educated at Zonnebloem, was a significant precedent which would obtain wide publicity among the African people of the interior.

Bishop Gray was only too eager to co-operate with Wodehouse by receiving the Governor's nominees into Zonnebloem, especially as they promised to be such important political links. What is more, the boys' passages down to the Cape were paid for by the State, a most seasonable relief as the College's depleted budget could not have coped with any further outlay on travelling expenses. (80)

The only snag was that Zonnebloem was full by the end of 1864. In addition to the group from Natal, there had been a draft from the Zambesi which had swelled the school's numbers to saturation point. (81) Gray was placed in a very awkward position when Wodehouse asked him to accept two more pupils, the sons of a Free State chief, at the end of the year. (82) The Bishop was obliged to make room for the new arrivals but with the enrolment now standing, at thirty-nine, the facilities at Zonnebloem were extended to their utmost, all available accommodation being fully occupied. (83)

And still new applications continued to come in. At the beginning of 1865, there were pupils seeking admission from Independent Kaffraria as well as from the ranks of the Fingo tribe. (84) They were put on a waiting list. But Gray could hardly refuse a further request by the Governor to accept four more chiefs' sons. (85)

Wodehouse apparently intended to keep the Kafir Institution regularly supplied with his proteges. His support was most gratif-

ying but with no vacancies for newcomers, Gray realized that he would not be able to meet his obligations to the Governor unless some of the older students were sent away. The bottleneck had arisen because there was no established outlet for those who had completed their studies. And so the Bishop took steps to relieve the congestion at the College by making urgent representations to both the Governor and the S.P.G. to find jobs for the graduates. (86)

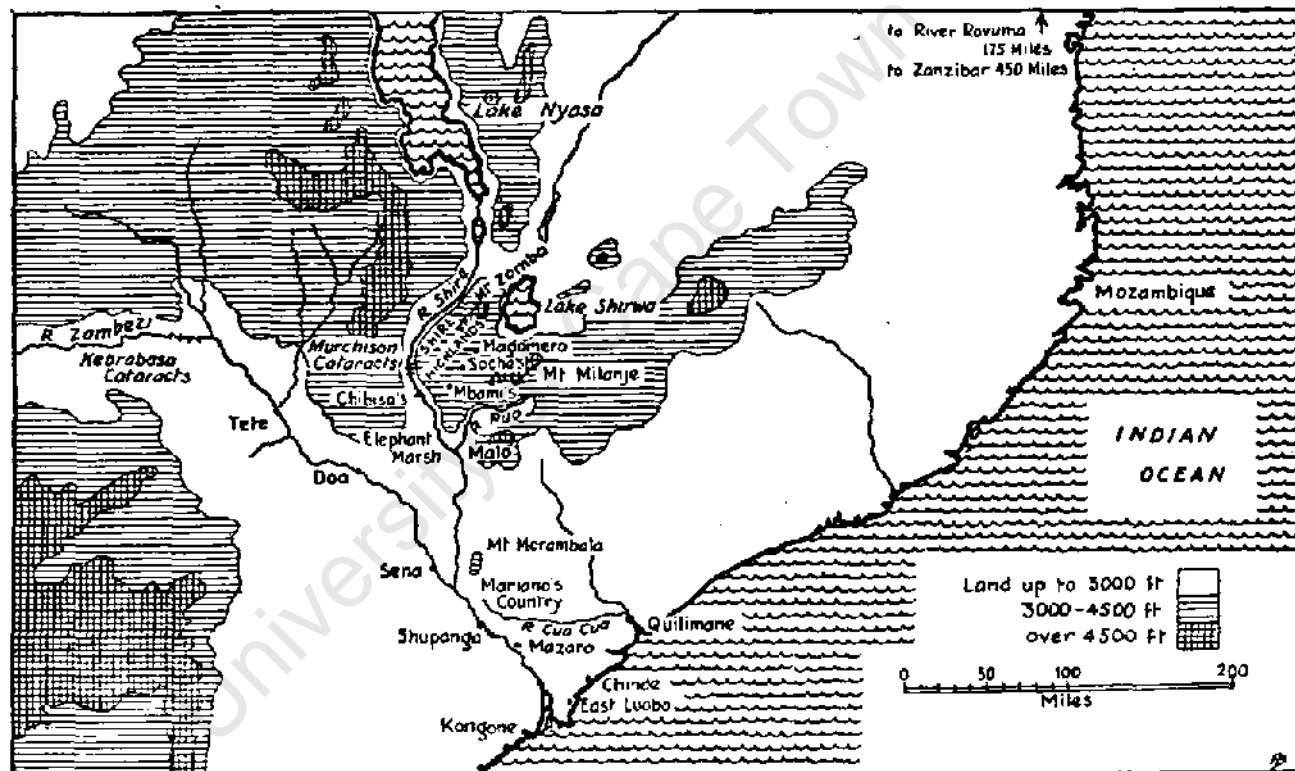
In the meantime, while Zonnebloem had become firmly established in its role as a connecting link between the Government and the South African tribes, the proposed link with Central Africa had proved to be a pipe-dream.

8. The Fiasco of the Promised Link with Central Africa Reinforcements for the Universities Mission

The fate of the Universities Mission hung in the balance after Mackenzie's death, the British public dividing into opposing camps following the circulation of reports concerning the late Bishop's conduct in Africa. Mackenzie was severely censured by many for taking up arms against the slavers, and his critics refused to give the venture their further support. While others, like Bishop Gray, believed that the Mission must be maintained at all costs and strove hard to rally the sympathizers to furnish reinforcements for the stricken party in the Shire Highlands.

Gray remained optimistic that the Mission would yet be the instrument whereby "the twin blights of superstition and slavery" would be eradicated in the interior of the Dark Continent. (87) At the same time, he persisted with his plans to educate the sons of Central African chiefs at Zonnebloem, insisting that the College was destined to play a vital role in ensuring the complete success of the Church's work there. Gray had used this promised link with Central Africa to obtain considerable backing from the British public for the Kafir College, and, apart from his personal wishes, he owed it to his supporters to do all in his power to see his plans brought to fruition.

Gray journeyed to England in 1862 with the express intention of finding a successor to Mackenzie, recruiting additional staff, and raising more funds for the Universities Mission. Undeterred by the adverse criticism directed at the Zambesians' handling of their



The Universities Mission to Central Africa

pioneer work, the Bishop of Cape Town played a leading part in mustering reinforcements for the depleted mission at Magomero.(88)

William George Tozer was appointed the new leader. He was able to inspire renewed interest and support from the public by promising that he would be going to Central Africa in peace. He pledged that the abolition of slavery would "not be done by the force of English rifles, but by the superior force of Christian love and Christian influence". (89)

The Mission is Doomed

Despite the Church's valiant efforts to revive the Central African Mission, it was doomed from the start of Tozer's direction, fated by forces beyond the new Bishop's control. The British Government had decided that it was no longer prepared to back Livingstone's explorations. The costly undertaking had failed to accomplish its task of opening up the Zambesi waterway as a highway into the interior. It so happened that the ship which took Tozer and his party to the Kongone, also carried orders to Livingstone recalling his expedition. This despatch set the seal on the Mission's fate.

The missionaries, isolated at their station in the Shire Highlands, would be stranded without the assistance of both Livingstone and the Royal Navy, who had acted as the explorer's support group. They would struggle to survive in the unhealthy climate without any regular means of receiving fresh supplies of food and medicine, having to rely on uncertain aid from the Portuguese in the neighbouring territory. Added to which, they would be completely cut off from their accustomed direct communication with Cape Town. In future, their only contact with the outside world would be through the British base at Bombay. (90)

Tozer takes charge of "Mackenzie's children"

Tozer, a pragmatist, in contrast to his predecessor, was well aware that the dice was heavily loaded against him. He arrived at Magomero fully prepared to evacuate the mission rather than endanger any more English lives, for by now the death toll had reached four. (91) But he met with fierce opposition from the faithful few survivors of Mackenzie's team. The old guard were loathe to abandon their work amongst the released slaves who had attached themselves to the mission, and they were soon at loggerheads with their new leader.

Most of the adult captives who had been freed by the evangelists, had shown little desire to return to their homes. Many of the children were orphans and had nowhere to go anyway. The refugees, affectionately known as "Mackenzie's children", had formed the nucleus of the pioneer Church settlement. (92) The missionaries had pledged themselves to take care of these helpless people and had endured dreadful privation and suffering in order to give them succour.

Tozer, however, had scant sympathy for sentiment. He regarded the slave trade as an unfortunate but legal institution in the Portuguese controlled area. He had no intention of interfering in the traffic as Mackenzie had done. He was determined to carry out the mission of the Church, and his concept meant teaching the gospel not freeing slaves. Neither did he wish to be saddled with unwanted dependents. His attitude was anathema to the old guard who had sacrificed so much to satisfy their ideal of Christian witness.

Mackenzie's men could not be won over by Tozer's argument that Magomero was obviously unhealthy for European occupation. Nor would they accept his reasoning that the area had become extensively depopulated as a result of local wars, famine and the slave traffic, and was no longer suitable for missionary endeavours. (93) They fought tooth and nail against Tozer's decision to move the mission. But theirs was a losing battle and they eventually had to submit to their Bishop's bidding.

Mount Morambala was chosen as the new site for the mission. Situated nearer to the mouth of the Zambesi, Livingstone recommended it as being the only cool and healthy high spot in Portuguese East Africa. (94) Here Tozer proposed to found a college for the freed slave boys where they could receive training as evangelists. But he alienated the old guard still further by declining to take the African women and children with him when he left Magomero.

Waller, one of the pioneers, refused to abandon these children of the mission. Defying his Bishop, he resigned, and the Mission divided into two groups each going their separate ways. Tozer and his team established themselves on the summit of the mountain, while Waller and his flock of female refugees camped alongside the river to await Livingstone's arrival. (95)

The Founding of a College for Freed Slave Boys

Up to now the Zambesi missionaries had concentrated their efforts

on caring for freed slaves and had made little attempt to establish a rapport with the local chiefs. Thus Tozer's twenty-five pupils came from the flotsam who had been rescued from the slavers. Not one of them had important family connections. The Central African College was a far cry from the type of preparatory school for chiefs' sons which Bishop Gray would have wished for, where the country's future leaders would have been equipped for further education at Zonnebloem. Nonetheless the freed slave boys were ready material and Tozer soon had his missionaries trying to mould these African lads into imitations of English schoolboys.

The pupils had to submit to a regular routine of schoolwork as well as attendance at daily worship in the hastily erected church. But despite the energetic efforts of the instructors, the boys made disappointingly poor progress in learning English. To add to the lads' bewilderment in trying to grasp this strange language, their teachers sported a wide range of accents and spoke a number of different dialects. Cockney slang words, such as "kid" for child and "grub" for food, were surprising additions to the boys' slowly expanding vocabularies, while a few choice Scots terms increased the confusion. Waller's services as interpreter were sorely missed, as he alone was able to communicate with the Africans in the local Manganya language. (96)

Quite apart from these language difficulties, though, the boys were unhappy in their new environment. Far from their country they missed their own people, they disliked the cold misty climate, and they did not readily conform to the discipline of a boarding school. (97)

The missionaries, besides instructing these reluctant schoolboys, had few opportunities for extending the Church's work. The station, perched on top of the mountain, was too far removed from the local inhabitants. Add to this the unhealthy damp weather and it is not surprising that after a stay of only three months, Tozer decided that the site was untenable for the Mission's permanent headquarters. He resolved to withdraw from the Zambesi altogether and find a fresh starting point from which to penetrate the interior. (98)

Tozer wrote to Gray at the end of 1863 to inform the Bishop of Cape Town of his decision and to request that arrangements be

made with the Royal Navy to fetch his party. (99) Justifying his decision, Tozer told Gray that with the exception of the boys, the Mission had no commitments at the new station. He argued that it would be better to leave now rather than commence work which would probably have to be abandoned in a few years' time. The boys, who were the Mission's special charge, would accompany the party to the Cape. (100)

The Failure of Gray's Promised Link with Central Africa

Bishop Gray was understandably bitterly disappointed to receive Tozer's news. Not only did it signify the failure of the Universities Mission but it also represented the collapse of his grandiose scheme for Zonnebloem. He had set off with a vision and a promise to the British public to educate the sons of Central African chiefs at the Kafir College. He had obtained money for Zonnebloem on the understanding that it would be used for this cause, so eliciting a sympathetic and financially rewarding response. Now, instead of receiving the sons of influential chiefs into the College, it seemed that Gray was to be saddled with a bunch of homeless orphan boys whose present maintenance was problematical and whose future was uncertain.

It becomes very clear in this episode that Gray's concern was less for the conversion of individuals but rather with the pragmatism directed towards the conversion of tribes as a whole. He had no intention of dissipating his slender resources on refugees who had no important political connections and no means of support. Although he agreed to take some of the Zambesi lads into the Institution, (101) he insisted that the S.P.G. must take responsibility for their welfare. Writing to the Bishop of Oxford, to tell him the latest news and explain his position, Gray said :

It seems that the Bishop (Tozer) means to bring perhaps 20 boys down here - and poor Waller and several women and girls. Both will wish me to take them into my College, and I cannot refuse. But how are they to be maintained ? I have not the means of supporting them. I can barely get on as it is, and must not risk the permanent existence of the College.

And what is to become of these children, if we permanently abandon their country. We ought only to educate the children of races to whom we send missions; or the children of great Chiefs. An African of no weight or influence in his tribe, could not stand alone against all the evils around him, unless encouraged and supported by the presence of Europeans. I will do whatever the

Committee (of the S.P.G.) wishes about these children
but I cannot myself bear the cost of maintaining them.
(102)

The arrival of the Zambesi contingent at the Cape was awaited with some apprehension. But as 1864 wore on and there was still no sign of the newcomers, Gray finally wrote to Waller for news of the party. It is evident that Gray's sympathies were with this missionary, who had shown such loyalty to the Central African cause if not to his new leader, rather than with Tozer, who had ordered the abandonment of the Mission without showing any fight whatsoever.

Gray, desperate to resurrect at least part of his shattered scheme, concentrated his last hopes on the intrepid Waller.

I have thought, he told Waller, that the fact that you enjoyed such health in Central Africa, - have taken so deep an interest in these people, have been mixed up with them, - might be a providential indication that you had a further work to do. (103)

Gray had concocted a new plan which had the approval of both Glover and the Dean. He had decided that if Waller were ordained, he could be returned to the Zambesi with some of the Central African lads, to take up the suspended work there. The Bishop suggested that Waller should become a candidate for Holy Orders and be Curate to the Warden of Zonnebloem, filling the vacant post at Papendorp. (104) At the same time, the lads could be trained at the Kafir College as catechists. Albeit this was but a shadow of Gray's previous scheme, it would at least secure a tenuous link with Central Africa. But it, too, came to nothing.

The Central African Party is Evacuated to Cape Town

Meanwhile the final act of the drama on the Zambesi was reaching its climax. When the schoolboys learnt that the Mission was to be evacuated, a number of them resolved to return to their own country. Tozer, puzzled and disappointed by their reaction, nevertheless realized that it would be wrong to restrain them and allowed six to return home.

Livingstone was furious when he learnt of this development. Distraught at seeing his grand design for Central Africa disintegrate, he held Tozer entirely responsible for the failure of the Universities Mission. Determined to salvage something from the wreckage of his scheme, Livingstone demanded that the remaining boys be

handed over to him, claiming them as his right for he had liberated most of them in his first brush with the slavers. Tozer was only too glad to be relieved of this responsibility as he was in a tight spot. He could not abandon the boys, and yet he was too honest to smuggle them out of the country without passports, against the wishes of the Portuguese authorities. (105)

Livingstone, with Waller's help, managed to hide the women and children on board the "Pioneer" and spirit them safely away to Mozambique. Once there the refugees, with the exception of a couple of lads who accompanied Livingstone to Bombay, were transferred to two ships of the Royal Navy and set sail for Cape Town with the rest of the Mission party. (106)

On reaching their destination most of the Zambesians were lodged at Zonnebloem, where they awaited a decision on their future. (107) Lengthy discussions took place as different propositions for a new field of operation were considered. Gray favoured entering the Zulu country and working up to the Zambesi from the south. The advantage of this starting point was that the Mission would not be isolated for it would be connected with the chain of Anglican stations that already extended up the east coast. (108) Tozer, perhaps anxious to retain his independence, overruled Gray's suggestion and selected Mozambique for his new base. But the Missionary Bishop left for Zanzibar with only a handful of helpers. The majority of the Zambesians, debilitated by illness, had had enough of Africa and chose to return to England. (109)

Homes were found in Cape Town for all but twenty-one of the Central African children. The fate of the only girl in the group, Anne Daoma, was followed by the British public with avid interest for her story had moved them greatly. She had been rescued from the battlefield by Mackenzie during one of the missionaries' "Slave Wars" with the Ajawa. The Bishop had become a hero as a result of his feat in carrying the little girl the long distance home on his shoulders. Waller had taken her under his wing after Mackenzie's death, and had insisted on bringing her to the Cape. A place was found for her at the St. George's Orphanage, the first girl of colour to be admitted to the institution. (110) Anne was five years old when she entered the orphanage in 1864. She remained there, first as a pupil and then later as a teacher, until her death in 1937. (111)

Waller made sure that the refugee boys were taken equally well care of. (112) Most of them were adopted by coloured families in Lightfoot's congregation and were apprenticed to masters in various trades. (113) A select group of four were accepted by Zonnebloem, entering the College in September 1864. They were among the few pupils at the school who were not the children of chiefs or councillors. They did not remain long at Zonnebloem, though, probably because there were no means forthcoming for their support. A cryptic entry in the College register states that Vinyana and Kaena went "into service" the following year. (114)

A number of the Central African boys returned to their native country of Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1875. They had received sufficient education to be recruited as catechists for the Livingstone Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland. (115) There is no record to show that any of the Zonnebloem boys returned to serve their people as members of this group, which took over the work abandoned by the Anglicans many years earlier.

The failure of the Universities Mission to open up Central Africa was not only a failure of the Church but also a failure of a money-spinning vision, for there had been magic in the Zambesi venture which had drawn money from the British pocket. For Bishop Gray, it also meant the fiasco of the promised link with the Kafir College.

9. A Proposed Marriage Link is Rejected by a Tribe

The Marriage Prospects of a Ngqika Princess

Emma Sandile, the daughter of the Paramount Chief of the Ngqika tribe, was a much prized possession of her father's. Because she was a maiden of royal blood, the chief was entitled to receive a large "lobola" as her bride price. Such a payment of cattle on her marriage would be a welcome addition to Sandile's depleted fortune. He was feeling the pinch under British rule for he now had to make do with a modest Government pension and could no longer replenish his herd through the traditional levying of tribal fines in cattle.

During the time that the Ngqika princess was at school in Cape Town, the question of Emma's marriage was a recurring subject for dispute between her father and her European guardians. Sir George Grey recorded the information that when Sandile agreed to allow his daughter to be educated at the Kafir College, the Governor tried

to bargain with the chief for Emma's right to choose her future husband. Sir George's account of his negotiations with Sandile seem rather fanciful to us, but the episode must have been founded on a certain amount of fact. The story, preserved amongst Grey's papers in the Auckland Public Library, is retold by one of Sir George's biographers as follows :

Grey had a horse called Thunderbolt, which Sandilli was anxious to buy, and he urged his petition till at last the Governor propounded a bargain. 'Place Emma on Thunderbolt behind me, give us a short start, and then let two hundred of your best warriors pursue us on their fleetest horses. If they should catch us, then Thunderbolt is yours, and Emma shall do your bidding. If not, then you lose both, and Emma is free to marry the man she loves'.

Sandilli became thoughtful, and at first assented, but afterwards his mind reverted to the 50 head of cattle (for which she would be given in marriage), and he wondered too what the paramount chief of Kaffirland might think. At last the offer was declined, and 'we parted company - I to mount on Thunderbolt, Sandilli to return to calculate what chief was likely to give the highest price for gentle Emma, who if I'd had my way, should have chosen her own lover'.(116)

Over the years, Sandile had been approached by a succession of suitors, who were eager to marry his daughter. The chief, lured by their attractive offers, had made a number of attempts to have Emma returned to him. But her guardians, who abhorred the idea of this Christian girl being disposed of to a heathen husband, had refused to hand her over to her father.

We have seen how, in 1863, Sandile had wanted to dispose of Emma to a neighbouring chief for sixty head of cattle, and how Bishop Gray had managed to stave off Sandile's demands for his daughter by claiming for her the rights of a British subject. But this move had placed the Government in an embarrassing position as regards relations with the chief. Consequently, Wodehouse had let it be known that a repetition of such an incident must be avoided at all costs.

It was palpably clear that the Ngqika princess, who was then in her sixth year at the Kafir College, could not be kept there much longer. Apart from the political complications arising from her continued presence in Cape Town, Emma was twenty-two years old and her father had every right to want to see her married. Bishop Gray, on the other hand, was determined not to part with his protegee until a suitable husband had been found for her.

Emma's guardians were, therefore, very relieved when a negotiation was set on foot for her on behalf of Qeya, the heir to the Tambookie chieftainship. Qeya had just come of age and was said to be "an interesting young man". (117) Although he was a heathen, he had received a certain amount of religious instruction over the years and was thought to be a ready convert. In 1861 he had spent a few weeks with the missionary at Clarkbury, an outstation in the new Bashee missionary district in Independent Kaffraria. He had intended to remain there and go to school, but his plans had been foiled by his people. The tribe had not been agreeable to this arrangement and had recalled the young chief home. Despite this setback, Qeya had stayed in touch with the Church and had shown that he wanted to learn more about the faith. (118)

Wodehouse and Gray both considered the proposed match to be highly desirable. The Governor believed that such an alliance could be of great political significance seeing that the young woman was a loyal British subject. While the Bishop hoped that the Christian princess "might be the means of winning a whole people unto God". (119) Nevertheless it was agreed that Emma should be allowed to meet Qeya and make her own decision.

Emma Leaves Zonnebloem

Emma left Zonnebloem at the beginning of 1864. The College had been her home for six years and, excited as she was about the prospects of her life ahead, the parting from her friends and mentors was a great wrench for the girl. The Church authorities were determined to continue with their guardianship of Emma until such time as her future was secure, and so she was transferred to the care of the Bishop of Grahamstown. Even though she was kept busily occupied in her new abode, during the weeks of waiting for the all important meeting with her suitor, she still grieved for the loved ones she had left behind her at the Cape.

Emma's homesickness is very evident in the numerous letters which she wrote at this time to Bishop Gray and her former teacher, Miss Smart. These two people had been Father and Mother to the girl, and she communicated her thoughts and feelings to them without any restraint. This correspondence is of particular value in that it gives us a deep insight into the effects of Emma's education. She was filled with gratitude for the opportunities that had been given her and the loving care which had been bestowed on her.

Writing to Bishop Gray, soon after her arrival in Grahamstown, she said :

I write to you as a child to her parents and I am sure I need not called you any other way but my father. I have been brought under your care, and was Baptized and Confirmed by your own hands. I am sure I am almost in great hope that although I am not near you now still you could do anything for anybody nor matter who they are you show your kindness to them even to us black boys and girls, really my Lord your kindness to me has been more than my own father would do to me, and when I think that perhaps I shall see you no more in this world, it reminds me of those words which you spoke in the day of our Confirmation and when you turn round and said to you my child who going back to your own country among the heathens. I could cry now only because I am afraid I should perhaps never see you again both you and Mrs. Gray. She is king hearted and if you be kind enough to give my love to the young ladies (Gray's daughters) and tell them that I take great pride in them I am not forgotten them yet and I hope I never will. (120)

Emma's other letters to the Bishop were written in the same vein. Gray was delighted that she had kept her promise to stay in touch with him. He made a point of forwarding the correspondence to the S.P.G., for this was tangible proof to show the Society that Zonnebloem was realizing its purpose. He excused the lapses in Emma's grammar, by saing : "She came to us about 16 years old which accounts for her not having thoroughly mastered the English language ... but a few years ago that child was a naked savage". (121)

Despite Emma's professed intention to be a credit to her Christian upbringing on her return home, Gray yet feared that she might easily be led astray by her countrymen. Describing her as "a good and amiable girl, but not very clever", he regretted that she had not more strength of character. (122) Determined to stand by his protegee in her time of testing, Gray wrote warning her of the many temptations that lay in store for her. But Emma, confident that she would not falter, was quick to reassure him of her resolve. After asking the Bishop for his blessing and prayers, she then went on to say :

I am sorry my Lord to be away from you and I know that you are very much put about me, because I might do as my countrymen are as you say in your kind letter and do as they do, because they know not the word of God which is the bread of our souls Oh ! it is a blessing indeed to know the way of salvation and do

those things that are pleasing in the side of God
 who by his great Mercy gave us his only son Jesus
 Christ to die for the whole world that whosoever
 believeth on Him shall never die but have everlasting
 life. (123)

Emma added the request that her brother Edmund, who was still at Zonnebloem, might be baptized - "because I should like him to be". (124) Besides which, Bishop Gray was pleased to be able to tell the S.P.G. that the long letters which Sandile's daughter wrote to Hester Ngece, her schoolmate who had remained at the College, were also written in a religious strain, though very simply. (125)

But Emma did not only concern herself with serious subjects. She was eager for tidings of her friends at the Cape and her letters were peppered with inquiries about their welfare. She wanted news of her other foster parents, the Glovers, and always remembered to ask the Bishop about "the ladies" - "I don't mean every lady in the land which could be found but those I know in your place and in Zonnebloem". (126)

Even the cat which Emma had had to leave behind her, was not forgotten. She had been most concerned to learn that it had been sick and she asked Miss Smart to be sure to give it away to someone who would be kind to it. The Kafir girl's letters to her old teacher, whom she addressed as Mother, were mostly concerned with more intimate matters. She welcomed this opportunity to confide her hopes and plans for the future, as well as to recount the highlights of her doings in Grahamstown. (127) And what a whirl of social activity her new life was. A strange contrast to the ordered routine of her schooldays at the Kafir College. Not surprisingly her homesickness for Zonnebloem was soon a thing of the past.

Emma's New Life

The likelihood that Emma would be betrothed to an influential young chief made her a person of some importance, and she thoroughly enjoyed her new role. She was the centre of much attention in Grahamstown both in Church circles and amongst her countrymen, who came from far and wide to see their princess. Her only study was daily music lessons on the Seraphine. Apart from attending worship regularly, her time was taken up with receiving visitors. (128)

Bishop Cotterill and his wife were very kind to their young guest. (129) They gave Emma a brand new wardrobe of clothes and she delighted in being decked out in this finery after having endured

the many years at Zonnebloem of being drabbly dressed.

I have got so smart since you saw me, (she told Miss Smart with obvious glee), I have golden earrings in my ears, crochet lace around my petticoats, high heel boots, a net and ribbon on my head, but I hope I shall never be proud although they like to see me dressed nicely yet they always tell me that dress must not make me vain. (130)

When the Ngqika tribesmen learnt that Sandile's daughter had returned from the Cape, they came flocking to the Frontier town to greet her. Emma, holding court amongst them, revelled in her new status.

I am glad to see my friends again, (she confided to Bishop Gray). They come in numbers almost every day to see me and the Bishop allows them to come Man and woman you can see them coming up and then they all sit down on the grass, and I must go round and shake hands with them and you can see them put their hands in their mouths saying how fat you are, what makes you fat ? and to let me sit down no they like to see me stand all the while and when they goes away then they all kiss my hand. (131)

Although Emma was elated by the impact of her new image, her people could not reconcile themselves to her Western style of dress and expressed their concern. But the girl was merely amused, saying :

And what do you think my friends want me to do, to put a handchief round my head because they say I look better than nothing at all, I told them that I dont want it round my head because I am not used to it now, and I am sure when ever they comes they say the same thing and I don't know what to do !! Oh : but they do make me laugh. (132)

But while Emma was having a good time in Grahamstown, Bishop Gray was fretting to know the outcome of her meeting with her suitor. So much was at stake for the Church and the Government. The Bishop asked Emma to inform him immediately of what transpired and not to keep anything from him. Surprised at his apparent doubts about her, she replied :

I look upon you as a father and a child, I am not ashamed to write to you or afraid to say anything because I don't see why I should hid it from you, a dear parent to me like you I would in pleasure write to you when I have seen Qeya but I have not seen him yet. (133)

Emma Meets her Suitor

It was arranged that the young couple would meet at the house of

the Civil Commissioner in King William's Town. Emma would then have the opportunity of making her decision. Bishop Gray had given her strict instructions that if she decided to accept the chief's proposal, she must first secure his promise that he would seek baptism and take her as his only wife.

If the betrothal were settled, Bishop Cotterill had offered to marry the couple and help Emma to start a school at her new home. She was assured, though, that if the match fell through, she would be free. She could depend on at least a small income of £46 a year from the farm which Sir George Grey had granted her. (134)

At last the weeks of waiting were through. Emma and Qeya met in March. It was love at first sight. In fulfilment of her promise to Bishop Gray, Emma wrote at once to give him the good news : "I have seen the young chief, he is very tall and fine looking young man, we both fell in love with each other and the marriage is going to take place". (135)

Emma was more outspoken in her letter to Miss Smart, going into raptures about her betrothed : "Oh ! how I wish you could be here and see him take my hand and kiss it, and I love him to, I am sure you would like him if you were to see him, you would be quiet amused with him". (136)

Wedding Plans

The Bishops concerned rejoiced at the turn of events. The only complication being that although it was to be a Christian wedding, Qeya insisted that his friend, the Rev. Hargreaves, should perform the ceremony. (137) Realizing that Bishop Gray would be disappointed that she was not going to be married by an Anglican clergyman, Emma wrote to reassure him of her continued loyalty to the Church. Explaining the wedding arrangements, she said :

I thought it better for me to submit to him, as we are to be man and wife, and the marriage is to be soon, if there is nothing to prevent it and after we are married he is going to take me down with him, and I hope that your prayers will never cease for me and for him as well as we are both to be your children.
(138)

Justifying her decision to Miss Smart, Emma reasoned that she could not do anything but submit. Her future happiness depended on her husband. She thought it right to try and please him in everything that was not wrong. Furthermore, no one had tried to

change her Faith. (139)

Preparations for the wedding proceeded apace. The coming event caused quite a stir in the local community, Mr. and Mrs. Brownlee and the Rev. Tiyo Soga all promising to attend. (140)

The Governor Approves the Proposed Match

Wodehouse, who was visiting Independent Kaffraria at this time, (141) was only too pleased to sanction the proposed match and he did all in his power to promote its happy consummation. He gave it his official blessing in public by taking Emma with him to a gathering of the Tambookie tribe at their Glen Grey location. The Governor commanded that the Ngqika princess should be at his side during the grand parade and together they witnessed the impressive sight of 3000 mounted tribesmen filing past in regular order. (142) Emma took all this flattering attention in her stride, judging by her account of the Governor's visit to Miss Smart :

I saw more Kaffirs on that day than I ever seen in my life they all came on horseback to salute the Governor, the young chief Qeya was here also and the Governor was very much pleased with him and the Governor congratulated me on the conquest I had made and kindly promised to furnish our house for us and he told me that whatever I needed he would grant it to me and the Governor also said how much I have grown and how nice I looked. (143)

Wodehouse was most impressed with the young couple. Their exemplary conduct at the tribal gathering promised well for the future. He considered that this alliance could result in a significant breakthrough for the Government. Wodehouse wrote at once to Bishop Gray to inform him of the latest developments and to assure him that everything was proceeding according to plan. The Governor, who had left Emma at the Tambookie location, said of her :

She was perfectly happy and contented as far as can be seen with the best possible reasons for being so He is an exceedingly fine young fellow with an excellent expression of face - unusually well spoken of - much pleased with her - anxious to be married soon - meaning to build her a decent home and to treat her in a civilized manner altogether. She is herself much improved in appearance, apparently grown, and with all due respects to Zonnebloem, far better dressed than ever she was before. I told her that Queen as she was going to be, she would probably never see a greater gathering of her subjects together again. (144)

Bishop Gray's Aspirations

Bishop Gray was as optimistic as Wodehouse about the possible con-

sequences of this match. "It may have an important influence on our Lord's kingdom in Africa", he told the S.P.G..(145) Emma would be the connecting link with the future leader of a powerful tribe. Through her the Church might enter a key mission field. It would be a triumph for Zonnebloem.

Gray also realized that through Emma, the Governor had at last come to appreciate the benefits that could accrue to the State from educating chiefs' daughters. The Bishop decided to strike while the iron was hot and asked Wodehouse to send him some more girls from the Frontier. (146) It was a long chance seeing that it would mean the reversal of the Governor's policy regarding Zonnebloem. Nothing came of the request.

Bishop Gray's scheming knew no bounds. Now that Emma was circulating amongst her countrymen he thought it a golden opportunity for her to find her ex-handmaid Hester a suitable husband. Emma, however, was not in a position to matchmake. Apologizing to her "Father", she told him that she would not be able to find a chief for her schoolfriend, nor did she know if there was a suitable one. (147)

The Tambookie Tribe Forbids the Marriage

Poor Emma. Even as she was preparing for a future of fame and fortune, with a handsome young chief whom she loved at her side, her high hopes were dashed to the ground by the decision of the Tambookie tribe. No matter that the match had the backing of Church and Government. Qeya's people had the last say, and they refused to accept the conditions exacted by a Christian marriage.

Qeya had bound himself to keep only one wife. His promise to Emma had been supported by a number of his tribe's leaders. He had not anticipated opposition from his people. But the whole Tambookie Nation assembled together and positively forbade the marriage on such conditions. They said that they liked Emma very much, and that it was right and proper that the daughter of Sandile should become the great wife of Qeya - a conciliatory offer seeing that a chief's first wife was not usually chosen for this position. But they insisted that the heir to the chieftainship must have little wives also, to make sure of plenty of the royal seed. (148)

Try as Qeya might, he was not able to overcome his tribe's opposition. Even though the Tambookies were said to be half-

Christianized, (149) traditional custom refused to make way for Western custom. The upshot was that Qeya eventually yielded to the all powerful "Voice" of his people and decided "on doing as his fathers did before him". (150) He married a heathen daughter of Kreli soon afterwards. (151)

Warner, the Government Agent at the Tambookie location at Glen Grey, was deeply involved in the upset. Acting on Emma's behalf, he did his best to try and reach a satisfactory arrangement with the tribal spokesmen. But to no avail. Explaining the situation to the S.P.G., he said :

I can't possibly become a consenting partner to her having him on such conditions and I am only now waiting for the Governor's instructions as to whose care I am to consign her. It is a great mercy that all this has come to light before the marriage was consummated. (152)

Warner spoke highly of Qeya's honourable conduct. The poor fellow had genuinely loved Emma and was miserable at what had happened. He could so easily have concealed the facts of his tribe's demands until after the ceremony.

Qeya's failure to flout tradition, and his subsequent return to heathenism and polygamy, was a bitter disappointment to both the Colonial and Church authorities, not to mention his jilted fiancée. The Government Agent, disillusioned by the debacle, gave it as his opinion that -

it really does appear, humanly speaking, impossible for a first Class Kafir Chief, either to become Civilized or to embrace Christianity Accomodating the words of Scripture to their case, we can say, it is easier for a convert to go through the eye of a needle, than for a Kafir Chief to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. (153)

As for Sandile, he was furious about the marriage being called off. He blamed himself for allowing the conditions of Christianity to determine the negotiations. Not only had Emma's chances of a most desirable union been wrecked, but he had also lost the "lobola". The chief felt cheated of his due and complained : "I gave up my eldest daughter, my first-born child. I consented to let her be married against the customs of my father, and now she is lost to me". (154)

Sandile had learnt his lesson. When his favourite daughter, the crown princess Victoria, (155) received a proposal of marriage from a young Pondo chief, (156) soon afterwards, he laid down the law. This time he had no intention of letting the "lobola", of one hundred cattle, slip through his fingers. (157) Although the couple were

both Christians, Sandile would only give his consent on condition that they were first married according to the traditional tribal ceremony. He grudgingly agreed to allow a Christian ceremony to follow on afterwards. (158)

Emma Takes up Teaching

After the collapse of Emma's marriage plans, the Governor asked Bishop Gray to find her a suitable post. The lovelorn girl was whisked away from the Tambookie location forthwith and consigned once more to the Church's care. Arrangements were made with Bishop Cotterill for her to take up a position as a teacher at St. Philip's Mission at Grahamstown. (159)

What a come-down Emma's new situation was, though, compared with her recent expectations. Without prestigious marriage prospects, the chief's daughter was no longer the darling of Frontier Society. Instead of being Queen of a powerful tribe, she had to reconcile herself to a life of drabness and drudgery where dedication, not rank, ruled the day.

On her arrival at St. Philip's, the priest-in-charge expressed the pious hope that the Ngqika princess might be a blessing to her countrymen and prove to be an acquisition to the Mission staff. (160) She was given charge of the Infant and Sewing schools as well as having duties in the other sections of the school. Two rooms were built for her at the side of the Mission house. Her salary, provided by the S.P.G., was £4 a month. (161)

Despite her good intentions to serve the Church faithfully, Emma did not last long at her job. Perhaps she found that she had no vocation for the work, perhaps she had been unsettled by all the excitement of her short engagement, perhaps Sandile insisted that it was time that his daughter came home and got married. Whatever the reason, Emma left St. Philip's early in 1867, having been a teacher for little more than a year. Her downward course was swift after then.

Emma Returns to "the Red Clay"

Not much is known about Emma's life after she left Grahamstown. Once she had gained her independence, she went back to live in her homeland and quietly faded from the scene of civilization. It appears that she stayed for a time with Mr. Brownlee in British Kaffraria because the Ngqika Commissioner wrote to Wodehouse asking

that he be refunded for the expenses incurred in her transport and maintenance. (162) Fortunately for the Government they did not have Emma on their hands for long as she got married. Her match to a minor Thembu chief, however, was something of an anti-climax after her previous prospects. (163)

Emma's husband, Chief Stokwe, was a heathen. Much as Bishop Gray had feared, the Ngqika princess did not have sufficient strength of character to withstand the pressures of traditional tribal custom. At any rate, not alone and unaided. She soon lapsed into heathenism. Emma's return to "the red clay" was duly reported to the founders of the Kafir College by a fellow tribesman who had been at school with her at the Cape. (164)

Bishop Gray had held such high hopes that this educated daughter of the influential Chief Sandile, the first girl to complete her training at Zonnebloem, might be instrumental in furthering the work of the Church amongst her countrymen. Instead of which, Emma, either unable, or unwilling, to put the fruits of her education into practice, turned her back on Christianity and civilization. But she was not completely forgotten by the Church. We know for a fact that the Rev. Waters tried to renew contact with her in 1877. The missionary from St. Mark's was on his way to the Upper Tsomo. He made a detour through the valley where Chief Stokwe lived with the special intention of seeing Emma. The visit was unsuccessful, though, for she was not at home. (165) As far as we know, Emma made no attempt to return to the Church's fold.

It is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened if the Church had allowed such a well disposed chief as Qeya to marry a Christian wife, and had not been too idealistic in setting too high demands. By accepting compromising conditions, the Church might at least have used Emma to gain some ground. Instead of which, the connecting link with the chief's daughter was severed as a result of the Victorians' inflexible moral standpoint. We must bear in mind that polygamy still remains an unsolved problem in the Church to-day, more than one hundred years later. (166)

Evaluation

Although many of Bishop Gray's proposed connecting links did

materialize, our profiles of Zonnebloem students have shown that there were also quite a number that fell through. It might appear, therefore, that Gray's vision of Zonnebloem's purpose was an ephemeral dream with no practical application. This was not the case, however.

Gray believed that because he had the necessary machinery at the Kafir..College for educating the children of African chiefs, the Institution should extend its scope as far and as wide as was feasible, so fulfilling all possible objectives. The connecting links that had failed were actually only isolated instances of the Bishop's more extravagant intentions. They had been valuable in providing Zonnebloem with publicity which had stimulated financial aid. The fact that they had aborted merely meant that the College's scope had been limited.

The solid work of Zonnebloem still continued. The College's main objective was to train influential African youths as catechists and teachers, so that they might take the benefits of Christianity and civilization to their people. By 1864, some of the first batch of chiefs' sons had completed their education and were ready to return home. In following the careers of these evangelists, we must remember that they were the products of Zonnebloem's early years when the College was still finding its feet as an educational institution. At that time, the mere fact that the African pupils had acquired some sort of Christian education was considered to be ample justification for the effort and expense involved in their training, and cause for rejoicing by the school's supporters. We shall see that as the standard of education improved over the years, so were the graduates expected to achieve more ambitious results.

Once Zonnebloem had been classed as a Native Industrial Frontier Institution, it came under the surveillance of the Superintendent-General of Education. This meant that the school now had to meet the Government's educational requirements, the students having to attain certain prescribed standards of academic competence. Consequently they were able to gain certificates as teachers and catechists. The first group to qualify graduated from Zonnebloem in 1869. They were posted to mission schools in their homelands and we shall make a detailed study of their subsequent careers.

The last section of this thesis, therefore, is concerned with

the case histories of both the pioneer evangelists and the first qualified teachers. We shall also trace the development of Zonnebloem in its new guise as a State-aided Institution. This will bring our study of the Kafir College up to 1870, so concluding the period under discussion. An evaluation will be made of the education provided at Zonnebloem during the 1860's as well as the fruits of this education, during the course of the concluding chapters.

University of Cape Town

1. Mutwa, op.cit., 294.
2. Gray to Wodehouse, 9.8.1863, LB8:338.
3. Visitation Charge of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, delivered at St. George's Cathedral, 16.1.1861: 23f.
4. Ibid.
5. Statement on the Institution for the Education of the children of African chiefs and others at Capetown, 6.9.1862. Substance of the Speech which Bishop Gray delivered in many parts of England during 1862 and 1863 - Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA.
6. Gray to Bullock, 19.1.1863, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867, 825, USPGA.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Statement on the Institution, 6.9.1862, Bishops court Record Book, cclii, BA.
10. Report of the Board of Public Examiners in Literature and Science, 1867 - 1868, C15-'68: 49.
11. Gray to Bullock, 16.9. 1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7, 1850 - 1859, Cape and Grahamstown : 1125, USPGA.
12. Report of the Superintendent-General of Education on Industrial Institutions and Schools, Cape Town, 1864 : 10. Quoted in E.H. Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day TPretoria : Schaik, 192 7, 2nd revised ed.) 451.
13. The Rev. Robertson established a mission at Kwa Magwaza, Zululand in 1860.
14. Robertson to Miss Anne Mackenzie, n.d., A. Mackenzie, Mission Life among the Zulu-Kafirs (London : Benrose, 1875, 2nd ed.) 67.
15. The Rev. Newman, late Dean of Cape Town, wrote to the S.P.G. in 1862, asking that missions should be established in the Native Reserves and beyond - "a district from about 30 S Latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn, which the Church is not seeking out but has political and ecclesiastical importance". This area would include the Free State and what is now the Transvaal, and would join up with the Zambesi Mission District, which was planned to extend southwards. His reason for urging the Church to fill up this opening was because "some of the sons of the Chiefs of these tribes ... are at the Bishop's College at Zonnebloem". He maintained that the Church, with the S.P.G.'s aid, was duty bound to consolidate the link which had been forged with the native pupils' fathers - Newman to Hawkins, 26.6.1862, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867, No. 792, USPGA.
16. The Diocese of the Orange Free State was founded in 1863 with Bishop Twells at the head - Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 75 et seq. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 394 et seq.
17. Gray to Hawkins, 13.2.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867 : 965, USPGA.

18. Ibid.
19. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 458.
20. In a letter to Sir George Grey, written at the White Bergen Native Reserve, Tsekelo gave the Governor secret information about gun-running in Basutoland and told of some of the Basuto chiefs' schemes to fight the English and steal cattle, with Moshesh's connivance. According to Tsekelo, he had fled the country and sought shelter in Kaffraria after his brother Letsie had threatened to kill him (they were rivals for a widow's affections). He asked Sir George for protection, and for work - Tsekelo Moshesh to Grey, 3.3. 1861, GH 23/28, CA.
21. Becker, op.cit., 237 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:443.
22. Gray to Orpen, 4.1.1862, LB8:180. Basutoland was eventually annexed by Britain in 1868. One result of the Basutos becoming British subjects was that a succession of chief's and councillor's sons were sent to Zonnebloem. Government regulations finally put an end to this tradition in the 1910's.
23. Gray to Moshesh, 4.1.1862, LB8:180.
24. Ibid.
25. Gray to Hawkins, 18.4.1861, LB8:82, "Basutoland", 200 Years of S.P.G., 325; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 458.
26. Bishop Twells' Journal, 26.9.1863, BM, 1863, 1:25f.
27. Becker, op.cit., 279f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:335.
28. TN, 1.6.1872, 81 et seq.
29. Gray to Moshesh, 4.1.1862, LB8:180.
30. TN, 1.6.1872, 85.
31. Twells described the Chief's appearance at their meeting - "Moshesh wore a semi-military suit, with an embroidered cap. He wore earrings and carried the common Basuto 'skin-scraper' of metal, and also a red pocket-handkerchief, which he flourished about as he talked". Twells' Journal, 26.9.1863, BM, 1863, 1:25.
32. Ibid., 24.9.1863, 1:24.
33. Ibid., 28.8.1863, 1:18.
34. Ibid., 24.9.1863, 1:24 et seq.
35. Ibid., 26.
36. Ibid., 23.
37. "The Story of My Lenten Visitation", Twells' Journal, 22.3.1864, BM, 1864, 2:13.
38. Gray to Hawkins, 18.3.1861, LB:8:82.
39. Letsie was then about 50. He succeeded his father as Paramount Chief in 1870.
40. Twells' Journal, 22.3.1864, BM, 1864, 2:12.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

43. Twells' Journal, 24.9.1863, BM, 1863, 1:24ff.
44. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 78f.
45. George Moshesh to Dean Douglas, 22.3.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867; 1041.
46. The newly founded monastic community of the Society of St. Augustine settled at Modderpoort in the Free State in 1867. They were not far from the Basutoland border and they made every effort to hold more frequent services in some of the magistracies of the country - See-Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 140f; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 401ff. Direct Anglican mission work in Basutoland was not begun until 1876. The S.P.G. gave a special grant and two priests were appointed, being stationed in the Leribe district for a start. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 458ff.
41. The chiefs had the power either to promote or to block the Church's work. Father F.M. Downton, an Anglican clergyman, commented as late as 1905 that : "In Basutoland the power of the chiefs is still considerable and still conservative. They welcome missionaries but do not join the Church themselves" - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 459.
48. Sermon preached by the Warden at the Memorial Service to Jeremiah Moshesh at St. Augustine's, 8.10.1863, SAOP, 1865.
49. Boggis, op.cit., 193; SAOP, 21.9.1863, No. 72.
50. Warden's Sermon, 8.10.1863, SAOP, 1865.
51. SAOP, 21.9.1863, No. 72.
52. Ibid.
53. Boggis, op.cit., 193; Warden's Sermon, 8.10.1863, SAOP, 1865.
54. SAOP, 21.9.1863, No. 72.
55. The Conversion of the first black African. Acts of the Apostles, ch. 8. verses 26-40.
56. The inscription on the Tombstone reads : "In Memory of Jeremiah Lebopoua Moshueshue, Son of Moshueshue King of the Basutos, S. Africa. Student of St. Augustine's College who died Aug. 26th, 1863. Aged 23 Years. 'Ye are all one in Christ Jesus'". Quoted by C. Jobson, "A Memorial to a Basuto Prince is a feature of Welshampton Church". Date and newspaper in which it appeared are unknown.
The inscription under the Memorial window reads : "In Memory of Jeremiah Lebopoua Moshoeshoe, son of Moshesh, Paramount Chief of Basuto Land, S. Africa, and late Student of the Hereford Missionary Studentship Association at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. He departed this life August 26th, 1863. Aged 24 years". Note discrepancy in stating his age.
57. Jeremiah's death in England is still remembered by his family to-day. See Chief Azarias Theko Maama Letsie (student at Zonnebloem, 1915-1917) to J. Hodgson, 4.10.1972, in which the chief wrote : "Moshoeshoe's Junior sons ... one in particular was picked out to have possessed a Talent in his subjects that he was sent to U.K where his remains (Bones) lie in the Cemetery at Hamptonshire by name of Jeremiah Moshoeshoe. The Tomb-stone shows the Inscription on Black-Marble".

58 Dautrè to Glover, 15.7.1863, ZP.

59. The Rev. Mabilie believed that the French missionaries should train their Basuto evangelists, teachers and ministers, to serve not only their own people but the tribes in the interior as well. The training school which he started in his home was later taken over by the Paris Evangelical Society Conference and eventually became a Normal School - D.F. Ellenberger and C.J. Macgregor, History of the Basuto. Ancient and Modern (London : Caxton, 1912) 118 and 128.

60 Dautrè to Glover, 15.7.1863, ZP.

61. "Robert Moffat and the Bechuana Mission", Du Plessis, **2a.** cit., ch.17.

62. Civil Commissioner at Hope Town to Glover, 29.3.1864, ZP.

63. 24.3.1864, Entry in Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.

64. Gray to Gerald, 25.1.1863, ZP.

65. A. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 221.

66. "Zululand" 200 Years of S.P.G., 337 et seq.

67. A. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 161.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 98ff.

70. Ibid., 158.

71. "Zululand", 200 Years of S.P.G., 339.

72. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7, 1850 to 1869, Cape and Grahamstown : 1215, USPGA; Bishop of Cape Town's Special Fund, May 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1271, USPGA; C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:168.

73. Gray to Lieutenant Governor of Natal, 11.8.1864, LB9:130.

74. Ibid.

75. Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP. Two of the boys spent a year at Zonnebloem, leaving on September 28, 1865. Robert and Louis Umnini remained at the College until Feb. 21, 1876.

76. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1215, US PGA.

77. Zonnebloem Accounts for 1864, Record Book, ZP.

78. Gray to Southey, 19.11.1864, LB9:174.

79. Morris, op.cit., 57ff.

80. Gray to Southey, 19.11.1864, LB9:174.

81. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:168.

82. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1215, USPGA, published in MF, March 1870, 74.

83. Bishop of Cape Town's Special Fund, May 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1271, USPGA.

84. A charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cape Town, by Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town, delivered at St. George's Cathedral, 17.1.1825: 62.

85. Gray to Wodehouse, 31.12.1865, LB9:190.
86. Ibid.
87. Address by Bishop Gray at a public meeting in Cape Town in honour of Dr. Livingstone, n.d., quoted in G. Seaver, David Livingstone : his life and letters (London : Lutterworth, 1957) 279.
- Note on the Slave Trade in Central Africa - Livingstone described it as "the open sore of the world". The trade was mainly in the hands of Arabs and half caste Portuguese, but the Africans were themselves the allies and ready agents of the slave dealers. Humans were traded for guns and powder, beads and calico, while the captives' villages were set on fire. (Livingstone's Travels, 409 et seq.) Livingstone, rather than use force to set the slaves free, attempted to barter beads and calico for ivory to stop the chiefs selling humans. (TN, 1.7.1868, 107). Some of the slaves were sold for local employment, they being used for human portage as the tsetse fly menace made animal portage too costly. Most of them, however, were exported. The women and girls were usually destined for Oriental harems, the men for employment on the American plantations. Zanzibar was the world's most important slave market in the second half of the nineteenth century. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 20:640).
88. Chadwick, op.cit., 187 et seq.
89. Ibid., 195.
90. Ibid., 196ff.
91. The dead men were Mackenzie, Burrup, Scudamore and Dickinson.
92. Chadwick, op.cit., 209f. Seeing that a number of the freed Ajawa boys comprised the only draft of Central Africans to enter Zonnebloem, it is interesting to recall their history. They were in the first group of slaves to be liberated by Livingstone. While he and the members of the first Zambesi mission party were journeying across country to Magomero, in 1861, they came across a large slave party on its way to the Portuguese settlement at Tete. The six armed African drivers fled into the forest when they caught sight of the Englishmen, deserting the long line of manacled men, women and children under their charge without firing a shot.
- The missionaries, horrified by the sickening spectacle, joyfully set to and released the 84 slaves. The women and children, who were bound neck to neck by woven bark thongs, were soon freed; but the men, who were fastened two and two together, with their necks held fast in heavy forked sticks riveted with an iron pin at both ends across the throat, had to be sawn free. They were then instructed to cook themselves a meal, and, as a symbolic act of their freedom, they were told to use the slave sticks and bonds for fuel. One bewildered little boy told Livingstone : "The others tied and starved us. You cut the ropes and tell us to eat. What sort of people are you ? Where do you come from?" (Livingstone's Travels, 238).
- Some of the slaves had been stolen, some had been sold by their relatives, while the children were nearly all orphans.

They chose to stay with the missionaries, forming the nucleus of their mission community which they established at Chibisa's kraal at Magomero.

For further details, see Chadwick, op.cit., 46 et seq.; Livingstone's Travels, 237 et seq.; "Conversion of a Liberated Slave", TN, 1.7.1868, 109.

93. Gray to Lord Bishop of Oxford, 28.1.1864, LB9:34.
94. Chadwick, op.cit., 221.
95. Anderson-Morshead, Universities Mission, 41; Chadwick, 22. cit., 217ff.
96. Chadwick, op.cit., 220ff.
97. Ibid., 230.
98. Chadwick, op.cit., 224; Tozer to Gray, 31.10.1863, BA.
99. Tozer to Gray, 31.10.1863, BA; Gray to Oxford, 28.1.1864, LB9:34; The Admiral at Simon's Bay sent the "Arial" to fetch Tozer's party.
100. Tozer to Gray, 31.10.1863, BA.
101. Gray to Waller, 16.9.1864, LB9:148.
102. Gray to Oxford, 28.1.1864, LB9:34.
103. Gray to Waller, 16.9.1864, LB9:148.
104. Ibid. The Curacy was worth £120 a year.
105. Chadwick, op.cit., 233f.
106. "The Slave Trade in Central Africa", TN, 1.7.1876, 111; Chadwick, op.cit., 235ff; H.Rowley, The Universities Mission to Central Africa (London : 1867, 2nd. ed.) 416f.
107. The Zambesians contributed £24 for their lodgings. The Universities Mission still had some funds because of the curtailment of its work. See Zonnebloem Accounts for 1865, Record Book, ZP.
108. A mission to the Ovampo's on the West Coast was rejected because the Lutherans already had an excellent mission functioning there. Gray believed that his plan to reach the Zambesi through Zulu territory would be the best way of carrying out the original design of the Universities Mission - Gray to Oxford, 28.1.1864, LB9:34.
109. "Report for 1865", Rowley, op.cit., 416f.
110. St. George's Orphanage was founded by Miss Arthur in 1862 with the intention of saving the destitute European children, whose parents had died in Africa, from being brought up as Mohammedans as had so often happened in the past. - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 106. Anne was joined by two Kafir girls from Zonnebloem a few years later, when the College's female department closed down. These girls became pupil teachers at the Orphanage.
111. Anne came from the Yao tribe. She was baptized in St. George's Cathedral, being named after her godmother, Anne Mackenzie. After receiving some schooling at the Orphanage, she became a teacher, first as Infant Mistress and then as Head Mistress of the Infant School. For further details : Anderson-Morshead, Pioneer and Founder, 133, and Universities

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96. Chadwick, op.cit., 220ff.
97. Ibid., 230.
98. Chadwick, op.cit., 224; Tozer to Gray, 31.10.1863, BA.
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- Mission, 41; Chadwick, op.cit., 237; Rowley, op.cit., 419.
112. Rowley, one of Mackenzie's men, spoke very highly of the Ajawa boys. Although he found that in their heathen state they suffered from "all the ignorance and superstition which had accrued to them from long ages of heathenism, "they were nevertheless intelligent, gentle in disposition and very susceptible of religious impressions". He maintained that they were "in most things relating to character, moral and intellectual, .. as unlike the vulgar idea of the African as can well be conceived". - Rowley, op.cit., 418f.
 113. Anderson-Morshhead, Universities Mission, 41; Rowley, op.cit., 419; "Conversion of a Liberated Slave", TN, 1.7.1868, 109.
 114. Entries for 1864 and 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
 115. Rowley, 419ff; TN, 1.7.1868, 109; "The Slave Trade in Central Africa", TN, 1.7.1876, 111.
 116. Henderson, op.cit., 283f.
 117. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers: 904, USPGA.
 118. "Bashee Mission", The Rev. Water's Journal, 29.5.1861, MF, 1.9.1861, 201.
 119. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 904, USPGA.
 120. E. Sandile to Gray, 30.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 953, USPGA.
 121. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 904, USPGA.
 122. Ibid.
 123. E. Sandile to Gray, 19.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 906, USPGA.
 124. Ibid.
 125. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 904, USPGA.
 126. E. Sandile to Gray, 19.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 906, USPGA.
 127. E. Sandile to Miss Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:2261, USPGA.
 128. Ibid.
 129. E. Sandile to Gray, 30.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 953, USPGA.
 130. E. Sandile to Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2261, USPGA.
 131. E. Sandile to Gray, 30.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 953, USPGA.
 132. E. Sandile to Gray, 19.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 907, USPGA.
 133. Ibid.

134. Gray to Bullock, 18.1.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 904, USPGA.
135. E. Sandile to Gray, 1.4.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1037, USPGA.
136. E. Sandile to Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2261, USPGA.
137. Hargreaves was probably either a Methodist or Presbyterian minister.
138. E. Sandile to Gray, 1.4.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1037, USPGA.
139. E. Sandile to Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2261, USPGA.
140. Ibid.
141. The Governor made frequent trips to the Frontier region at this time as he was negotiating to annex British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.
142. E. Sandile to Gray, 1.4.1864, 1037 and Wodehouse to Gray, 12.3.1864, 1001 - S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867, USPGA.
143. E. Sandile to Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2261, USPGA.
144. Wodehouse to Gray, 12.3.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1001, USPGA.
145. Gray to Bullock, 4.4.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1011, USPGA.
146. Ibid.
147. E. Sandile to Gray, 1.4.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867 : 1037, USPGA.
148. Warner to S.P.G., 27.6.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1097, USPGA.
149. Report by Bransby L. Key, MF, 1.8.1865, 10:142.
150. Warner to S.P.G., 27.6.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1097, USPGA.
151. Gawler to Grey, 6.7.1866, GH 8/48, CA.
152. Warner to S.P.G., 27.6.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867 : 1097, USPGA.
153. Ibid.
154. Quoted in Meintjies, op.cit., 272.
155. Victoria was the daughter of Sandile's great wife, Nopasi. - Chalmers, op.cit., 189.
156. Umhlangazo, the young Pondo chief, was a grandson of Faku, Paramount Chief of the ama Mpondo - Meintjies, op.cit., 270.
157. Ibid., 272.
- 158, Victoria had been educated by the Rev. Tiyo Soga. Her marriage to Umhlangazo is described in detail by Mrs. Brownlee, see "A Kaffir Bethrothal Ceremony", Brownlee, op.cit., 262 et seq. Sandile's speech at the tribal

ceremony is of particular interest for he gave the young couple his advice for their future happiness. A Christian ceremony followed, in accordance with the chief's promise. The young couple went to live at Lovedale. Umhlangazo studied for two years while Victoria kept school - Meintjies, op.cit., 274.

159. Gray to Wodehouse, 31.12.1865, LB9:190.
160. "St. Philip's Mission, Grahamstown". Report by the Rev. W.H. Turpin for 1865, MF, 1865, 177.
161. St. Philip's Report, 1865, S.P.G. Digest of Records, 303; "Native Teachers at Grahamstown", S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2296, USPGA.
162. Brownlee to Wodehouse, 11.5.1867, GH 8/48, CA.
163. Meintjies, op.cit., 274.
164. J. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GCAL, African Letters X.
165. Waters' Journal, n.d., MF, 1.10.1877, 439.
166. For further information - A. Hastings, Christian Marriage in Africa (London : S.P.C.K., 1973).

CHAPTER X

FROM COLLEGE TO KRAAL

1. The First Fruits of the Kafir College

The Early School-Leavers : 1858-1864

Quite a number of the Kafir pupils returned to their homes during the first seven years. But these early school-leavers had not completed their education and were not classed as graduates of the College.

Superficially, at least, they had become Westernized. They wore European dress and had learnt civilized habits. As far as their schooling was concerned, most of these lads had not progressed much beyond elementary studies in the three R's. Their knowledge of English, minimal though it might be, was their most important attainment. Religious instruction had been a basic part of their training but their comprehension of the Christian teaching was questionable. None of them had been baptized while at school at the Cape.

The school-leavers had all received some industrial training. It was hoped that the rudimentary trade skills which they had acquired would stand them in good stead, possibly even equipping them to earn a living. Even though these boys' education was limited, Bishop Gray was satisfied that it would nonetheless "render them useful to their people on their return home". (1)

Their reasons for leaving Zonnebloem were diverse. Some were repatriated because of ill health. One black sheep was got rid of before he could cause trouble. A few older pupils, like George Tlali and Tsekelo Moshesh, had returned to their tribes for political reasons. The majority, however, were sent home because they had shown "little promise of being able to make much progress in the higher branches of learning". (2)

The first batch of pupils had been assembled without any regard for aptitude or age. Many of them were too old at the start and had struggled to learn English, with little success. And so the dunces were gradually weeded out to make room for the more promising second crop of pupils who had been selected with greater care.

Doubts About the First Fruits of the College

Bishop Gray was pleased to announce during 1864, that the first

group of Kafir College pupils had completed their education and were ready to enter the mission field. All eight of them had been brought to the Cape by Sir George Grey in 1858. Although they had begun school together at Bishop's Court, five of them had received further training in England.

The two chiefs' sons who had been placed with a clergyman at Nuneaton, had been studying under their tutor since 1859. While the Augustinians, their number diminished by the death of Jeremiah Moshesh, had spent three years at the Missionary College at Canterbury. The English contingent were preparing to return home at the end of 1864. Three of the senior students at Zonnebloem were also pronounced ready to leave school and hoped to join their old schoolfriends in taking the gospel to their countrymen.

(3)

But even though Bishop Gray rejoiced that the Native College was beginning to bear its fruits, (4) he was very dubious about the capabilities of these pioneer black evangelists. He considered that they had been brought into civilization too late in life.(5) Because of their age, they had not been able to receive the full benefit of the education and moral and religious training which was offered at the College.

The Bishop anticipated that this vanguard of teachers and catechists from Zonnebloem would have great difficulty in coping with the trials and temptations of tribal life. He feared that they would find the work amongst their countrymen an uphill battle and would be easily discouraged. He doubted their staying power for they could not be expected to have the courage born of deeply entrenched convictions. Gray's lack of confidence in the first fruits of the College is reflected in his concern that Zonnebloem would be judged by their achievements, and found wanting. (6)

The Difficulty of Finding Employment for the African Evangelists

The future usefulness of the African evangelists hinged on whether they could be found suitable employment. Bishop Gray had no posts to offer them at the Cape. He was entirely dependent on the co-operation of the other dioceses and the support of the S.P.G. His particular concern during 1864 was to find positions for the older pupils at Zonnebloem who were ready to go forth. It was a matter of some urgency as their places at the College were needed for the new boys. (7)

The suspension of the S.P.G. Mission to Independent Kaffraria, early in the year, threatened to deprive Zonnebloem of a field of labour upon which the Bishop had confidently reckoned for the employment of several of the young men. (8) Even so, there was a crying need for African teachers in the other mission districts. But the S.P.G. held the purse strings and they placed the Church-workers as they saw fit. And so Bishop Gray wrote to the Society pleading that they find jobs for the three boys who had completed their education.

It was his wish that two of them should be sent to Kaffraria, and that the other, George Moroka, should go to the new Free State diocese. George, whose brother Samuel was at St. Augustine's, was said to be a very good young man. (9) The Bishop suggested that the Barolong chief's son could be a great help in the pioneer work amongst his people at Thaba 'Nchu. The two Kafirs, who both belonged to Tshatshu's tribe, were eager to become schoolmasters. They were also fair carpenters, and, if placed under European supervision, could be of great assistance in helping to erect buildings at one of the new mission stations being established beyond the Eastern Frontier. (10)

The problem of employing these African evangelists in their homelands was, that, although the Bishops of Grahamstown and the Free State were agreeable to offering them positions, neither of the prelates had the authority from the S.P.G. to assign them small stipends. It was a hopeless state of affairs for it frustrated the work of Zonnebloem as well as the missions. Bishop Gray maintained that the Society should devise a policy whereby the trained students could automatically be given suitable jobs and placed on their payroll. He substantiated his proposal to the S.P.G. with a forceful argument :

I think, (wrote Gray) that if our labour in founding the College is not to be thrown away, that you must authorize the Bishops now in Africa to assign such work as they may deem the young men trained by us fit for, to those whose education is completed; and also to assign to them some moderate stipend. They ought for a time to find on their return to their native land, a home in one of our missions and to have a chance in engaging in mission work. It would be cruel and wrong to send them back amongst their Heathen countrymen, without any means of support, or to take them by the hand. They would probably in that case fall into the hands of the other religious bodies, or it may be, lapse into Heathenism, and bring dis-

credit upon our work. We are not likely to have any more young men besides these for several years. The cost of their passage too, ought not to fall upon me. (11)

Despite Gray's plea, there is no evidence to show that the S.P.G. took up the cause of these particular students. We know that when George Moroka returned home, he served his father as an interpreter and diplomatic envoy. Presumably the Church could not provide posts for the two Kafirs either, for there is no record of them working in any of the Kaffrarian missions. The Bishop must have grieved to see Zonnebloem's training wasted in this way. Fortunately, the English contingent fared better. The S.P.G. agreed to co-operate with Gray's carefully laid plans to send the Augustinians out in support groups. The Mission to Independent Kaffraria had recommenced work and was desperately short of manpower. The two Kafirs at St. Augustine's were assigned to this field and it was arranged that they would be paired off with their College companions. They would be joined by the Nuneaton lads. All of them would work under the direction of the Bishop of Grahamstown. Samuel Moroka was appointed to the diocese of the Free State. The intention was that he would assist his College classmate in founding a mission in his home town of Thaba 'Nchu.

The Africans in England Prepare to Return Home

The African students in England made their final preparations to leave the country during the Summer of 1864. But their excitement about returning home was somewhat overshadowed by the sudden death of George Maqomo, a few weeks before they were due to depart.

George had suffered from a delicate chest since childhood yet he had stayed surprisingly well during his five year sojourn at Nuneaton. His lungs, however, had remained weak. One day, the shock from a little jump caused a blood vessel to rupture and the lad died from the injury shortly afterwards. (12) He was mourned by his English friends as well as his compatriots, as this tribute to him which appeared in "The Net", shows :

His death was a fitting end to a life of no common loveliness, the example of this young African will long be bright to those among whom he spent 5 years of his blameless Christian life, from his baptism to his death. (13)

Within the short space of a few months, the group of Africans in England had been reduced in number from six to four. Unfortunately, George's funeral took place on June 29th, the very same day as the Commemoration Service at St. Augustine's, when those who were leaving the College took part in a service of dismissal. This was the culminating point of the students' College careers.

The graduation of the Africans was to have been a special occasion for they were the first black students to pass out of St. Augustine's. But the ceremony that year was made solemn by the absence of two of them. Arthur Toise had accompanied Edward Magomo to his brother's funeral in Warwickshire. Samuel Moroka was left to represent his countrymen. As the only African present, the Warden directed his farewell address to him, and said :

Samuel Moroka, three years have passed since you first came to England, and through the assistance of kind friends in Herefordshire, entered St. Augustine's College, and you are now shortly about to return to your own country and people.

You have approved yourself to us by your steadiness of conduct, and your application to the studies appointed you. We have watched with much pleasure the gradual enlargement of your mind, and with still greater thankfulness the growth, as we trust, of your Christian character.

We wish you a safe and prosperous voyage, and a happy meeting with your father, the Chief Moroka and with all your friends : we hope that the useful knowledge you have gained in England will be the means of much good to you and to them ...- and that, whilst you recommend the Gospel of Christ to others by your own example, you may be an honoured instrument, by the power of the HOLY GHOST, of promoting its cordial reception by your fellow countrymen.

We commend you to the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, and to the Lord Bishop of the Orange River State, and to all the brethren in Christ. (14)

At the conclusion of the speech, Samuel knelt down and received the Warden's blessing, "which was confirmed by a fervent Amen from all present". (15) The chief's son was then presented with the prepared address, printed on parchment with the College seal affixed. It was signed by the Warden and Fellows, and also the Africans' special tutors. (16) The Hereford Association later gave similar printed addresses to their first scholarship students. (17)

The Africans left St. Augustine's with the assurance that their teachers had equipped them with what were considered to be the requisite knowledge and skills they would need as missionaries. It is clear, though, that the young men's future role amongst their countrymen remained undefined, and that their mentors had given little thought to the practical problems which the graduates would encounter in trying to implement their new found knowledge in their homelands. The Warden, speculating on their careers, wrote in his end of the year report :

We have drawn no picture of the Native students future, for we have conceived none. The experiment just over was committed to our hands in the course of Divine Providence; and we can only pray that a work of faith and love on the part of a large body of Christians may yield abundant spiritual fruit.
(18)

Good intentions and pious thoughts, however, would be of little use to the African evangelists in handling the realities of their future situation. They were totally unprepared to cope with the psychological adjustment of their return to tribal life. Their teachers were not entirely to blame. The Englishmen could have had little concept of the difficulties with which their black students would have to deal in their own countries.

Although the College staff received regular reports from old Augustinians about conditions in uncivilized parts of the world, the information was very biased. The missionaries' viewpoint was coloured by their Victorian upbringing and they only painted one side of the picture. They were blind to any merits of the traditional cultures of the various indigenous people among whom they laboured. Stories of the heathens' savagery and superstitions had horrified the clergymen at Canterbury. The Africans' tutors had concentrated their efforts on instilling in their charges a burning zeal to save their countrymen from degradation.

After three years of conditioning, the African Augustinians had been moulded into model English gentlemen. The sophisticated black princes had attracted much attention. Their enjoyment of being pampered by the philanthropic public was only human; but they had been spoilt. The chiefs' sons were heading for a re-entry crisis on their return home. Not only had they been cossetted in a protected environment but their education had alienated them from their tribal background. They were soon to

discover the tragic truth that they had a foot in both societies and belonged to neither. Their only hope of survival lay in bridging the gulf between themselves and their people, of finding some way to reconcile the demands of the conflicting cultures.

The Warden of St. Augustine's was apparently quite oblivious of such problems. He was entirely satisfied with the results of this educational experiment and was eager to receive a further draft of foreign students. The Missionary Studentship Associations of Hereford and Salop had offered three more scholarships. It was hoped that other Associations would be inspired to follow suit so that invitations could be extended to at least six black students to enter the College in the Autumn. (19)

Bishop Gray was more circumspect, however. He refused to be pushed into sending the second group of Zonnebloem pupils to England prematurely. He insisted that they should be more advanced than their predecessors so that they could take full advantage of the experience. (20) Gray got his way. The next three scholarship students were not dispatched from the Cape until 1866.

The Evangelists' Voyage to South Africa

The party from England set sail for South Africa on July 21, 1864. (21) Besides the three Africans - Edward Magomo, Arthur Toise and Samuel Moroka - the group from St. Augustine's included Bransby Louis Key, George Mitchell and Douglas Dodd. They had been joined by Duke Tshatshu from Nuneaton.

There was no question of the fledgling missionaries taking it easy on the long voyage south. Their sense of vocation and dedication is apparent from the fact that they soon organized their life on board the "Balaklava" into a regular routine of work and worship. Morning and Evening Prayers were shared with a group of Scotch Presbyterian churchworkers. The rest of the day was divided into periods of disciplined study.

Dodd read to the Africans for an hour every afternoon, (22) while Mitchell took them for Bible reading at noon every day. Mitchell reported back later to the Warden of St. Augustine's, that they had worked their way through all the Prophets, the Revelation of St. John's, the Song of Solomon, and the Proverbs. In addition, Arthur and Edward had done a good deal of useful light reading. Happily for the Africans, a young lady had brought her harmonium on board and so they were able to keep up with

their music, practising daily with great diligence.

For all the young evangelists earnest and admirable application to their studies, it seems that only Mitchell and Samuel were involved in practical preparations for their new work. They continued with their study of Sechwana, a labour begun two years previously at Bishop Gray's instigation, in readiness for Mitchell's proposed mission to Samuel's tribesmen. During the voyage, the Barolong chief's son gave his friend two lectures a day in the African language. They managed to complete the Gospel of St. Luke and ninety psalms, using the translations printed by the Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba 'Nchu. (23)

The Anglican party lived happily together throughout the voyage, according to Mitchell. (24) The Africans were the envy of their fellow passengers for they were the only ones who had come prepared for the heat of the Tropics. They sported large straw hats "which did office for both hat and sun-shade". (25) This observation of Dodd's, although incidental, is yet indicative of the Englishmens' abysmal ignorance of the harshness of their lives ahead. Spiritually well-armed to teach the gospel and dedicated though they might be, they were ill-equipped for the rigours of living and working in the African bush.

After nearly three months at sea, the "Balaklava" docked at Port Elizabeth on October 18. The party destined for the Eastern Cape - Arthur, Duke, Edward, Keys and Dodd - left at once by mail-cart for Grahamstown. Samuel and Mitchell were taken care of by Bishop Twells' agent, who made arrangements for them to travel to the Free State. (26)

The Careers of the Pioneer Evangelists

Although we will be following the careers of all the pioneer evangelists from the Kafir College, particular attention will be paid to those of Arthur and Samuel. Their case-histories provide a striking comparison of the different types of re-entry problems experienced by the educated chiefs' sons on their return to tribal life. Except that Samuel and Arthur both had the support of their English missionary partners from St. Augustine's during the critical period of their adjustment, their lives and work were in marked contrast.

Samuel returned home to serve his father. He assumed his rightful

position as a chief's son, was assigned certain duties according to his station, and was soon re-absorbed into the tribal routine. His people were prepared to accept his new image because the Barolong tribe was partly civilized and *Christianized having been under the influence of the Wesleyan missionaries for forty years. Therefore Samuel's education did not automatically mark him as a misfit in his home environment.

Arthur, on the other hand, returned to his homeland to serve the Church as a catechists and teacher. He was assigned to a pioneer mission in Independent Kaffraria, a strange country where he had to live and work among foreign Africans. It was a heathen environment in which an educated black Christian was not accepted.

The two chiefs' sons took up the threads of tribal life in entirely different surroundings and were consequently exposed to different stresses and pressures. Nonetheless it was a time of tension for them both. The way in which they responded to the challenge of living as educated Christians amongst their countrymen gives an insight into the effects of their education.

2. From Croquet Lawn to Chief Moroka's Kraal

The Anglican Entry into the Barolong Mission Field

With the constitution of the Diocese of Bloemfontein in 1863 to include Griqualand West, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and the Barolong territory, as well as the Orange Free State, the Anglican Church was entering a number of areas which had long been the province of other Societies. This trespassing was deeply resented and strongly resisted by the Church bodies concerned. (27)

A certain amount of tension already existed between the established Missions in that part of the country. They had crossed swords when they had championed the conflicting rights of the respective tribes whom they served, in disputes over claims of land. And so the French Protestants, acting on behalf of the Basutos, had quarrelled with the Wesleyan and L.M.S. missionaries representing Moroka, Sekonyella, and various Coloured bands. (28)

But the French Protestants and Wesleyan were united in their antagonism against the Anglicans. They were bitterly opposed to the newcomer's proposed encroachment in their long established fields of work in Basutoland and the Barolong country. They tried hard to persuade Twells to change his plans, keeping up a furious

correspondence with the Bishop throughout 1864 and 1865. (29)

The Wesleyans considered that they had a strong case to back up their stand against the intended Anglican intrusion. They had ministered to the Barolong people since 1823, accompanying the tribe in their migration across the interior. When the refugees had finally put down roots at Thaba 'Nchu in 1833, the missionaries had established a station at the Barolong settlement. Although Chief Moroka was not a Christian, he had supported the Wesleyans' work even to taxing his people to help build a church, school and printing works. (30)

The Wesleyans begged Twells to evangelize tribes as yet untouched by the Christian Gospel, rather than found a rival mission in the midst of their flock. (31) But the Bishop of Bloemfontein was implacable in his determination to enter this field. Thaba 'Nchu, with a population of more than 10,000, was by far the largest African town in South Africa. On his first visit to the Barolong capital in October 1863, it had impressed Twells as a tantalizing proposition for missionary endeavours. His entry in his journal at the time makes his standpoint abundantly clear. He recorded that it grieved him that the Wesleyans had worked there for so long while the Church had done nothing. (32)

The Anglicans already had a foot in the Barolong door, as it were, seeing that they were educating two of Moroka's sons. Twells had indeed met both George and Samuel at their respective Colleges in Cape Town and Canterbury. He used this trump card to good effect when he met their father on the occasion of his first visit to the tribe. Moroka was much pleased to have first-hand news of his sons. (33) As a result the Bishop was able to elicit the chief's sympathy for the Anglican cause and secured Moroka's promise of a gift of land at Thaba 'Nchu, so paving the way for the proposed mission. (34)

After Samuel had personally invited his friend at St. Augustines, George Mitchell, to come as a missionary to his people, the Church was assured of a welcome from the Barolong themselves. (35) The S.P.G. set the seal on the scheme by promising the necessary funds and Twells went resolutely ahead with his plans. Shortly before the chief's son and his English companion were due to arrive on the scene, the Bishop wrote to Moroka reminding him of his promised grant of land. Twells asked the chief to honour his

pledge "in spite of the opposition of the Methodists and 'those who deny your Authority'". (36)

Despite the Wesleyans' hostility towards the Anglican invasion of their territory, they gave the two Augustinians a most cordial welcome when they arrived at the end of 1864, and the new mission was founded without any further ado. But the Wesleyans' fears that denominational differences would cause confusion and might even lead to an explosive situation were confirmed by subsequent events. Some years later the supporters of the rival Churches divided into opposing factions over the question of the contested succession to the chieftainship, and the fighting which followed left the tribe irreconcilably split in two.

The World to which the Barolong Chief's Educated Sons Returned

On Samuel's return home, he decided to serve his father rather than the Church and turned down the position proffered him by the S.P.G. as catechist and teacher with the pioneer mission to his tribe. Twells, who had had high expectations of Samuel's usefulness after his lengthy training, was greatly disappointed by his decision not to offer himself for Holy Orders. Nevertheless, even though the chief's son was not going to work directly for the Church, he assured the Bishop that he would use every effort to recommend and support the Mission among his people. (37) The founders of the Kafir College could not have wished for more.

By this time, George Moroka had left Zonnebloem and also returned home. In the months that followed, both he and Samuel gave Mitchell what help they could but their assistance was of necessity limited as they were kept busily occupied by their father with tribal duties. Mitchell, who was shortly ordained deacon, was left with the herculean task of establishing the Anglican station almost entirely on his own. (38)

For the educated sons of the Barolong chief, the transfer from croquet lawn to kraal, so to speak, was a difficult adjustment. They had left home as youngsters. During their seven years' schooling they had become accustomed to the Western way of life and the comforts of civilization. On their return to Thaba 'Nchu, not only did they have to adapt their sophisticated standard of living to the comparatively primitive conditions of kraal life, but they also had to learn to become one with their people in mind as well as body if they were to be completely accepted by

their tribesmen. For all the Barolongs' many years of contact with the white man, they still set great store by their traditional culture.

Thaba 'Nchu was situated about thirty-six miles from Bloemfontein, being separated from the Free State capital by a vast flat plain. The African town, named after the Black Mountain at the foot of which it lay, was made up of clusters of conical shaped mud huts.

(39) The birthplace of the Barolong princes was a striking contrast to the more familiar buildings of the schools which had become their second homes - the whitewashed Dutch farmstead at Zonnebloem and the historic precincts of the College at Canterbury, steeped in centuries of English tradition. Twells' successor described Thaba 'Nchu as a city of bee-hives - "every hill is crowded with a nest of these primitive buildings, thatched with soft reeds and shining with a soft silkiness in the morning sun".

(40)

George and Samuel belonged to a tribe of pastoral people. Their kinsmen were represented by Mitchell as being of mild, peaceable disposition and of average intelligence. (41) The Anglican churchmen considered the Barolong, to be a good deal in advance of the warlike Kafir tribes on the Eastern Frontier, basing their judgement on such evidence as :-

their larger and more roomy huts their separate sleeping apartments, their practice of the rude art of pottery, their huge wicker and clay granaries (which often filled half the dwelling-house), their fenced courtyards which were kept clean and well swept and in which all business was transacted, their enclosed kraals and orchards, and above all in their beautifully made karosses. (42)

According to Mitchell, the Barolongs' traditional notion of GOD was that of a beautiful person, having only one leg, being thoroughly just and beneficent. His name was always mentioned with reverence and a message in his name was always listened to with respect. Their notion of Creation was that all things created, except God, came originally out of a hole in the earth. Their tribal Sabbath or holy day occurred on the day after the appearance of the new moon, and also the day after the fall of hail or snow. Even so, Mitchell found that Sunday was generally kept by the heathens as well as Christians, as a day of rest at Thaba 'Nchu.

(43) Moroka's people had proved responsive to the Wesleyan missionaries' efforts. They had been "far more easily prevailed

on to lay aside their most offensive customs than the Kafirs heathen dances and other lascivious rites were pushed very much into the background". (44)

The chief set an example to his people by his regular attendance at the Wesleyan Church services. His usual dress was the kaross with a horse's tail sewn on the back, but on Sundays he would don his European finery : a black coat and drab moleskin trousers. Nonetheless Moroka remained a heathen. A missionary said of him that "if he was not a chief, he would be a good man". (45)

Polygamy and political reasons were supposed to have held him back from becoming a Christian. (46)

At his first meeting with Moroka in 1863, Bishop Twells described him as a quiet looking man of about fifty years of age. (47) Although the chief had a kindly face he was said to be grotesquely ugly, "with grey wool and a hideous mouth". (48) Yet all who met him were impressed by his regal demeanour. Moroka always carried a knob-kerrie in his hand, with a British made thimble at the end of it for ornament, as a symbol of his rank. (49)

Samuel and George Act Under their Father's Orders

The Barolong chief headed a typically African patriarchal system of government. Mitchell recounted that his people addressed him as father, while he called them his children. All the cattle and other possessions belonged to him, according to their laws. (50) Even though the Barolong nation was comparatively small, being only about 12,000 strong, they had still retained their independence as a result of Moroka's wise leadership.

The chief had long pursued a policy of friendship with the white man. He had maintained strict control over his people and even though his country was surrounded on all sides by Boer territory, there were never any complaints of cattle thefts along his border. Moroka had succoured the Boer trekkers, supplying them with food when they were starving. He had aided the British on a number of occasions, too, by sending them men to help subdue certain troublesome African chiefs and tribes. (51) This diplomacy had paid dividends. In 1849 the British had proclaimed Thaba 'Nchu a free and independent district under the rule of the African sovereign. Moroka's freedom had become threatened, however, with the disbandment of the Orange River Sovereignty. When the Barolong chief's

sons arrived home from College at the end of 1864, their father was engaged in important negotiations with the Boers in an effort to re-establish satisfactory political relationships with his white neighbours.

It is not surprising that Samuel elected to resume his tribal role on his return to Thaba 'Nchu, rather than embark on a career with the Church. He believed that he had a strong claim as heir to the chieftainship for he was the sole surviving son of Moroka by his principal wife. (52) But his claim was contested by Tsepinare, the adopted son of Moroka who had assumed the role of heir in his rival's absence. Samuel had to tread warily for a start as he sought to regain his father's favour. George had no such ambitious pretensions as his half-brother, and so his career was somewhat overshadowed by that of his dynamic sibling.

Acting under their father's orders, Samuel and George were initially kept busy with farming operations, a far cry from their student days. But the chief soon made better use of their education, employing them both as interpreters during the crucial discussions with the President of the Free State. Moroka could only speak Serolong, the unwritten language of his people. His scholarly sons' knowledge of English made them invaluable as political aides. Mitchell also made himself useful as a secretary, writing letters for the chief. (53)

A treaty of alliance, which recognized the Barolong tribe's independence, was eventually concluded between Moroka and the Boer leader in March 1865. This was ratified by the Free State Volksraad the following year. Consequently the Barolono had to support their Boer allies during the Basuto War of 1865 - 1866. Tsepinare was given command of the contingent of six hundred armed and mounted men which was sent to the Boers' aid. (54) Samuel had no experience as a warrior and was assigned to guard duty at the cattle post during hostilities. (55)

With the return of peace in 1866, Mitchell reported that Samuel and George had taken to hard work on the farm. Once the ploughing was finished, they were kept busy sowing the mealies and kafir corn. Samuel had also planted a great number of fig and peach trees. (56) The Barolong chief's two sons were kept constantly occupied with tribal duties. Even so they still tried to honour their commitments as Christians and did all they could to assist their missionary friend with the work of the Church.

The Two Sons of the Chief Aid the Anglican Mission to their People

The Anglican Mission to the Barolong tribe was launched under great difficulties. Mitchell, the solitary missionary, was in a foreign country, among strange people, in unfamiliar surroundings, and seeking to compete with a strongly established Church. George and Samuel were of invaluable assistance at the start, helping Mitchell to erect a house and chapel at Thaba 'Nchu.

They borrowed a wagon from one Kafir chief and oxen from others, and accompanied by some young Barolongs, went to the bank of a river some twenty miles distant, cut some rough willowwood for the roof, and made another journey to some other places, and cut grass for the thatch. (57)

The African style buildings at the Anglican station were extremely primitive. Yet Mitchell was seemingly impervious to the discomforts of his living conditions, adapting to his new environment with amazing speed. A friend who visited him in Winter, said that he had never been so cold in his life - "the wind seemed to come down from the roof and even through the walls with uncommon power". (58) The Anglican missionary stoically maintained that it was healthful to have plenty of fresh air.

For all his strength of purpose, Mitchell still often felt discouraged by the long uphill struggle involved in evangelizing this African people. Even though he began with the considerable advantage of knowing the Barolong language, he found the work "difficult, wearisome and oppressive, both mentally and bodily". (59) In a letter home, Mitchell recounted some of the peculiar difficulties with which he had to cope when holding a service in the open at a kraal. His lively description gives us an intimate insight into what must have been the lot of most of the missionaries in Africa.

The people are summoned by the ringing of a bell ..., The preacher is not allowed to proceed as quietly as he is in an English Church. Both dogs and babies are usually brought to these assemblies; and no sooner do the one begin to fight than the other begin to cry; and then commences hissing and stone-throwing, and mothers getting up and going out and coming in again; and then perhaps a fowl will commence cackling and interrupting us; and if it is the rainy season the service may be abruptly terminated by a storm. I never set off to go preaching the Gospel in the villages without commending the cause to Almighty God, and praying for the grace and perseverance of the help of the Holy Ghost. (60)

Mitchell was more fortunate than some of his counterparts, though, in that Moroka, unlike many of the other heathen chiefs, encouraged the work of the Church. Consequently the Barolong chief's two Anglican sons also fared far better on their return home than many of their Zonnebloem contemporaries. In no wise were they ostracized because of their Christian education. (61) They were able to promote the Mission amongst their followers and partake in its work without fear of retribution. And so the station at Thaba 'Nchu grew apace. It was called St. Augustine's, being named after the Missionary College at Canterbury.

Mitchell reported in 1866 that Samuel and George helped regularly in the Sunday School. Samuel also taught English to classes of men and boys, (62) while George assisted Mitchell by translating his sermons into Serolong. (63) Visiting Anglican clergymen, who were assisted by the chief's sons as interpreters, were greatly impressed by the young mens' demeanour during their interviews with Moroka and at Church services. The Barolong princes were considered to be a credit to the Kafir College. (64).

Nonetheless, even though George and Samuel were to all intents and purposes faithfully serving the Church, Mitchell did not underestimate the enticements to which the Barolong princes were constantly exposed, living as they were amongst their heathen countrymen. Bishop Gray's concern about the "manifold temptations of savage life" to which his College students would be exposed on their return to their kraals, (65) were amply borne out in the case of Moroka's sons. It was at Gray's insistence that the S.P.G. had arranged for the young Africans to have their English friend close at hand; and without the Anglican missionary's constant vigilance, reassurance and support, George and Samuel might soon have been led astray.

Mitchell was enabled to maintain close and confidential contact with the chief's sons through the attraction of his European-style meals. His regular invitations to Sunday dinner after the Service, were accepted with alacrity by George and Samuel. The native diet consisted of mealie-meal porridge made from mealie-meal, leaven and sour-goat's milk. The only occasions at which the Barolong ate meat were after an animal had died or at a feast when they were making a sacrifice. (66) As Mitchell told the Warden of St. Augustine's, in 1866 :

They rarely get a bit of nicely cooked meat now, and there seldom remains anything of a leg of mutton after dinner. By means of dinner I am greatly helped in keeping them with me, and in keeping up old remembrances. Our conversation often turns upon what was said and done at St. Augustine's. (67)

Unhappily for Samuel, someone set fire to his hut at this time. All his treasured possessions, his clothes, books and presents from English friends, which were a link with his years spent in the Western world, were lost in the midnight blaze. (68)

Wives for the African College Graduates

The problem of finding suitable wives for the chiefs' sons who had been educated at the Kafir College, had caused Bishop Gray considerable anxiety over the years. He had repeatedly expressed his concern that these immature Christians might be dragged back into degradation through marrying heathens. George and Samuel were saved from such a fate by Mitchell's diligent care.

The Barolong traditionally married young, their mates being selected by their elders. According to Mitchell, the men and women then frequently changed partners, resulting in confusing family connections to say the least. (69) The missionary made sure that when matches were announced for his friends, their intended brides were persuaded to become Christians.

Mitchell liked the girls very much. He reported that they were always nicely behaved, attended Church regularly, and were punctilious in coming to their classes of Christian instruction. After a period of preparation, they were baptized by the Bishop of Bloemfontein in September 1866. The prelate, who had been specially invited to Thaba 'Nchu for the occasion, married the two couples immediately afterwards. (70)

A visiting Anglican monk who met Samuel's wife a few years later, described her as "a nice bright-looking woman, though it was hard to imagine her as the wife of a student of St. Augustine's Canterbury". (71)

Moroka's Sons' Efforts to Maintain a Civilized Standard of Living

Yet another problem with which the Zonnebloem students had to cope on their re-entry to tribal life, was that of maintaining the standard of living which was expected of them as educated Christians. It was vital to the Church's cause that their way of life should be a shining example to the heathen around them. But

it soon became apparent that on their return home, many of these College graduates were utterly overwhelmed by the disparity between living conditions at school and in the kraal. When they found that they were unable to maintain "the decorous comforts of civilization" to which they had become accustomed, they gave up the struggle. Defeated, they fell back "into the ordinary Kafir habits". (72) This type of relapse was a great worry to the Church leaders for it made a mockery of the young mens' education.

Samuel, however, made a great effort to construct and decorate his mud hut in accordance with European standards. When Archbishop West Jones (Gray's successor) visited Thaba 'Nchu in 1877, he was taken on a tour of inspection. He described Samuel's abode as being -

quite comfortable and very clean. His wife was much pleased to show us her home, and evidently took great pride in it. High enough in the middle for me to stand upright, it was lighted all round by little circular openings like port-holes, and divided by a reed-matting screen into sitting-room and sleeping-room. Round the walls were a number of pictures from the 'Illustrated London News' and of these he seemed very proud. It was strange to see engravings of Leslie's and Frith's pictures in recent Royal Academies lining the walls of a Barolong hut, in this distant, uncivilized part of Africa. (73)

Samuel's home contrasted markedly with the usual Barolong dwelling. An English lady who visited a tribesman's hut at this time, found it very dark inside. There were no windows and the only light to enter the room came in through the low door. A clay bin, which was shaped like a giant cauldron and used for holding meal, took up a large part of the interior. The only domestic articles were a few karosses, a piece of reed matting, and a large kettle or pot. There was little in the way of furnishings, the explanation being that the people mostly lived outside their huts, in the little yard around, which was enclosed by a high palisade of reeds. (74)

It is evident that Samuel had used considerable ingenuity in designing his home. Perhaps he was spurred on to greater efforts by the example of his friend Mitchell, who had had to contend with the same limitations when erecting the Mission station buildings.

"Many and Great Temptations"

Samuel underwent a period of much suffering during the early years

of his marriage, a time when his faith was sorely tested. But for the loving support of Mitchell he probably would have soon lapsed into heathenism. His only child died soon after it was born in 1869. When it seemed that his wife was barren, Samuel was very tempted to listen to the advice of the old men of the tribe and take a second wife according to traditional custom so that he might have children. He broke down and cried when he told Mitchell what the old men had been saying to him. (75) But the chief's son, fortified by the missionary's moral support, managed to stand firm as a Christian in the face of this temptation.

Samuel was overjoyed when his wife presented him with a fine son in September 1871. Sadly, though, this baby also died. Mitchell did all he could to comfort his African friend and strengthen his flagging faith; but Samuel gave the missionary a good deal of worry for a long time afterwards. "His faith in God's goodness to him was terribly shaken", so Mitchell told the Warden of St. Augustine's. "False friends doing him no little harm. What has happened is no doubt for the best, and Samuel now believes the same". (76)

Mitchell watched over Samuel very anxiously during this period. As his father's personal aide, the chief's son was constantly being exposed to "many and great temptations" which threatened to bring about his downfall. (77) He frequently accompanied Chief Moroka on diplomatic visits to neighbouring heads of state, both black and white, and received red-carpet treatment.

Following the discovery of diamonds in 1867, the rights to the diamond rich territory around the Vaal River were hotly disputed for many years. The Barolong tribe believed that they had a claim to some of the land seeing that they had settled there for a time after their flight from the Mantatee Horde. They had to compete with strong claims from other contestants - the Griquas, Korannas, Free State, Transvaal Republic, Diggers Republic and British Government. When the dispute reached its height, early in 1871, Samuel accompanied his father to a meeting of the interested parties which was called to settle the question of the ownership of the diamond fields. (78) As on many other similar occasions, the Barolong chief's son was indispensable to his father as an interpreter. At the same time he was only human and it was hard for him to resist the many temptations that threatened to lead him from the straight and narrow Christian path.

It is apparent that Samuel was under pressure from all sides and that, without Mitchell, he would soon have faltered. The Anglican missionary, however, was constantly on the alert to ensure that his friend did not stray far.

The Growth of the Anglican Mission at Thaba 'Nchu

The rough mud chapel which had been the first place of Anglican worship at Thaba 'Nchu, was replaced in 1870 by a burnt brick building with a pitched roof of galvanized iron. There was great rejoicing when the first service was held in the new church on Christmas Day. (79) Samuel was very proud of the fact that this first African Communion was just like an English service. (80)

The progress of the Anglican Mission can be gauged from the information that Holy Communion was administered to nineteen Africans on that day. Seventeen of them were converts, the other two being the Barolong chiefs' Anglican sons. George was a keen member of the surpliced choir of men and boys. They used Gregorian chants as well as many of the old English hymn tunes, and were said to sing with far more spirit than an English choir. (81)

The Communicants acquired a distinct status and were expected to observe a rigid discipline in order to retain this exclusive Church membership. Should one of them fall into great sin, he or she was excommunicated. This fate eventually befell many of the Zonnebloem graduates, primarily as a result of polygamous marriages. It was a threatened disgrace which seems to have been instrumental in bolstering up Samuel's wavering resolve on a number of occasions.

Excommunicates who attended Church were relegated to the back seats with the Catechumens and had to go out before the Nicene Creed. They were not allowed to be present at Baptisms either. Even royal blood did not secure exemption from these strict rules. Moroka's heathen sons would sometimes attend a service. No matter that they were men of rank and were smartly dressed like gentlemen - in waistcoats, gold chains and rings. "These grand people" had to leave the church with the Catechumens and Excommunicates if there was to be a Baptism. (82)

By 1878 the Mission had grown sufficiently to allow of the holding of the first proper Vestry meeting. Samuel was elected as the first Churchwarden. (83) There is no doubt that he was very ambitious. He must have hoped that his leadership in the Church

was a portent of his leadership of the tribe in the near future. George, on the other hand, was not in line for the chieftainship and seems to have been content to play a secondary role to his half-brother. Consequently he was submitted to less pressure than Samuel.

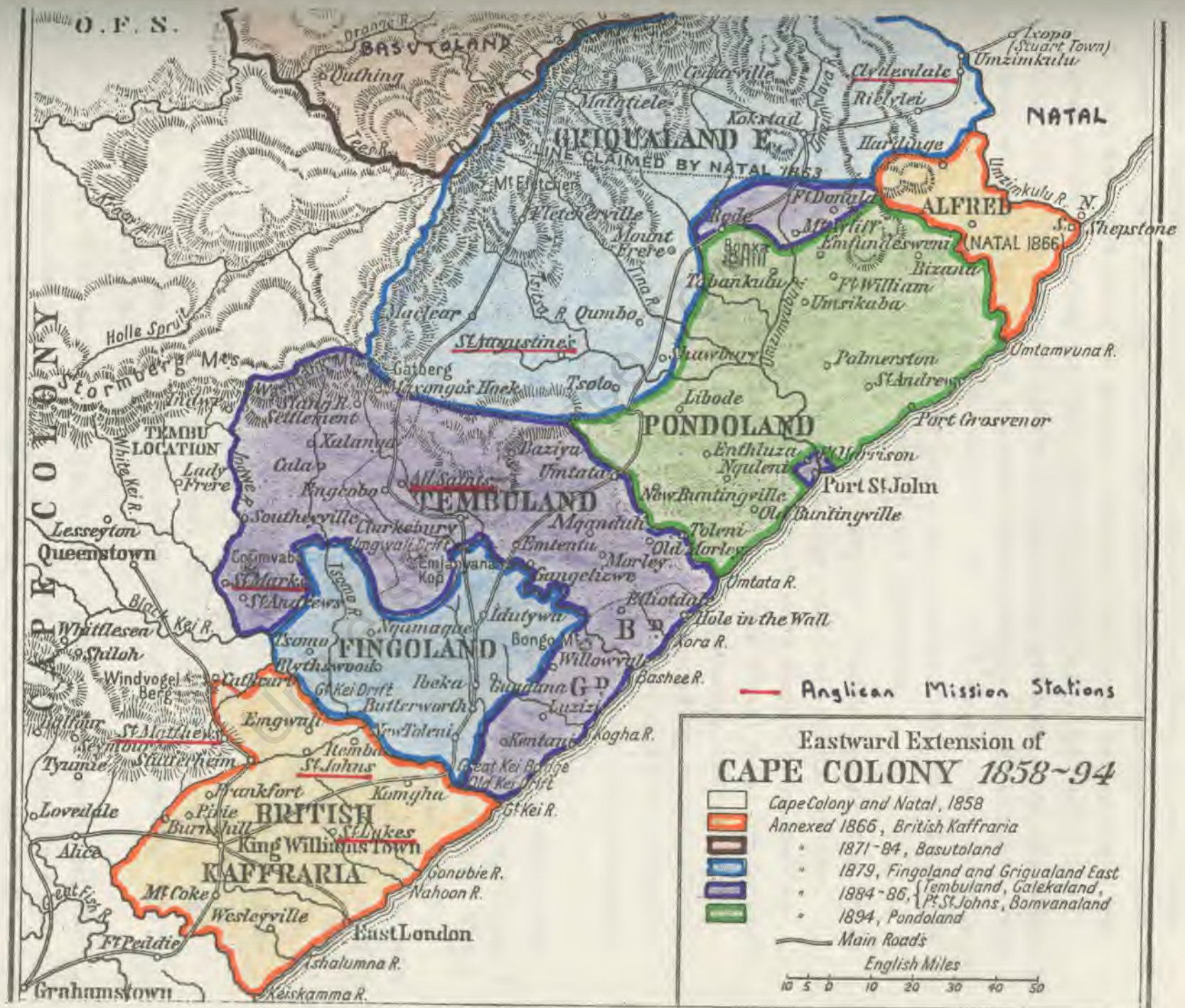
Nonetheless both chief's sons found that the step from College to kraal was a move fraught with tension, a time when their newly acquired values were constantly put to the test. There was no let up over the years either and the fact that they succeeded, for quite a while at any rate, where so many of their College contemporaries failed was in large measure due to the guidance of their English missionary friend, Mitchell. This was proof indeed of Bishop Gray's wisdom in insisting that the Church should continue to support the College graduates on their return home and that European teachers should be delegated to "take them by the hand". (84)

3. The First Kafir Chiefs' Sons to Serve as Evangelists to their Countrymen

"The Fiery Trial"

When the three Kafir chiefs' sons - Arthur Toise, Edward Maqomo and Duke Tshatshu - returned to their homeland in 1864, there was no question of their being able to assume inherited positions of authority in their tribes like their fellow students Samuel and George Moroka. Although their respective fathers were now reconciled with the British Government, they had, as a result of the Cattle Killing, been virtually stripped of their former power. They had to obey the commands of the colonial authorities, received pensions only as a conditional reward for continued good conduct, were allowed little more than nominal political influence over their people, and were relegated to reserves which were but a fraction of the tribal lands over which they had formerly ruled. The Kafir chiefs had been reduced to the position of pawns, at the Government's beck and call.

This meant that those Kafir chiefs' sons who had been educated in England, had little choice but to take up the work for which they had been trained and go as evangelists to their people. They were assigned positions in the mission field, and, as paid servants of the Church, their careers were entirely in its hands. Even though they might occasionally resent the strict surveillance under which they were kept, they still had the assurance that



their European colleagues were constantly at hand to help them over the many hurdles which they inevitably encountered. Their lives and work were in marked contrast to those of Moroka's two sons whose enduring contact with the Church was of their own free will. The service which the Barolong princes gave the Anglican Mission was a voluntary action: their continuing friendship with the missionary, their own choice. But their loyalty was certainly facilitated by the sympathetic tribal environment in which they found themselves. Not so their Kafir comrades.

The Anglican Church had entered many new fields during the early eighteen sixties. As a result of the rapid expansion of the missionary network, black evangelists were urgently needed to supplement and consolidate the work of the small band of English missionaries who had pioneered the way. Although the several dioceses had all endeavoured to meet this need by establishing their own central training schools, these were still in their infancy. The Kafir Institution at Grahamstown had only produced a handful of graduates up to this time.

The move to send Africans to England to complete their education had been an attempt to provide evangelists of a more sophisticated stamp than those that the local institutions could turn out. The results of this experiment were watched by Churchmen in South Africa with great interest. On their return home, the Kafir chiefs' sons were supposedly qualified to become the leaders of the army of black catechists and teachers who were to take the gospel to their heathen countrymen. But as we follow their careers, it soon becomes apparent that too much was expected of them. When, after a few years in the mission field, these select black evangelists failed to live up to expectations, their English education was judged to have been of limited value only, an extravagance which the Church could not afford.

The English climate was a significant factor in undermining the project from the start, for it was found to be too severe for the Africans. Two of them died in England while a third died soon after his return home. This meant that only half of the group survived to bear the fruits of the time, money and effort which had been invested in their training.

As we study their careers, in order to evaluate the effects of their education, we must bear in mind that the Kafir College

students who were chosen for the experiment were selected according to rank, not ability. Sir George Grey had insisted on sending the sons of only the most influential chiefs to England, no matter that they were not the most promising pupils. Bishop Gray had expressed grave doubts about the young mens' abilities right from the beginning; but this factor was not appreciated by their critics in later years.

We must also take into account the severe trial - intellectual, spiritual and physical - which the young men had to undergo on their return home, catapulted as they were from civilization to the kraal. During their time in England, the African princes had aroused a considerable amount of public interest and had received a flattering amount of attention. Once home, they no longer received this adulation. Rather, they were the target for much criticism by blacks as well as whites, both within and without the circle of the Church. Their plight was viewed sympathetically by some, however. Archdeacon Merriman of Grahamstown, for one, pleaded for an understanding of their difficult situation, as well as that of the other Zonnebloem graduates, when he wrote in 1869 :

It is a subject of much triumph among the enemies of Missions when these educated lads fall away, but very few estimate the force of trials, to which none of us, I am sure, have ever been exposed. These youths, alienated, and, indeed+ excluded for some years from old habits and associations, and too many of them petted and spoiled by being turned for a time into English gentlemen, perhaps invited out, if in England, to dinner parties and croquet parties among the first gentry of the land, are then called upon suddenly on their return to drop to a social level much below that of English mechanics; to subsist, perhaps, upon wages or salaries which quite shut out the idea of indulgences to which they have been injudiciously introduced, and to find themselves among godless, or at least among prejudiced Europeans, as much despised as they were before honoured and petted. Is it any wonder that renewed sympathy with their former friends and relatives is caught at, and sometimes drags them down ?

Unless a man has himself left home or brethren or sisters or father or mother or wife or children for Christ's sake and the Gospels', he can hardly appreciate the fiery trial which some of these young men have had to undergo. (85)

Merriman's graphic description gives us some idea of the ordeal which the Kafir catechists had to endure when they started work in their own country. We shall deal with the careers of Edward, Duke, and more particularly, Arthur, in some detail as the con-

ditions under which they worked and the difficulties which they encountered were typical of the experience of a large number of the teachers from Zonnebloem.

All three young men were assigned posts in the Diocese of Grahamstown, at a salary of £60 a year. (86) Duke took up his job as assistant master to the Rev. Mullins at the Kafir Institution at Grahamstown in February 1865. (87) In contrast, Edward and Arthur were sent with their English friends, Mitchell and Dodd, to positions in the mission field. While comparatively little is known about Duke's subsequent progress, the doings of Edward and Arthur were carefully recorded by their missionary companions, their activities being reported back to the Warden of St. Augustine's at regular intervals.

Edward had barely commenced work when it was learnt that he was dying of consumption. His time as a teacher was too short for us to make much of an assessment of the way in which he had settled down amongst his people. Even so, Edward's testimony which he confided to a clergyman on his deathbed, is important evidence in that it discloses some part of his religious experience, so revealing the influence of his Christian upbringing.

Arthur's development, on the other hand, is sufficiently well documented to allow of a critical comparison with that of Samuel Moroka. The two chiefs' sons had received an identical education but their careers were in complete contrast. The one common element in their lives was the fact that they both remained under the wing of their English missionary companions from St. Augustine's. But they entered entirely different worlds on their return home.

Samuel returned to an environment which was sympathetic to his Western image and lived amongst countrymen who were prepared to appreciate the fruits of his Christian education. While Arthur was sent to work in a strange African country and lived amongst a heathen people who had only picked up the vices of civilization and were ignorant of its virtues. It was a hostile environment in which an educated black man was an unknown quantity, to be treated with deepest suspicion. Although Arthur had a tough time of it, one can well understand the foreign tribesmen's distrust in this situation. However the tragedy was that before Arthur ever embarked on his career, he discovered that even his own countrymen were not prepared to accept his image as a black English gentleman.

The English Trained Kafir Evangelists are Reunited with their Friends and Families

Edward, Arthur and Duke had been away at College for seven years. After their long absence from home, the three Kafir chiefs' sons were understandably anxious to see their families and friends before starting work. On their arrival in the Eastern Cape, they were overjoyed when the Bishop of Grahamstown gave them permission to take a holiday.

Edward and Arthur first stayed for a time at St. Matthew's mission station at Keiskamma Hoek, visiting their friends in the vicinity before continuing on their way to their respective homes. (88) But the longed for reunions were somewhat disastrous. The College graduates found that they had grown too far apart from their people.

The Church had anticipated this problem and had tried to keep the young mens' families in touch with their doings during their time away from home. The Rev. Mullins was an old Augustinian and had received direct information about the Africans' activities at Canterbury which he had promptly relayed to the boys' relatives. (89) Even so, this had not been sufficient to bridge the gulf that now existed between the educated Africans and the heathen tradition from which they stemmed.

We learn from Bransby Key that after the first excitement of the Kafir evangelists' reunion with their friends and family had worn off, they were eager to start work. They were due to join Key and Dodd at the All Saints Mission Station on the Bashee River near Queenstown, and help prepare for a pioneering mission to the Pondomisi in Independent Kaffraria. Initially, Edward and Arthur had shown a certain reluctance towards taking up their posts for they would be required to venture far from their own tribesmen. They soon changed their minds, however, when they realized that they had become alienated from their tribal background and no longer belonged at home. As Key told the Warden of St. Augustine's:

Some time ago Edward and Arthur were very averse to leave their countrymen and come up here, but now they both seem pleased with the country, and do not seem to mind the idea of going up further with us. They have to go through a great deal of unpleasantness, poor fellows, as they are not treated so considerately here as in England by the English people; but I daresay it has done them good in some ways; it has made them glad to get out of the Colony. (90)

The Language Problem

Dodd and Key were ordained by the Bishop of Grahamstown in December 1864, shortly after their arrival in South Africa. (91) They then went to All Saints Mission, ahead of their African colleagues, so that they might become fluent in Kafir as quickly as possible. Unlike Mitchell, who had made an intensive study of Sechuana during his years at St. Augustine's, Dodd and Key had acquired only an elementary knowledge of the Xhosa tongue from their black friends. Even Arthur and Edward, who started work at All Saints early in 1865, (92) struggled at first in their jobs as schoolteachers and interpreters because they could not read Kafir well. (93)

Zonnebloem offered its students a Classical education. The medium of instruction was English. Greek and Latin were included in the curriculum of the advanced class. The study of Xhosa or Sesuto was not considered to be a necessary part of the pupils' training. Apart from which, there were no teachers at the College qualified to give instruction in the Africans' home languages. As it was, Warden Glover had made heavy weather of trying to master no more than the rudiments of Kafir.

Even if there had been skilled linguists on the staff, the practical difficulties would still have proved to be an insurmountable problem. The Kafir College pupils were drawn from many different tribes and it would have been impossible to provide the necessary instruction for all the different groups. (94) Consequently, most of the Zonnebloem graduates had difficulty reading and writing in the vernacular.

It must be remembered that the erstwhile unwritten African tongues were still in the process of being set down on paper during the nineteenth century. A study of the printed African word only became gradually possible as over the years the various missionaries published dictionaries, grammars, and translations of the Bible and other religious and secular literature, in the different African languages.

Nevertheless, the Kafir Institution at Grahamstown pursued quite a different policy to Zonnebloem, and claimed better results. Kafir, the home language of the majority of its pupils, was taught alongside English and the students soon became adept at translating from the one language into the other. The Rev. Mullins maintained

that the Grahamstown graduates' bilingualism equipped them more fittingly as teachers and interpreters than their Cape Town counterparts. (95)

Edward's Death

Edward's service in the mission field was disappointingly brief. He had not been at All Saints long when he was attacked by a cough which would not respond to treatment. When it became apparent that the Kafir evangelist was suffering from consumption, he was sent back to the Colony forthwith. (96)

Edward spent his last few months at St. John's, Bolotwa. He was nursed by his mother and the missionary-in-charge, The Rev. C.F. Patten, until his death on September 14. Edward and Patten were complete strangers to each other and at first the young man remained rather aloof from his host. But the Englishman persevered in trying to penetrate Edward's reserve and eventually won the dying boy's confidence. Patten felt well rewarded for his efforts, for he found that "there was much real good existing beneath that cold, formal manner which Edward could so easily assume". (97)

As Edward's life drew to a close, Patten stayed constantly at hand. In their last conversation together, the young African was able to confide his innermost thoughts and fears to his new found missionary friend. This testimony provides us with valuable evidence of the Christian beliefs held by the chief's son. Patten recounted Edward's words as follows :

It is a very hard thing for a young man to feel that he is really dying. If I had my choice now I would say let me live a little longer but I know no one has such a choice; and if God takes me away, what can be the good of complaining ? I know I ought to be thankful to Him for having so mercifully allowed me to know so much of Him; and I fear that I am not sufficiently thankful, or I should feel more happy at the thought that I was returning to Him, but hope he will pardon my coldness, for I do try to love Him very much. (98)

Afterwards Edward found great difficulty in expressing himself in English and reverted to speaking in his native tongue. The Rev. Waters, who was at his bedside shortly before he died, reported that after Edward had received Communion he spoke to his most intimate acquaintances very calmly about his approaching end, and with great hope about the next World. He died half an hour later. His mother was with him and became so dreadfully agitated

that she had to be taken out. Edward was buried at St. John's. The Rev. Waters, who conducted the funeral service, later informed the Warden of St. Augustine's that "a large company of well dressed natives were present and everything was done decorously". (99)

The death of Edward Magomo, little more than a year after his brother George had passed away, was a bitter blow to his friends and benefactors overseas. They had held out such high hopes that the specialized training which he had received in England would enable him to be of great benefit to his countrymen. A move was set afoot to erect a suitable monument in the Kafir Church at Grahamstown, so that the lesson of the two brothers' "Christian life and high purpose and early death might not be forgotten". (100)

Arthur's Part in the Planned Mission to the Pondomisi

Arthur, bereft of his comrade, was the only one of the English trained African evangelists to become a missionary. He spent the first few months of 1865 at All Saints, preparing to be sent into the wilds. Key and Dodd reported well of his progress. They noted that he was an excellent interpreter and got on very well in the mission school. (101)

We can draw some picture of the community in which the Augustinians first worked, from their record of the Easter offering. The handful of converts gave what they could, in kind. Arthur presented a sheep valued at eight shillings, while his fellow Africans between them donated a calf, a turkey, seven goats, a basket of grain and three planks. When converted into cash, their contributions realized £14 10s 4d, the money being sent to the S.P.G.. (102)

All the while plans were going ahead for an exploratory expedition into the country beyond All Saints, to prepare the way for the launching of a mission to one of the heathen tribes. This scheme had been under consideration for some time but had not yet got off the ground. Bishop Gray had originally tried to found a Bishopric in Independent Kaffraria, in 1862. When this development had been thwarted by a lack of funds, Gray had persuaded the S.P.G. to allow the Diocese of Grahamstown to extend its mission work northwards. (103)

The proposed course of action was to plant a station further north in Independent Kaffraria, as a step towards extending the chain of Anglican missions up the east coast. The ultimate goal was for the chain to link up with the stations that had already been established in Natal. Perforce the scheme had not yet got underway because no suitable agents had been forthcoming. (104) At long last, the Augustinians had offered themselves for this work. Although they were inexperienced, their unbounded enthusiasm and sense of vocation stood in their favour. They were given the approbation of the Missionary Conference which met at Grahamstown in December 1864, and set to work at once to launch the scheme. (105)

Key took the lead. He was determined that they should evangelize a people who were as yet untouched by missionary effort - in contrast to his friend Mitchell's Mission to the Barolong. He selected the Pondomise as the tribe to be served by the new station for their chief, Mditshwa, was one of the few African leaders in that region who had no missionary in his country. Mditshwa had repeatedly begged the Wesleyans for a missionary but they had not been in a position to send one. (106) The political unrest in those parts was probably a deciding factor.

In recent years, the Pondomise had been engaged in continual warfare with rival tribes, their enemies being numbered among the Pondo, Tembu and more especially, the Tambookies. Mditshwa's people had been forced to leave their home at the Umtata and had finally been driven to seek refuge in a far corner of their former territory. They had lately settled in a mountainous district on the banks of the Tsitsu River.

For a start, Key planned to visit the Pondomise chief and ask his permission to establish an Anglican mission amongst his people. (107) The party, which set off on horseback on March 27, consisted of Key, Dodd, another priest, Arthur and a Christian native who was to act as guide and servant. Arthur would have an important part to play as the official interpreter. (108)

Mditshwa's kraal was eighty miles distant. During their three day journey, the travellers passed through largely unoccupied territory - "waving with grass, intersected by no roads. There were only one or two narrow footpaths, hardly visible in the long grass, worn by the few travellers who passed from tribe to tribe". (109) The mission party had to find their way across mountains

and ford the Inxu River, but were rewarded by the tribesmens' enthusiastic reception when they eventually reached their destination. (110)

The Pondomise, unlike the Barolong, had had little contact with the white man. Living in seclusion, far from the beaten track, their traditional life-style had remained undisturbed by civilization. According to S.P.G. reports, this primitive heathen people were at that time "in as wild a state as any tribe in the interior of the continent". (111) The visiting missionaries confirmed this information. They found that the living conditions and farming methods of the Pondomise were elemental. They used hard bits of wood to break the ground and their few hoes, used for cultivating and weeding, were old and worn. Ploughs were unknown and their oxen had never been trained to the yoke. Wild game was plentiful in the area and was hunted for meat. Lions, however, were an ever present danger. (112)

Key described the tribesmens' clothes as being made of the skins of cattle and wild animals such as leopard and buck. Only the chief and a few of his relatives owned blankets. The women wore dressed-skin petticoats of a rich red colour, the married ones being distinguished by the elaborate pendants of white beads which covered the upper parts of their bodies. (113) How strange Arthur, a black man dressed in European clothing, must have appeared to these people.

The Pondomise offered their visitors traditional African hospitality. A hut was placed at their disposal and they were fed on local delicacies - goat's flesh, roast mealies and "amasi" (thick milk from the gourd). (114) The chief was eager to make the missionaries feel welcome as he was hoping that they would settle there.

Mditshwa was anxious to come under British protection. After having had to endure ceaseless pressure from other tribes, and endless conflict, he now sought security under the Government's wing. He had recently made overtures of peace to the authorities, sending the Lieutenant Governor of British Kaffraria a herd of cattle as a mark of his submission.

Although the chief had no intention of committing himself to Christianity, he welcomed the advent of the missionaries. He believed

that they would be useful in establishing contact with the British Government as well as being the means whereby traders would be introduced into his country.(115) Mditshwa was only too pleased to give the Anglicans permission to found a mission on his land. (116)

The Founding of St. Augustine's Mission

The mission party returned to All Saints in order to prepare for the establishment of the new station. The next few weeks were a whirl of activity for the Augustinian evangelists as they collected the necessary provisions and equipment together. They had to bear in mind that they would be cut off from civilization in their new surroundings and would need to be completely self-sufficient. At last all was ready for the pioneering venture. Key, Dodd and Arthur set off on their second expedition to the Pondomise on June 25, 1865. (117)

The trio had an adventurous journey. It was rough going taking a heavily laden wagon through the roadless country. As they made their way up the Bashee River valley, fords had to be constructed at the river crossings and paths had to be hacked through thick patches of forest and bush. Before long they ran short of provisions and were reduced to living on meagre rations of mealies and one scone a day.

They eventually arrived on the edge of a high plateau, within sight of their destination. But perched, as they were, eight hundred feet above the plain where the Pondomise lived, they appeared to be hopelessly stuck. It seemed to Key as if they had got "to the World's end, being surrounded by precipices with no means of getting the waggon down". (118) Fortunately some tribesmen came to their rescue and the wagon was brought down the escarpment; but not without difficulty.

On their arrival, there was some argument as to the selection of a suitable site for the station. The position in the fertile valley proposed by Mditshwa was rejected by the missionaries as the area was devoid of people. (119) At last both parties agreed on a site on the banks of the Inxu River, six miles from where it joined the Tsitsu. (120) This spot was a day's ride from the Drakensberg mountains, near the main route to Natal, and not far from that colony's border. (121) The new mission was also named St. Augustine's after the evangelists alma mater, but it was a

far cry from Canterbury. (122)

In the beginning the trio lived together in a Kafir hut, "with the regular fireplace in the middle and no chimney". (123) They set to work at once to erect a school of wattle-and-daub. This building doubled as a chapel for a start. A house was attached to the school for Arthur, and a store-room and workshop built of sods were also added on. Key's early training as an engineer stood them in good stead. Later on, they constructed a water-course and laid out a garden. (124)

The local Kafirs were employed to help in the building operations, being persuaded that it was not degrading to follow the missionaries' example. Key and Dodd were delighted that the small wages which they offered were sufficient to induce the tribesmen to give up their idleness - "which is one of the worst features in their character, the women generally do all the work while the men sit about and smoke". (125)

Arthur's Work as a Missionary at St. Augustine's Station

Arthur's English benefactors followed his progress in the field with great interest. The young man proved to be a first-rate carpenter, a skill which he had learnt at College, both at the Cape and at Canterbury. When the Hereford Missionary Association heard that their protégé was hampered in his work by a lack of suitable tools, they promised to send him a present of implements. (126)

Besides helping with the building, Arthur was kept busy as an interpreter and teacher. He assisted at the daily services, held in Kafir, which were compulsory for the workmen to attend. He was also needed to interpret the sermon on Sundays. (127) It seemed that all his training was being put to good use. Key and Dodd were delighted with their African colleague's progress as a missionary. A few months after they had started work amongst the Pondomise, Dodd informed the Warden of St. Augustine's College that :

Arthur not only takes a great interest in teaching, but has a great influence over those whom he teaches, and we think he is quite capable of undertaking the management of our future school The knowledge of music he gained while in England is a source of great pleasure to him. He has already taught the children here some tunes. (128)

Key reported that Arthur liked the place, although it was so far

from his father's, and was universally liked by the people. (129)
 At the same time, Key wrote to the Bishop of Grahamstown, who was then in England, to inform his superior that he thought Arthur would be fit for ordination by the time the Bishop returned to South Africa. (130)

Before long, Key and Dodd became sufficiently fluent in Xhosa to dispense with Arthur's services as an interpreter. This greatly facilitated the scope of their work. (131)

The Pattern and Progress of the Mission at St. Augustine's

Key and Dodd had very definite ideas on how the mission at St. Augustine's was to be organized. They were against the usual system whereby the converts were compelled to leave their kraals and live on the station. They believed that such a method was doomed to fail, for as the Church settlement mushroomed, so would the missionary be unable to give the increasing number of people his adequate supervision.

The clergyman-in-charge of a station was expected to act the part of chief and magistrate as well as minister. The Augustinians maintained that if the station grew too large, the teaching of the heathen and children would inevitably become neglected. Added to which such a system invariably aroused the local chief's jealousy. The African leaders not unnaturally resented the usurpation of their rights and power over their people, and friction surely followed. (132)

Key and Dodd considered that their main objects were to educate the children and to hold regular services among the heathen. Their plan was to limit the size of the central station and develop a network of out-stations. The native teachers were to live among the people, and the small schools would be situated in the very heart of the heathen population. The majority of converts would remain at their kraals. Only a select few would be sent to the central station for further training as teachers.

The foundations of this scheme were soon laid. Five out-stations were established at kraals at focal points during the first year. For a start the English missionaries had to act as itinerant schoolteachers. They visited the out-stations regularly, collecting classes of children together and holding services. Arthur was left in charge of the central school. (133)

Although the S.P.G., who were financing the venture, received encouraging reports of the work done at St. Augustine's during the early years, the actual progress of the mission was "merely nominal ... little more than gaining the confidence and in some cases the affection of the people". (134)

The station's remote position was one of the main difficulties. The local tribes waged constant war with each other and until such time as the British Government took over control of the country, there was no guarantee that the station would be safe from attack. The missionaries had to be prepared to evacuate at a moment's notice if necessary. Mditshwa gave them every possible help, but the ever present state of tension and uncertainty effected the Pandomise as much as the churchworkers, and conversions were slow. (135) Key, writing a few years later, said :

I can hardly see how many of them could become Christians, situated as they were in the midst of hostile tribes. The political situation was too serious, they could only just hold their own; they hardly had time to attend to such things, especially as it was a rooted idea in the minds of all natives that a convert to Christianity was lost to his chief for military purposes. (136)

Key had had no wish to interfere with the converts' traditional allegiance to their chief. He had agreed that the Christians should be allowed to fight the chief's enemies in times of war. But witchcraft and superstition proved to be difficulties that were not so easily overcome. The churchworkers' efforts to combat these evils were largely fruitless. In their desperate attempts to save the hapless victims of the witchdoctors from their punishment, sometimes even from death, the missionaries would often endanger their own lives. They needed great courage to live out their Christian convictions. (137)

Arthur Moves to St. Mark's Mission

Arthur, Dodd and Key remained together at St. Augustine's Mission for three years. It was an exacting life for the African evangelist, but, with the constant encouragement and support of his English friends, he was able to meet the many demands and carry out his work to their satisfaction. The Warden of the English Missionary College recorded early in 1868 that he had had excellent reports of Arthur in the Grahamstown Mission. (138)

The trio were eventually separated in 1868. Key stayed on at

St. Augustine's, while Dodd left to take charge of St. Alban's, a new station among the Tambookies in the Queenstown district. (139) Arthur was sent to St. Mark's to work under the Rev. Waters. This move took the black teacher from his pioneer existence among the heathen, with all its privations, to the comparative comfort of a large central station situated in a thriving Christian community.

By this time the station at St. Mark's had become a sort of English village in the centre of a large native population. The converts had settled in the surrounding area and the mission village had become ringed round by a number of native ones, forming a circle of about three miles. There were at least eight substantial buildings at the station - a large stone chapel, school buildings of brick, and wattle-and-daub, and a few wattle-and-daub houses.

English artisans and traders had been attracted to the centre and had set up business there. The European capital invested in a substantial wagon-making industry as well as the different trade establishments, gave employment to a large number of natives. Besides which, the mission village afforded the natives a ready market for their produce. They came from miles around to exchange their wool, straw and cattle for articles of European manufacture such as blankets, clothing, ploughs and spades. (140)

Although Arthur's move to St. Mark's meant that he was parted from his English friends, he now had the companionship of Josiah Bennekazi instead. (141) The two young men had been at Zonnebloem together and had both attended St. Augustine's, though not at the same time. Josiah had gone to England in 1867 as a member of the second group from the Kafir College. His training, however, had been cut short as a result of ill health and he had recently returned to South Africa, after spending little more than a year overseas. Josiah's similar background made him a kindred spirit to Arthur, someone who could take the place of Key and Dodd in the black evangelist's life.

The educational policy at St. Mark's was to supplement the religious training with industrial training. (142) Arthur and Josiah were soon settled into a well ordered routine of teaching. They gave instruction in carpentry in addition to their normal schoolwork. Towards the end of 1868 it was reported that Arthur was preparing to get married and had made some good furniture

for his house. (143)

St. Mark's provided the African teachers with a protected environment, in contrast to Arthur's previous position in the mission field. They were given limited responsibility, were not called upon to extend themselves unduly, and were not exposed to the predicaments which the pioneering work of the Church constantly presented. Contained as they were in a rigid discipline, they made commendable progress.

While Arthur and Josiah remained at the Central Station they were part and parcel of a uniform group. Their life in this Anglican stronghold fell into the familiar pattern which they had known at College. They were safe from the temptations of tribal custom and their Christian faith went unchallenged by the Africans' traditional beliefs. They both flourished in their new surroundings. This is very evident from the leading part which they played at the missionary conference held at St. Mark's in June 1864.

This annual gathering provided the African teachers and catechists from the out-stations with the opportunity of coming together at the mother mission. Services and meetings were held over a number of days giving the delegates a chance to share their problems and discuss their difficulties, as well as being able to enjoy the fellowship of like-minded people. Arthur and Josiah were prominent participants that year, right from the start.

The proceedings began with an impressive choral procession through the streets of the mission village. Arthur, carrying a banner, marched at the head of the parade, leading the choir in the singing of a Gregorian chant. When the conference got under way, the teachers took it in turns to address the assembly on various topics of mission concern. Josiah was highly commended for his novel and interesting speech. His subject was an historical account of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in which he introduced the story of Gregory meeting the "Angles" in the slave market of Rome. Arthur came into his own when he directed the choir in the singing of a number of anthems, their programme including "Handel's Hallelujah Chorus", "In Jewry is God Known" and "Rejoice in the Lord". (144)

The conference gave Arthur and Josiah the opportunity of showing off the fruits of their more sophisticated education to their colleagues, and they made the most of the occasion. A few weeks

later, the Visitation of the Bishop of Grahamstown brought Arthur into the limelight once again, for he was called on to interpret the Bishop's sermons at all the services, including the Confirmation. (145)

The accounts of Arthur's doings, as reported by Canon Waters in "The Net", were followed by the young man's English friends with great interest. They were most gratified to hear of their protégé's achievements and were optimistic that he would soon be admitted to the Order of Deacons. Prompted by hints that the Bishop was intending to hold an ordination of Africans at St. Mark's the following year, they collected together sufficient funds to supply Arthur with a surplice. But although Arthur was apparently making good progress, his superiors had some hesitation in recommending him for the work of the ministry. They decided that neither he nor Josiah were yet ready for this step. (146)

Arthur and Josiah are sent on Separate Missions to "the Red Kafirs"

Arthur and Josiah continued as teachers at St. Mark's until 1869. At the beginning of that year, they wrote to the Warden of St. Augustine's giving news of new appointments. After expressing grateful remembrances of their College, and reporting well of their health, they announced that they were to be sent "upon a distinct mission themselves to the Red Kafirs". (147) Canon Waters had promoted them both to the charge of separate out-stations in the Transkei.

Arthur and Josiah took up their new appointments with great enthusiasm. But their life as lone witnesses of Christianity amongst the heathen African proved to be a time of testing, a time in which their faith was continually challenged. It seems that the two evangelists had difficulty in managing alone in an environment hostile to their efforts. They became discouraged by the constant opposition of the people around them, and their work suffered accordingly.

The Rev. Mullins of the Grahamstown Kafir Institution, who was responsible for examining the Africans for ordination, reported in 1871 that Arthur and Josiah were only doing fairly. "I hear occasional complaints of them", he wrote, "but they soon brighten up again. I fancy we English expect too much of the English stamina in the Kafirs". (148)

The Warden of the Missionary College at Canterbury was most disturbed to receive a succession of indifferent accounts of the African graduates. Douglas Dodd, who was on holiday in England at the time, was given a special charge to contact Arthur and Josiah on his return to Africa, and report on their activities. A suitable opportunity arose when Dodd attended the Annual Conference at St. Mark's in 1871. Dodd was asked to deliver a short address to the large gathering of African teachers. In his speech, -

he dwelt particularly on the interest and anxiety felt by many in England, with regard to the welfare and work of those natives who had been known to many in England as friends and students of St. Augustine's, but regarded by all alike as the future champions of the faith among their brethren, from which much would be expected. (149)

After the meeting Dodd was able to have long talks with his black friends and learn of their doings. He was greatly moved by the stories of their solitary struggles to survive as Christians, living as they were in the heathen tribesmen's midst. Although Dodd was optimistic about their future, he considered that it was too much to expect them to carry on with such arduous work without the helping hand of a white companion.

Dodd informed the Warden of St. Augustine's that Josiah had improved very much lately, both in work and health. The English missionary referred to the fact that Josiah had been somewhat indolent following his return from overseas, but suggested that this could have been due to his weak state of health at that time. Dodd's report on Arthur gives such a clear picture of the African's experiences as an evangelist, that it is reproduced in full :

Arthur Toise, my fellow student at College, my fellow labourer for some time out here, and my particular friend, is, I am glad to say, well and working satisfactorily, though I believe his present sphere of labour is not quite congenial to him.

I should be glad to have Arthur as my fellow worker in these parts. His Mission at present is just within the Colonial boundary, and for this reason he has particular difficulties to meet, as the Kaffirs about him have for the most part had Christianity before them for a long time past, but have constantly rejected it; and at the same time, they have readily adopted a vicious kind of civilization, which they assume with great bravado, supposing they have reached a climax from which they would rather teach others than receive instruction themselves.

It is the old story of the vices and follies of civilization added to heathenism, making the present state of many of the Kaffirs worse than their former evil though ignorant ways. To work among such people is very depressing, and so Arthur finds it to be. I do not think he is suited for such work, in fact I believe the time has not yet arrived for natives to stand alone among their heathen brethren as examples and instructors. Such a trial is severe in the extreme, and few can endure it for any length of time, nor can we wonder at natives succumbing to the deadening influence of sin on every side and in every form, when we find white men who have had the benefits of Christian education, high refinement and civilization, sinking to the level of the Red Kaffir.

Hitherto Arthur has struggled manfully against the baneful influences which have pulled down so many of those who entered upon their course with joy, aided by great advantages, and giving every promise of success. Arthur has been the means of checkening more than one young man bent upon sin; he works in a quiet undemonstrative manner, the fruit of his labour may not be apparent to everyone, but that his works have not been in vain, there is ample proof. (150)

Dodd eventually got his way, Arthur joining him at St. Alban's in 1873.

Duke's Desertion

Duke Tshatshu started work as a teacher at the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown, so remaining in a civilized environment, in contrast to Arthur. He still had problems of identification, however, for it seems certain that as an educated black man living in a predominantly white community he did not receive that respect and consideration to which he had become used while resident in England. He may even have had to endure some unpleasantness from the settlers. Within the narrow confines of the Church circle, this chief's son had to reconcile himself to being relegated to a very lowly status. Although Duke's problems were quite different to those of Arthur's, they were nonetheless agonizing.

The Grahamstown Kafir College had been founded in 1857 under Sir George Grey's Industrial Educational scheme, but it had made scant progress during the first few years. (151) As a result of the Rev. Mullins' appointment as Principal in 1864, the College had taken on a new lease of life and had soon acquired an excellent reputation. Mullins was a firm disciplinarian and believed in keeping his pupils busy the whole day long.

The greatest difficulty I have to contend with,

(he said) is laziness - not in school, where they are diligent enough, but out of school. We try to employ them as much as possible in all sorts of out-door work to keep them from idleness and mischief. (152)

Duke certainly had no time for idleness and mischief either, as the Rev. Mullins' first and only assistant. He took up his appointment in February 1865 and the pattern of his daily life was soon regulated into an industrious routine, similar to that which he had known at the Kafir College in Cape Town. The only difference was that the majority of the pupils were drawn from the surrounding area and went home for the holidays.

The schoolday started with Scripture lessons and prayers. The rest of the morning was taken up with Glasswork. Mullins was fluent in Kafir and the African language was included as an integral part of the curriculum. Duke assisted with the teaching of reading, writing, Kafir translations, grammar, dictation, spelling and arithmetic. The afternoon was given over to carpentry, music and singing lessons, as well as manual labour like gardening. (153)

After a year's disciplined apprenticeship as a teacher under Mullins, Duke was posted to St. Matthew's, the Mission to the Fingoes at Keiskamma Hoek. (154) Nothing is known of his activities there except that he did not come up to expectations. The Rev. Greenstock's cryptic report merely stated that he had proved himself unequal to, and unfit for, the work of an evangelist. Duke's shortcomings, possibly even misdeeds, are a matter for conjecture. At any rate he did not stay long at St. Matthew's.

On leaving the Mission, Duke returned to live among his friends. The latest news of him in 1870, was that he had "gone back to the ways of heathenism". (155) Duke's desertion was a great disappointment to the Church. As a result of his education in England in a private family, "better things had been hoped of him". (156)

Duke, Arthur and Josiah, had all begun their careers in the Church imbued with lofty ideals and burning zeal. They had been determined to prove themselves worthy of their superior education and fulfil the high expectations of their friends, mentors and benefactors. During their first years as evangelists, they had managed to maintain a satisfactory, if not spectacularly successful, standard of work in the face of many difficulties. But it

seems that after a few years in the field, the struggle became too much for them and they started to slip, and finally fail. We shall take up the threads of their story once again when we follow the careers of later graduates from Zonnebloem and St. Augustine's, and compare the fruits of their labour.

University of Cape Town

1. Watermeyer Commission, 1863, 96 n. 821.
2. Ibid., 96 n. 822.
3. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1215, USPGA.
4. A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cape Town, by Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town, delivered at St. George's Cathedral, 17.1.1865, 62.
5. Watermeyer Commission, 1863, 97 n. 835.
6. Gray's Charge, 17.1.1865, 62.
7. Ibid.
8. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49. It is not known whether the Mission was suspended because of lack of funds or for political reasons.
9. George had won a watch as a prize in 1861, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
10. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1215, USPGA.
11. Ibid.
12. "Africans in England", TN, 1.7.1867, 106.
13. Ibid.
14. Warden's Address, SAOP, no. 81, 20.9.1864.
15. Ibid.
16. The tutors were the Revs. W.L.B. Cator and J.S. Watson.
17. SAOP, no. 81, 20.9.1864.
18. Ibid.
19. Warden's Sermon at the Memorial Service for Jeremiah Moshesh, SAOP, no. 81, 20.9.1864. The scholarships were worth £60 a year.
20. SAOP, no. 81, 20.9.1864.
21. Ibid.
22. Report by Dodd, n.d., SAOP, 1864, Letter no. 244.
23. Report by Mitchell, n.d., SAOP, 1864, Letter no. 244.
24. Ibid.
25. Report by Dodd, n.d., SAOP, 1864, Letter no. 244.
26. Ibid.
27. W.G.A. Mears, Wesleyan Barolong Mission in Trans Orangia, 1821 - 1884 (Cape Town : Struik, 1970) 33.
28. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:401ff.
29. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 78ff.
30. M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God : The Episcopate of William West Jones, D D., 1874 - 1908 (London : Macmillan, 1913) 111.
31. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 79.
32. Twells' Journal, 1.10.1863, BM, 1863, 1:25.

33. Ibid.
34. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 79.
35. Mears, op.cit., 33.
36. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 79.
37. Mears, op.cit., 34.
38. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 398.
39. G. Mitchell, "Some Account of the Barolong - A South African Tribe", MF, 2.8.1875, 46.
40. Webb's Journal, n.d., BM, 1876, 2 no. 33:28.
41. Mitchell's Account, MF, 2.8.1875, 46.
42. Webb's Journal, n.d., BM, **1870**, 2 no. 9:10. The kaross was made from the skin of some **animal**, or several small ones, sewn together and fastened on the right shoulder, leaving only the right arm free. The fur of the skin was worn inside, excepting a piece folded over at the neck which made a collar.
43. Mitchell's Account, MF, 2.8.1875, 47.
44. Webb's Journal, **n.d.**, BM, 1870, 2 no. 9:10.
45. TN, 1.6.1868, 91f.
46. Moroka was eventually baptized, shortly before his death, in the Wesleyan Church in April 1880. By that time the chief had freed all his wives except one and they too became Christians. BM, July 1880, 2 no. 49:30.
47. Twells' Journal, 1.10.1863, BM, 1863, 1:24.
48. "Through all his grotesque ugliness there was something not un-kingly about him. He moved well; and said 'Dhunella' (Hail) like a gentleman". Webb's Journal, n.d., BM, July 1878, 2 no. 33:29.
49. Ibid.
50. Mitchell's Account, MF, 2.8.1875, 47.
51. Moroka had supported the Orange River Sovereignty by sending men to Winburg in 1846 to help against Jan Kock, and in 1851 to fight Moshesh at Viervoet. - Mears, op.cit., 30.
52. Ibid., 34.
53. Mitchell to Warden, 4.4.1866, SAOP, 1.12.1866, No. 99, Letter no. 290.
54. Mears, op.cit., 30.
55. Mitchell to Warden, 4.4.1866, SAOP, 1.12.1866, No. 99, Letter no. 290.
56. Mitchell to Warden, 26.9.1866, SAOP, 20.12.1866, No. 100, Letter no. 299.
57. TN, 1.11.1867, 164.
58. Ibid.
59. MF, 1.11.1876, 334f.
60. Ibid.

61. In the years that followed Moroka "sent nearly all his sons, grandsons and nephews to the training schools and Colleges for Africans in the Cape Colony : Farmerfield at Salem (Wesleyan), Zonnebloem at Cape Town (Anglican), and Lovedale at Alice (Presbyterian)". - Mears, op.cit., 34.
62. Mitchell to Warden, 26.9.1866, SAOP, 20.12.1866, No. 100, Letter no. 299.
63. Mitchell to Warden, 4.4.1866, SAOP, 1.12.1866, No. 99, Letter No. 290.
64. Key to Warden, 12.9.1866, SAOP, 13.1.1867, No. 104, Letter no. 310; Report by Bishop **WEE**, 1874, TN, 1.11.1874, 168f.
65. Gray to Hawkins, 13.2.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 965, USPGA; Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1215, USPGA.
66. BM, July 1876, 2 no. 33:30f.
67. Mitchell to Warden, 26.9.1866, SAOP, 20.12.1866, No. 100, Letter no. 299.
68. Ibid.
69. Mitchell's Account of the Barolong Tribe, MF, 2.8.1875, 47.
70. Mitchell to Warden, 26.9.1866, SAOP, 20.12.1866, No. 100, Letter no. 299.
71. Report by Father James Douglas, S.S.S., n.d., BM, August 1879, 2 no. 45:10.
72. Bishop of Grahamstown to Bullock, 14.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37, 1868: 1055, USPGA.
73. Archbishop West Jones' Journal, 1877, Wood, op.cit., 111.
74. "A Visit to Thaba 'Nchu", author unknown, 1874, TN, 1.11.1874, 169. The hut had walls five feet high. The thatched roof was supported by strong poles and beams. The stone hard floor, compounded of anthheap and bullock's blood, was very clean and tidy.
75. Mitchell to Warden, 8.2.1870, SAOP, 24.5.1870, No. 128, Letter no. 391.
76. Mitchell to Warden, 4.3.1872, SAOP, 1872, Letter no. 464.
77. Mitchell to Warden, 28.2.1871, SAOP, 1871, No. 136, Letter no. 411.
78. Ibid.
79. BM, June 1871, 2 no. 13:13f.
80. BM, Oct. 1871, 2 no. 14:10f.
81. BM, Jan. 1870, 2 no. 9:8ff; TN, 1.5.1872, 75.
82. BM, July 1876, 2 no. 33:32f.
83. BM, July 1878, 2 no. 41:24f.
84. Gray to Hawkins, 13.2.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867 : 965, USPGA.
85. "Kafir Catechists", Archdeacon Merriman, TN, 1.10.1870, 153 and BM, Jan. 1870, 2 no. 9:11.

86. List of Grahamstown teachers, 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1204, USPGA.
87. "The Kafir Institution at Grahamstown", CCP, Sept. 1883, 4 no. 8:276ff.
88. Dodd to Warden, October 1864, SAOP, 1864, Letter no. 244.
89. The Rev. R.J. Mullins was stationed at St. John Baptist Mission on the Bolitsa River at this time. Mullins to Warden, May 1863, SAOP, 1863, Letter no. 198.
90. Key to Warden, 4.1.1865, SAOP, 1865, Letter no. 248.
91. A.G.S. Gibson, Eight Years in Kaffraria, 1882 - 1890 (London, 1890) 43.
92. MF, 1.8.1865, 141f.
93. Key to Warden, 4.1.1865, SAOP, 1865, Letter no. 248.
94. Not only were there considerable differences in dialect between related groups of the Nguni people, such as the Xhosa and the Zulu; but the Nguni language was quite distinct from the Tsonga or Sotho - Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:75ff and 1:95f.
95. "The Kafir Institution at Grahamstown", MF, 1.2.1870, 46.
96. "Africans in England", TN, 1.7.1867, 106f.
97. Key to Warden, 16.10.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter no. 269.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. TN, 1.7.1867, 107.
101. "New Mission in Independent Kaffraria", MF, 1.8.1865, 141f.
102. MF, 1865, 10:219.
103. Gibson, op.cit., 43.
104. MF, 1865: 41ff and 79; MF, 1867 :86; Missionary Journal of the S.P.G., 5:48, 158, 404 and 6:49, 63f, 333; S.P.G. Annual Report, 1861 : 36, 1863 : 27, 1864 : 82, 1865 : 92.
105. MF, 1.8.1865, 141.
106. Ibid.
107. G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld (Wells : London, 1912) 27.
108. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter no. 270; MF, 1.8.1865, 141. A local chief, who was supposed to accompany them, was unable to go at the last minute.
109. Callaway, op.cit., 28.
110. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter no. 270.
111. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1864: 82 and 1865 : 92.
112. Callaway, op.cit., 27f; Gibson, op.cit., 43.
113. Callaway, op.cit., 29.
114. Ibid., 31ff.

115. "St. Augustine's Mission, Independent Kaffraria", MF, 186,
10:141f.
116. "New Mission in Independent Kaffraria", MF, 1865, 10:141f.
117. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter
No. 270.
118. Callaway, op.cit., 32.
119. *ibid.*, 33.
120. Key to Warden, 16.10.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter
no. 269.
121. "Grahamstown Missions", MF, 1.8.1867, 372f.
122. 200 Years of the S.P.G., 310; MF, 1866, 11:270ff.
123. MF, 1.8.1867, 373.
124. Callaway, op.cit., 34; MF, 1866, 11:270ff.
125. MF, 1866, 11:272.
126. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter
no. 270.
127. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865 and Key to Warden, 16.10.1865,
SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter no's. 270 and 269.
128. Dodd to Warden, 26.8.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter
no. 270.
129. Key to Warden, 16.10.1865, SAOP, 10.5.1866, No. 88, Letter
no. 269.
- 130a Quote in Bishop of Cape Town's Special Fund Appeal, 1865,
S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1271, USPGA.
131. Callaway, op.cit., 38f.
132. "St. Augustine's Mission, Independent Kaffraria", MF, 1866,
11:270ff.
133. *Ibid.*
134. Digest of Records of S.P.G., 310.
135. MF, 1866, 11:270ff.
136. Callaway, op.cit., 38f.
137. *Ibid.*
138. Warden's Report, SAOP, 29.2.1868, No. 108.
139. St. Alban's was on the Egosa River. - Callaway, op.cit., 44.
140. Waters to S.P.G., 1865, MF, 1866, 11:23.
141. Josiah was also known as Joseph Bankwyo - "Church Work in
Kaffraria", TN, 1.11.1868, 162ff.
142. Digest of Records of S.P.G., 309.
143. TN, 1.11.1868, 163.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*
147. SAOP, 10.5.1869, No. 119.

148. Mullins to Warden, 7.8.1871, SAOP, 24.11.1871, No. 143, Letter no. 439. The Natal missionary, the Rev. Robertson expressed much the same sentiments in 1867 : "Those who havemostblamed the indolence of the Kafir begin to see that he cannot in one generation work like the white man, because he lacks the inborn nervous energy which no amount of mere muscle can atone for". - TN, 1.9.1867, 132.
149. Dodd to Warden, 3.10.1871, SAOP, 12.12.1871, No. 144, Letter no. 445.
150. Ibid.
151. CCP, Sept. 1883, 4 no. 8:273ff.
152. Report by Mullins, "Kafir Institution, Grahamstown", MF, 1.2.1870, 45ff.
153. Ibid.
154. "Saint Matthew's College, Keiskama Hoek", CZ, Aug. 1943, 12 no. 3:97ff.
155. CCP, Feb. 1887, 8 no. 2:47.
156. "Kafir Catechists", TN, 1.10.1870, 153.

CHAPTER XIZONNEBLOEM AS A STATE-AIDED KAFIR INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION :
1864 - 18691. 1865 : A Catastrophic Year in South AfricaChaos throughout the Country

Drought, famine and depression; political struggles and war; Church controversy; fire, storm and shipwreck - these disasters marked 1865 as a year of turmoil and travail in South Africa. The severe drought was then in its fifth year. As a result of the failure of successive crops and the death of hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep, food was scarce and expensive, employment hard to come by. The Government relief funds had soon become exhausted, and, as starvation faced both black and white alike, the country seethed with unrest. Many of the unemployed whites emigrated to New Zealand. But for the blacks there was no escape. (1)

Land, the cause of so much conflict in South Africa's recent history, was the chief bone of contention. It was a subject of dispute between the different tribes themselves as well as between the tribesmen and the colonists. As the drought continued through 1865, the competition for land became ever keener. Rival claimants aggravated an already sensitive state of affairs by trying to assert their rights of ownership, upsetting the delicate balance of power on every border. The political situation in most parts of the country was highly inflammable and war was a continual threat. (2)

Both the Coloured and African tribes kept up a constant pressure on the borders of the Cape Colony, Natal, and Boer Republics. Lacking strength in arms, they harried the farmer with repeated cattle thieving forays. The frontiersmen retaliated by organizing commando raids to recover their stolen animals. Inevitably this recurring friction soon erupted into open conflict.

In the Eastern Cape, the frontier farmers were driven to desperation by the daring depredations of the starving Kafirs and formed a "mutual protection association" in order to wreak their revenge. But this attempt to take the law into their own hands landed them in serious trouble with the authorities. (3)
Relations between black and white on the Frontier were strained

to breaking point. The Settlers watched with growing concern the way in which the tribes, which had been broken up by the Cattle Killing, were re-forming and occupying new lands in the Transkei. The farmers became increasingly nervous as the Kafirs gradually gathered strength. Rumours of fresh attacks by their old enemies were rife, causing the settler community to panic at the slightest sign of hostility.

The tension on the Eastern Frontier was heightened by pressures from within the ranks of the conflicting societies. Persistent tribal warfare in the black homelands resulted in the weaker tribes being displaced and seeking fresh lands on which to settle. At the same time, the Settlers were locked in a lengthy political struggle with their Governor. Since taking up office in 1862, Wodehouse had persisted with his efforts to annex British Kaffraria to the Cape despite the opposition of the majority of the colonists. Their public meetings, petitions and endless legal battles were all in vain for Wodehouse finally had his way. He won the support of the Imperial Parliament, and British Kaffraria was formally incorporated with the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope on April 17, 1866. (4)

But the unrest was not confined to this perennial trouble-spot alone. There was chaos throughout the country during 1865. The northern boundary of the Cape Colony was the scene of further friction as roving bands of Hottentots, Bushmen, Korannas and stray Xhosas competed with the poverty stricken "trek-boers" for grazing land for their stock. While in the Transvaal, the Boer Republics were threatened on all sides by their African neighbours who were determined to fight for their rights to disputed land. Most menacing of all were the Zulu warriors who had massed along their border and were poised for an invasion of the Transvaal. Even after prolonged arbitration had brought about a satisfactory settlement and the impis had dispersed, the Zulus' temper remained suspect. (5)

In the interior, the tension between black and white could be contained no longer and erupted into action in June 1865 when the Free State declared war on Basutoland. The situation there had been explosive for many years, Moshesh only just managing to maintain a shaky peace by means of clever diplomacy. But the chief was approaching eighty years of age and growing increasingly

frail. Gone were the days when he was able to keep even a precarious hold over his ambitious senior sons, and their plundering now went unchecked. The rivals were jockeying for position as their father's successor. They sought to augment their power by amassing wealth in cattle at the Boers' expense, harassing the Free State farmers with frequent raids. The Boers were not prepared to suffer such punishment for long, though, and soon joined forces to make a concerted stand against their persecutors.

The Boers' numbers had increased in recent years and they were well armed too. Rallying under their new President, (6) they went to war against the Basutos with the intention of securing the coveted land on their eastern frontier. The Boer commandoes eventually succeeded in subduing their African enemy. But although the peace treaties were concluded in 1866, intermittent fighting still continued. The Basutos were reluctant to part with the large territory which they had been forced to cede to the Boers as part of their peace terms. Hostilities were only brought to a halt in 1868 when the Basutos became British subjects. Wodehouse, in response to repeated requests from Moshesh, at long last intervened and annexed Basutoland. (7)

The widespread disturbances which reached into every corner of the country during the mid eighteen-sixties, severely disrupted the work of most of the missionaries. What was even more discouraging was that many of them had to evacuate their stations, fleeing in danger of their lives. It seemed as if their efforts to win the heathen to Christianity and teach them the arts of civilization had met with minimal success. Apart from the faithful little bands of converts that clustered around a few mission settlements, the vast mass had remained untouched by the message of the gospel. This state of affairs lent weight to Bishop Gray's argument that the work of the white missionaries would always be restricted in scope and that black evangelists would be more effective in infiltrating into their fellow countrymen's midst and providing their spiritual and educational needs. Consequently it was vital to the Church's purpose that Zonnebloem should persevere with its efforts to train African leaders.

Church Controversy

While the tension both within and between the different racial groups in South Africa gathered momentum during 1865, it also

proved to be a critical year in the life of the Anglican Church. The controversy caused by Colenso's biblical criticisms, which was to have far reaching repercussions, was moving inexorably towards its climax.

The Natal Bishop had been accused of heresy and was tried in his absence in St. George's Cathedral in November 1863. The Court, consisting of the bishops of Grahamstown and the Free State presided over by Bishop Gray, had found Colenso guilty on all nine charges. The sentence, that Colenso was "to be deposed from the office of bishop, and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitan Province of Cape Town" had been put into effect after he had failed to avail himself of the opportunity of retracting. (8)

However, Colenso, who was in England at the time, contested the legality of the Metropolitan's Court and made a direct petition of appeal to the Crown. After lengthy deliberations, the Privy Council finally delivered their judgement in March 1865. It was a complicated legal argument based on the question of the validity of Bishop Gray's Letters Patent of December 1853. Because these had been issued after an independent Legislature had been granted to the Cape Colony, "the judicial committee held that, though the Crown could create ecclesiastical persons, it could not give them jurisdiction in colonies which possessed their own legislatures. Gray could exercise no authority over Colenso". (9)

This meant that the proceedings taken by Bishop Gray, and the judgment passed by him against Colenso, were null and void in law. Further, if the letters patent issued by the Crown conferred no authority on Bishop Gray, then he was legally independent and the Church in South Africa was free. As Hinchliff comments : "Almost by accident the Anglican Church in South Africa discovered that it was not established". (10)

Bishop Gray was greatly distressed by the ruling against his judgment. Nonetheless he was quick to appreciate the significance of the legal facts which the case had exposed. The State could no longer interfere with the administration of his Church. Even so, the first Provincial Synod was not constituted until 1870, to adopt the constitution and canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa. (11)

The Colenso controversy marked 1865 as a black year for Bishop

Gray. Besides the legal wranglings, he was haunted by the spectre of bankruptcy and ruin. As a result of losing the suit against Colenso, Gray was responsible for paying the costs. At the same time, his salary was temporarily suspended by the Colonial Bishoprics Fund while they considered the legality of their commitments to Colenso. Gray had no private funds to tide him over the crisis.

In addition to his financial worries, the Metropolitan had to cope with the invidious situation which had arisen in Natal. Colenso had returned to South Africa in November 1865 to take possession of his diocese. Gray, after one last personal plea to Colenso to recant, had ordered that his sentence of excommunication should be publicly proclaimed on January 5, 1866. Colenso, on the other hand, had persisted with his assertion that he was "the Queen's Bishop" and that he represented the Church of England in Natal. (12)

After lengthy litigation and an appeal to the Privy Council, Colenso was ultimately given control over all the Church property except for one mission station, Callaway's. But even though he was the legal Bishop of Natal and owned all the plant, he was not recognized by the Anglican Church in South Africa. His work was severely restricted as a consequence. He had a much reduced following among the clergy and laity in the diocese, and meagre funds at his disposal.

Bishop Gray had great difficulty in finding a suitable candidate to accept the vacant see because the new bishop could not be guaranteed support in Natal. When the Rev. W.K. Macrorie finally agreed to fill the post, it took Gray a further two years to arrange for his consecration. In the end, the Bishop of Maritzburg, as he was called, did not start work in his diocese until February 1869. (13)

Disasters at the Cape

What with the continuing drought causing untold suffering, the friction throughout the country flaring up into fighting, and the theological dispute dividing the Anglican Church, it was no wonder that many people believed that South Africa was under a curse in 1865. (14) Two dramatic disasters which took place at the Cape on the same day in May seemed to furnish further evidence for this belief.

A hurricane hit Swellendam on May 17 causing a fire to burn fiercely out of control, nearly destroying the whole village.(15) At the same time, in Sophy Gray's words, "a storm of unprecedented severity broke over Table Bay". (16) As the gale force winds whipped up gigantic waves, the ships at anchor in the Bay were torn from their cables and driven onto the reefs and beaches between the Castle and Salt River. According to Sophy, one steamer, seventeen sea-going vessels and innumerable boats were wrecked, while many lives were lost. (17)

The drama in the storm was enacted almost on Zonnebloem's doorstep, the staff and students being among the helpless onlookers. The shoemaking instructor's young daughter later recounted her impressions of the horrifying spectacle :

The cries of the women and children mingled with the howling of the wind, the dashing of the heavy seas against the rocks, crashing and smashing sounds of the boats being tossed against each other, and the pleading cries of the crew all were heard by thousands of towns people who lived along the foreshore, helpless and unable to save a life. (18)

Cataclysms such as these were a sign of the times.

2. Education at Zonnebloem : 1864 - 1865.

Zonnebloem functions on the same footing as the Frontier Institutions

While the mid eighteen-sixties were troubled times for the mass in South Africa, this period was, in contrast, one of consolidation and progress for Zonnebloem. Prior to 1864, the College's very existence had continually been threatened by financial uncertainty. The Kafir Institution had been able to make little headway while its income depended on the capricious generosity of the philanthropic British public, the unpredictable sympathies of the constantly changing colonial authorities, and hand-outs begged from the hard-pressed Church Societies.

Once Zonnebloem had been classified as a State-aided Industrial Institution connected with the Aborigenes Department, and functioned on the same footing as the Frontier Institutions, its future was assured. The only drawback was that although the College could depend on a regular allowance under the new system, the amount was less than half that which the Government had originally granted. This meant that Bishop Gray had to tailor the Institution according to its reduced income. Con-

sequently Zonnebloem took on a streamlined form as it forged ahead.

Under the new regime, Zonnebloem was subject to the supervision of the Superintendent-General of Education. Dr. Dale duly made his first official inspection in August 1864. The scholars exhibited their knowledge with commendable results. Added to which Dr. Dale expressed his satisfaction with the administration and management of the Institution, and recommended that it should continue to receive a grant of £400 a year. (19) Zonnebloem had successfully overcome the first hurdle. But even though the College still fell under the Church's cloak, it had nonetheless been forced into a position where certain standards had to be maintained and Government approved academic goals aimed at, if it was to carry on qualifying for State aid.

Now that Bishop Gray had been relieved of the brunt of the financial burden of running the Kafir College, he was able to concentrate on planning for its future development. In his charge to Diocesan Synod in January 1865, he reported on Zonnebloem's progress up to date. He made special mention of the three chiefs' sons who had completed their studies at St. Augustine's and had recently returned to their native land to labour amongst their countrymen. He continued : "Others are ready to join them. The College is now quite full ... and flourishing. It is beginning, I believe, to be more and more appreciated by the most intelligent natives, who are anxious for an English education". (20)

The Bishop then went on to announce a dramatic new development, for the first white students had been admitted to Zonnebloem during the previous year.

The First White Students

It had long been Bishop Gray's intention to introduce English lads into the College. He believed that not only would they be effective in raising the standard of English amongst the students, but that the example of their behaviour would be beneficial in teaching the black boys the ways of the Western world. As the Bishop told the S.P.C.K. : "The intermixture of Europeans with natives cannot but be productive of good. It entered into the original plans of Sir G. Grey and myself, and is provided for in the College deeds". (21)

The problem had been to find suitable young men to take part in

the experiment. The opportunity had presented itself when the Church was pressed to provide training for aspiring schoolmasters.

At that time there was no Government Teacher Training establishment in Cape Town. An Institution had been founded in 1842 to provide training for teachers, as well as providing more advanced instruction for scholars so as "to diffuse a liberal education through all ranks of society". (22) But the College had closed in 1860 after it had failed to supply a single teacher to the Cape schools. Out of the three hundred and fifty students who had passed through its doors, only twelve had qualified as teachers. Not one of them had taken up the profession, presumably choosing more lucrative jobs.

The only teacher training that was available, therefore, was that offered by the pupil-teacher system. This had been begun in a small way in 1842. But despite Rose-Innes' attempts to improve the system in 1858, it had failed to produce many teachers. The Cape continued to be dependent on a supply of teachers from overseas. (23)

The Church was desperately short of schoolmasters for it could not possibly procure sufficient staff from England to serve the schools that were mushrooming all over the country. The obvious solution to the problem was to provide suitable facilities for training the local lads who had offered to prepare themselves for the profession. The Church, however, was poverty-stricken during this time of depression in the country, and there were no funds to found such an Institution. The only alternative was to arrange for either the Diocesan College or Zonnebloem to furnish additional advanced education.

But the Diocesan College, which aimed to give "an education equal to that which is furnished by the best schools in England", was prohibitively expensive. (24) The aspiring schoolmasters came from poor families and could not possibly afford the fees of £60 a year. Neither could Bishop Gray afford to sponsor them, and all available scholarships were reserved for clergymens' sons. (25) Zonnebloem, on the other hand, was a feasible proposition for the expenses were kept at a minimum at the Government's insistence. The cost of boarding and educating a Kafir lad at the College amounted to a mere £16 per annum. (26) And so it was decided to graft the Anglican Teacher Training Institution on to the Kafir College.

According to Gray, the first young Englishmen who entered Zonnebloem in 1864, were "some of the most promising lads from several of our schools". (27) There is no record of their admittance but there were at least three of them for a start for an entry in the school register stated that Thomas Clemenston, Arthur Philips and Frederick Quin were appointed Monitors in 1865. (28) The white students were given a separate sleeping room but they dined with the staff and other students in hall at the Common table. Glover instructed them in their "higher work" and the Bishop expressed himself entirely satisfied that "the Education there is all that is needed". (29)

A Reduction in Numbers through Departures and Deaths

There was a total of forty-three pupils in residence at the beginning of 1865. But under the new system of State aid Bishop Gray was forced to retrench and reduce their numbers. Twelve Africans departed during the year including the two from the Zambesi who left to go "into service". (30)

It was at this time that the black students' health started to cause their guardians a great deal of anxiety. Bishop Gray shared his concern with the S.P.G., saying : "From whatever cause, probably from alteration in food and dress consequent upon living in a civilized country, they are liable to much sickness, chiefly chest complaints". (31)

The Bishop had just learnt, much to his sorrow, that Edward Magomo was dying of consumption in the Eastern Province. Another "exceedingly good boy", a Basuto, had died in Port Elizabeth on his way back to his country. The Bishop had become very attached to this youngster, having been used to seeing him during his last few months at the College sitting on Glover's stoep, painting and reading devotional books. Gray had given him a parting gift of a "Thomas a Kempis". (32)

The invalids at Zonnebloem were nursed with loving care, being given a special diet which included wine. Despite this attention, consumption took its toll and Philibert died at the College in June. (33) Those in charge failed to realize the gravity of the situation. While they mourned the early deaths of these young men, they were blind to the fact that they could probably have saved many lives if they had taken immediate steps to improve the appalling sanitary arrangements. As it was conditions deter-

iorated still further before the Government stepped in and demanded an investigation by the health authorities : a move which was to have dramatic repercussions.

In the meantime, life at the College went on as usual with the boys becoming increasingly keen on sport.

The College Pupils become keen Cricketers

Cricket had recently become very popular at the Cape. Governor Wodehouse's enthusiasm for the game had given rise to its promotion as a fashionable form of recreation. The sport was still in its infancy though. The cricket bat then in use was very unwieldy. It was fashioned out of a single piece of wood and was of nearly uniform thickness throughout the length of the blade. Over arm bowling was only legalized in 1864. (34)

The Kafir College pupils had been introduced to cricket in 1861, and their subsequent keenness for the game had been given every encouragement. (35) Whereas parsimony was the usual practice at Zonnebloem, expenditure on cricketing equipment featured in the accounts as a regular and rather extravagant outlay. In 1865 the cost of a bat was eighteen shillings and a ball, eight shillings and sixpence. (36)

Although a football was also acquired, cricket remained the favourite sport. Such was the enthusiasm that a second eleven was fitted out in 1864. The first team played their first match away at Rondebosch in August of that year, their opponents most probably being their brother Church school, the Diocesan College. A second match was played at Wynberg in March 1865. (37) Two months later, the Kafir pupils were taken on a visit to Stellenbosch. According to the boys' accounts, their cricketing equipment was considered to be an essential part of their baggage when they embarked on their journey by train; and a game against the local village boys, a highlight of their holiday.

"Stellenbosch, unhappy expedition"

Glover's only record of the College pupils' country vacation was a laconic entry in the Register which read : "1-9 July. Stellenbosch, unhappy expedition". (38) As far as the boys were concerned it was a most exciting adventure. But reading between the lines, in their essays about the expedition, we can hazard a guess at some of the Warden's difficulties.

The trip to Stellenbosch was probably planned to cheer the pupils up after Philibert's death, for they set out only a few days after the funeral. Apart from the occasional day outings and Church celebrations, the pupils worked the whole year round. This holiday was the first such event in the College's history. (39)

Travelling by train was an adventure in itself. The railway line to Wellington, the first to be built in South Africa, had only been completed in November 1863. The boys travelled third class. Although the carriages were small, they were enclosed and comparatively comfortable. (40) Two of the boys' essays describing the expedition were later published by the S.P.G. in their magazine, "The Mission Field". In the composition written by sixteen year old Nathaniel Cohan, entitled "Kafir College at Stellenbosch", every last detail of the journey was noted with painstaking accuracy :

We the Kaffir Students at Stellenbosch made ready on the Friday 30th June to go to Stellenbosch in a carriage pulled by a fire Horse, on Saturday the 1st July. At ten 0'clock we went down to the Capetown Station to go by a ¼ to Eleven's train, Mr. Daniel took down our things in his waggon to the station. I mean our matrasses and books, but we took our bats and stumps I mean (Wickets) by ourselves. We went in the Carriage the 3rd Class one Mr Revd. E. Glover and Mrs in the carriage our dog (Box) in Horse Box. A man rang the bell at a ¼ to Eleven not a minute after that the other man the (Guard) Whistled. And the train moved away slowly from the Station it Whistled for the people and other things to be out of the way. We came to Salt River Station. And there it stopped, it moved away again from the Station as before. we lost sight of Cape town at 15 Miles. to the Stations Durban Road and Erste River it stopped a little. We arrived at Stellenbosch at about a ½ to one 31 miles from Cape town.

We walked up to the Village the Air of the place was very cold. My head ached, Mr. Glover had hired a very big house belonging to Mr Cloete very hungry we were because we had nothing to eat Since we took our breakfast at Zonnebloem. we took some dinner at about 2 0'clock. After dinner we walked about in the Village on Sunday and the following days we were all sick from the air of the place the place surrounded by mountains. on Sunday at ten 0'clock we went to church (41) Revd. Peters (42) did all the Morning Service and Mr. Glover the whole of the Evening Service we went in the Dutch Church (43) to see it, the Church itself is finished architecture the floor polished the pulpit very handsome but in the old fashion we looked about and saw the organ. (44)

The boys' illness, brought on by the change in food, water and climate, must have been a nagging worry for the Warden. The Africans apparently could not stand up to the rigours of the winter weather in this mountainous corner of the country. It was noted in the accounts that extra blankets and flannel shirts had to be bought for some of them. The accomodation sounded rather primitive, money having to be spent on planks to repair the floor of the hired house ! Breakages accounted for further expenses, all adding up to what was a very costly undertaking. The train passages alone amounted to £52 4s 3d. This sum was more than five percent of the College's total expenditure for that year. (45) One begins to understand why the expedition might have been something of a nightmare for Glover.

One cannot help wondering, too, whether the group of Zonnebloem pupils might not perhaps have met with some hostility from the local populace. The only Africans that most members of the farming community would have encountered in the normal course of their day, would have been slaves. At any rate, it is quite clear from Walter Monde's composition, that the arrival of a large party of well-dressed black schoolboys caused a sensation in the "dorp". Walter, "a good little fellow", thirteen years of age, wrote an essay called "Description of Stellenbosch". (46) Although he also waxed eloquent about "the jolly ride in the train", his account, as the title implies, was more concerned with the sights he had seen and the games in which the pupils had taken part. He wrote :

We arrived in Stellenbosch about one Oclock; and about half past one we had our dinner, and before dinner we saw some young men going to play quoits, and we went to them and knew one out of them and we look at them playing and thought they can play that kind of game pretty well, and then after we had seen them playing, we went in the house and had our dinner there in the hall, and after we had our dinner, we went outside, and Stellenbosch people were very anxious to see us; great many of them went out from their houses to look at us; and it seemed to us that they never saw People (meaning Africans) before, especially Malays and Hottentots, and we went on looking what kind of Place it is, and I myself thought that it is a pretty place full of trees along the sides of the Streets and water running on the sides of the Streets, and we went and saw the Dutch Church, and we admired it very much indeed, and I am sure it is the best Dutch Church that I ever saw in my life, and after going round the Town, we came back and saw the same young men that were playing quoits, but this time we saw them playing Cricket our favoured

game and they kindly asked us if some of us would play, and we were very much obliged to them and some of us played with them, and when play was finished their Captain came and asked if we would like to have a match with them, we said yes we would try. (47)

Industrial Training

While cricket was the Kafir pupils "favoured" game, carpentry was their favourite trade. The Industrial Department at the College was still limited to the original three branches - carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring. Bishop Gray's efforts to secure a printing press had been unsuccessful and printing, for which Zonnebloem became famous, was a later innovation. (48)

All attempts to introduce agricultural training were an abysmal failure. No amount of persuasion or coercion would rouse the African boys to work willingly on the estate and so farming, as a trade, was reluctantly abandoned. The students were not conspicuously energetic even in the accepted trades, as Glover testified to the S.P.G. in his report for 1865 :

It is not to be expected that Kafirs will soon learn to like work. There is no doubt that more than one here pines for the days when he need work no longer, but bask like a (Kafir) man in the sun, and smoke himself in his hut while women and children do just so much work as will keep him from starving. Having honestly said this much, I can conscientiously add my belief that the majority of the workers here do take an interest in their work; and some look forward to the day when by their own honest industry they may be able to benefit themselves and others. (49)

A number of ex-pupils had already embarked on their professions, earning their livings by practising the trades they had learned at College. One of the least promising lads was employed as a shoemaker, "living steadily" and receiving £1 a week with board. (50) Another two young men were earning good wages as carpenters - one at King William's Town and the other as carpentry instructor at the Grahamstown Kafir Institution.

The carpentry apprentices at Zonnebloem, besides being made "useful members of society" through learning their trade, also helped to bring in much needed revenue. The sale of their work helped to defray some of their school expenses. At the same time, it was deemed politic to give them a small wage as an encouragement in their labours. (51)

The carpentry shop was responsible for providing the fittings in

many local houses and institutions, such as the St. George's Orphanage. (52) But the plain strong furniture, which was their speciality, was more particularly in demand for fitting out the numerous new churches which were being built throughout the diocese at that time. St. Mark's Mission Chapel which opened in Kanadalorp (District Six) in 1866, was just such an example, the Zonnebloem students making all the seats. In addition to pews, they turned out a mass of altars, screens, pulpits and lecterns. The Warden held that this emphasis on producing church furniture had "tended to raise the taste" of the young carpenters. (53)

Louisa Glover was in charge of the art classes until ill-health prevented her from taking an active part in the school. Her prize pupil was Nathaniel Umhala, the son of the Ndhlambe chief. He showed such exceptional artistic talent that he was allowed to attend a drawing-class at the Cape Town School of Art, with commendable results. After the great storm had left the beach littered with ships' wreckage, Nathaniel was given a chance to turn his hand to wood-carving too. The students salvaged what wood they could from the wrecks, and carried it up to the College to use as firewood. Nathaniel was given permission to appropriate a piece of wreck-oak, and he fashioned "a very pretty box, carving it with great taste, selecting for himself green leaves from which to copy". (54)

The Christianizing of the Chiefs' Sons

Although Glover was completely satisfied with his Kafir pupils' general character and conduct, he was well aware that those who had become Christians would have to face a time of testing on their return home. The Warden fully realized that it was easy to keep his flock within the fold while they remained under his care; but he feared that his charges might soon be led astray when they ventured alone into the outside world. There were many dangers which could bring about their downfall. Glover confided his fears to the S.P.G., in his report of 1865 :

I never do speak on this subject without some trembling. The temptations to which the boys will be exposed are so great, and the ill effects of early reminiscences of evil must be so terrible, that I never dare to speak with any great confidence. I can but hope and pray that, as the temptations increase, their strength may also increase, and that God's grace may be poured on them ever more and more fully. (55)

The number of Christians at the College increased steadily over the years. There was great rejoicing when six chiefs' sons and the son of a Ngqika councillor were baptized by Bishop Gray, at two separate ceremonies in the College chapel, during 1865. The first group, who received the Sacrament in January, comprised the three sons of the Zulu chief, Umnini, aged between six and eight years, and the nine year old son of the Bechuana chief, Mahura, who had been sent to Zonnebloem at Moffat's instigation. Each lad was sponsored by a Christian Kafir student, in addition to the Glovers. They all took English names, the Umnini brothers being christened Theodore (Dudu), Robert (Tuloa) and Louis (Nidaya). The son of Mahura, baptized Edward, was probably named after the Warden. (56)

The second ceremony, held in May, was particularly auspicious for all three students who presented themselves for baptism were adults. What is more, two of them were the sons of the famous Kafir chiefs Xoxo and Sandile. Komani, the son of Xoxo, was christened Herbert. Gonya Sandile was given the name of Edmund. The third member of the group was the son of Niku, one of Sandile's councillors. He took the name of Nathan. Blanche and Agnes, Bishop Gray's youngest daughters, were witnesses on this occasion together with the Warden and his wife. (57)

These three young men had been fellow pupils since the founding of the College, having come to the Cape with Sir George Grey in 1858. Their parentage lent significance to their becoming Christians. There were bound to be repercussions amongst their people as a result, criticism of their act of faith being the most probable reaction although the Church naturally hoped that their example would be emulated by many of their fellow tribesmen. The Anglicans hailed the conversion of Gonya Sandile in particular, for he was held to be heir to the Ngqika paramount chieftaincy.

Herbert Xoxo's conversion was almost as noteworthy, though, seeing that his father was considered to be an enemy of the British Government. Chief Xoxo, who had been banished to Robben Island because of crimes committed during the Cattle Killing, was a political prisoner during the entire period of his son's education at the Kafir College. His exile continued until 1869, when he was at long last released from captivity and sent back to his country. Niku, the father of Nathan, had the distinction of being one of

the few Christians among the parents of the Zonnebloem pupils. It is more than likely that he had become a believer as a result of the ministry of the Rev. Tiyo Soga (whose father was also one of Sandile's councillors). Nathan was sent home from the College, suffering from consumption, only a month after his baptism. Glover reported that "even before he was subdued by sickness, the changes in his character for the better were strongly marked". (58)

By the middle of 1865, the total number of students who had been baptized while at College, had reached twenty-nine. (59) Special mention must be made of the fact that they were all given foreign Christian names. Bishop Colenso had denounced this practice as being uncouth, arguing that such names were unpronounceable by native lips. (60) On the other hand Glover and Bishop Gray, in common with most churchmen of their time, considered that the giving of an English or Hebrew name to the African convert was symbolic of the black man's acquisition of a new identity. It was a sign of his commitment to Christianity, as well as being evidence of his Westernization.

Some of the Zonnebloem students received typically Victorian Christian names such as Arthur, Cyril, Walter, Herbert, Emma and Matilda. The College Baptismal Register records that others favoured Biblical names like Nathaniel, Josiah, Philip, Ezekiel and Hester. Understandably the names of the pupils' mentors were a popular choice. Although only one lad was called Robert after Bishop Gray, two were christened Edward after Warden Glover. It is interesting to note that the three Georges who took the name of their benefactor, Sir George Grey, all came from politically important families - Moshesh, Moroka and Maqomo. (61)

Even though the students seem to have been proud of their new names, setting great store by this symbol of their evolvment, habit died hard and they continued to use their native names amongst themselves. Moreover on their return home, they were still known to their people by their tribal names. It is apparent that they only used their Christian names when moving in Western circles. This is borne out by the letter which Josiah Bennekazi wrote to Sir George Grey in 1880 Josiah referred to his Zonnebloem contemporaries by their tribal names, adding their Christian names for further clarification. (62)

The foreign Christian names were sometimes totally rejected by

the converts' tribesmen. This happened in the case of Edmund Sandile. He was in line to inherit the chieftainship and his people insisted that he should revert to calling himself Gonya. George Tlali Moshesh was able to compromise, his solution being to use both his old and new names.

The ceremonies of baptism and confirmation were highlights in the life of the Kafir College and occasions for celebration. The regular round of the students' daily routine was otherwise seldom disturbed. As they pursued their disciplined course of studies, industrial occupations and sport, during 1865, they were most probably quite oblivious of the revolutionary new system of education which was brought into being by Parliament in October of that year. Not only did this change in educational policy affect Zonnebloem's future, but it also formed the basis of the system of education pursued in the Cape Province up to the present day.

The Effects on Zonnebloem of the Education Act of 1865

The Education Act of 1865 evolved from the recommendations of the Watermeyer Commission. This body had been appointed by Parliament in 1861 to inquire into the system of education in the Cape, and suggest improvements both as regards the granting of aid from the colonial treasury and the extension of sound elementary instruction to all classes of the people. (63)

The commissioners' investigations disclosed that even though Government schools were required by law to be open to children of all classes and races in the community, discrimination against colour was the normal practice. As a result of these findings, the Cape schools were classified systematically and a colour bar became legally operative in public schools from that time onwards. Class A schools were reserved for white children only and were subdivided into three groups according to the type of instruction which they offered. The mission schools, which catered for poor white and Coloured children, were classified as B schools. While Class C schools were reserved for the aborigenes.

At the same time, a revised system of State aid for schools was consolidated in the Education Act. All aided schools now came under Government supervision and were subject to inspection by the Superintendent-General of Education or his duly appointed deputy. :64) These new regulations did not affect Zonnebloem directly as the Kafir College had already functioned according

to this type of system for more than a year. After Zonnebloem had been placed on the same footing as the Frontier Industrial Institutions in 1864, allowances had been received from the State for twenty-five native boarders and Dr. Dale had subsequently inspected the school. (65)

Indirectly, however, the Education Act had far reaching effects on Zonnebloem. The native schools and institutions which had come under the aegis of the Aborigenes Border Department in the past, were now formally included as part of the educational system of the Cape Colony, being classified as aided mission schools, Class C. (66)

The favourable financial assistance afforded by the new regulations caused the Frontier Institutions to develop rapidly. They were soon able to offer comparable facilities to the Kafir College without the heavy travelling expenses which the journey to the Cape involved. Before long it became apparent that Lovedale, Heald Town, Graham's Town, Keiskamma Hoek and others, were intercepting the supply of students to Zonnebloem. (67) Whereas the College's student body numbered forty-three at the beginning of 1865, the enrolment had dropped to twenty-three, three of whom were girls, by June 1868. (68)

Dr. Dale was not overly disturbed by this development for he believed that the Africans could be better served by the Frontier Institutions than the College at the Cape. He expressed concern at what he considered to be the detrimental results of educating Kafir children so far from their homes, instancing their alienation from their indigenous background. In later years Dr. Dale became very outspoken in his criticism of Sir George Grey's standpoint that Cape Town was the ideal location for the Kafir College. In substantiation of his argument, he said :

Although in Sir George Grey's view the metropolis by its population and advanced civilization, by its being the seat of Government, by its shipping and commerce, and all its social surroundings, is undoubtedly the place for impressing native character, yet there were found to be great evils incident to the removal of lads altogether for several years from their parents and their country. (69)

Zonnebloem's numbers dwindled still further during the early eighteen seventies. But for the large batch of Basutos, who came
1 to the College in the middle of the decade, the Institution might

have ceased educating Africans because of lack of support. The French Protestant missionaries in Basutoland could only offer the most elementary educational facilities. Following Britain's annexure of their country, the Basuto chiefs and councillors selected Zonnebloem as being the fitting place to send their sons for further education. The Government, for want of a better alternative, supported the scheme and gave the Basuto students travelling and educational allowances.

Zonnebloem as a Teacher Training Institution

The Watermeyer Commission, which included the recruitment and training of teachers in its investigations, came up with the recommendation that the pupil-teacher system should be extended. Zonnebloem, newly launched as a Teacher Training Institution, was affected by the subsequent re-organization of the system.

The revised regulations concerning the training of pupil-teachers in mission schools, came into being in February 1866. (70)

According to the requirements the candidates had to be of good character and at least thirteen years of age. They had to serve an apprenticeship to a school-master at an approved school for three years. At the end of this time they were required to sit for the Elementary Teachers Certificate examination. (71) Under the new system both black and white students were able to become pupil-teachers at Zonnebloem.

Whereas the College was of-a metropolitical character in so far as the Africans were concerned, the inclusion of Europeans was a purely diocesan affair. This meant that once the white lads had completed their training as teachers they could be assured of jobs, posts being found for them in Church schools in the Cape diocese. The African graduates, on the other hand, had no such guarantee. They were destined to return to their home countries and there was no way of ensuring that they would be assigned posts in mission schools in the other dioceses. All depended on the unpredictable co-operation of the S.P.G. When we deal with this subject in greater detail at a later stage, we shall see that the difficulties of finding jobs for the black teachers threatened to frustrate the fruition of Zonnebloem's work in this field.

Notwithstanding Bishop Gray's energetic efforts to train teachers locally, he still maintained that the teaching profession in South

Africa should be supplemented by personnel from overseas. It was his opinion that "there should be an infusion of English blood into our schools, from time to time, with a view to stimulating activity and introduce the latest improvements in education".

(72) The black teachers were not forgotten, four more students being sent to St. Augustine's between 1866 and 1868.

3. The Female Department

A Subsidy from the S.P.G. but no Schoolmistress : 1861 - 1862

Little is known about the life of the Kafir girls at Zonnebloem. They were so few in number that their activities attracted scant attention. The account of their doings has had to be pieced together from fragmentary evidence.

The S.P.G. continued to subsidize the female department during the whole period under review, despite the fact that the Society's grant was specifically allotted for the female teacher's salary and the girls were without a schoolmistress for some of the time. The grant originally amounted to £100 a year, which was a generous contribution considering that there were never more than five girls at the College. The subsidy was reduced in 1866 when the girls' number diminished to three. (73)

The death of the College's first schoolmistress, Miss Mary Adelaide Ainger, in May 1861, left a gap which could not easily be filled. The Church relied on recruiting the majority of its workers overseas and it was impossible to find a replacement at short notice. Consequently the schoolmistress' post at Zonnebloem remained vacant for nearly a year, a matter of grave concern for Bishop Gray.

Emma Sandile and Hester Ngece had been under Miss Ainger's care for a year and a half. With her death they were bereft of their teacher and beloved foster-mother at one and the same time. Not only did the Bishop have the worry of seeing to their welfare, but he also had to arrange for the supervision of three new girls - Elizabeth Toise, Noneko Toney and Nomenteshe Maqomo - who arrived from Kaffraria in June. Mrs. Powell, the carpenter's wife, who was then acting as Matron, looked after them for a time. When Mrs. Dorritt, the wife of a priest, took up the position of Lady Warden at the beginning of 1862, the girls were given into her care. (74) She did not have charge of them for long, though, as the new schoolmistress arrived in April of that year.

Miss Smart serves as Schoolmistress from August 1862 to October 1865

Glover was able to engage a female teacher for Zonnebloem while on his visit to England, in 1861, to seek medical help for Louisa. Miss Matilda Smart, who was appointed to the post, was offered an allowance of £3 5s a month for board in addition to a salary of £7 10s a quarter. (75) She travelled out to South Africa with the Warden and his wife the following year. (76)

On her arrival at Zonnebloem, Miss Smart was installed in one of the cottages on the estate. Before long her abode was renovated so as to make room for the Kafir girls. It was thought advisable to remove them from their unsavoury dormitory in the wooden stable and place them in more comfortable quarters. Furthermore they would be under the same roof as their teacher, in a self-contained unit separate from the boys.

The schoolmistress and her charges soon became welded into a closely knit family group, the girls looking upon Miss Smart as their mother. (77) Apart from dinner, which was taken in the main dining hall, the girls spent the rest of the day in their cottage. They did their lessons and received instruction in sewing in a schoolroom specially set aside for this purpose. Housework was included as an essential part of their training.

Bishop Gray watched over the female department at Zonnebloem with fatherly interest. He even treated the girls and their teacher to a holiday at Bishop's Court in July 1862. (78) The Bishop was very distressed, therefore, when Miss Smart tendered her resignation to the S.P.G. in April 1864, and asked the Society to find her other work in South Africa. Miss Smart gave two reasons for leaving Zonnebloem. Firstly, that she believed that there would be insufficient work for her in the future; and secondly, her dissatisfaction with the way in which the Glovers treated both her and her charges. (79)

Miss Smart's letter was written shortly after Emma's departure from Zonnebloem. The schoolmistress reasoned that with Emma gone, and Hester likely to leave in the near future, the three remaining girls would not keep her sufficiently occupied. As it was, she filled her time by running a night school for the black servants at Zonnebloem on three evenings a week, in addition to teaching the servants' children with her Kafir girls in the day

school. There seemed little likelihood that the female department would expand seeing that Governor Wodehouse was against admitting more Kafir girls to the College. Miss Smart considered that presently there would not be enough work for one person.

But the cause of Miss Smart's immediate discontent, which had precipitated her resignation, was her unhappy relationship with the Warden and his wife. The schoolmistress maintained that although she had tried to do her duty during her two and a half years of service at the College, she had been grievously disappointed in the Glovers' treatment of her. Even though she had been made entirely responsible for the girls well-being and instruction, and had had them with her twenty-four hours a day, she had been given no authority to improve their lot, nor had she been allowed to have any say in their affairs. Miss Smart's particular grievance was the shabby condition of the girls' clothes. She had complained repeatedly to the Glovers but had received no redress. She told the S.P.G. that she had now decided to give up the unequal struggle and leave :

I cannot go on longer working with my hands so completely tied. I cannot bring the girls up as they ought to be While I have the mending and making of their clothes and they live with me entirely ... yet I am not allowed a single new thing, neither will Mrs. Glover consult me in the least in getting them. The consequence is their wardrobe is in a most unsatisfactory state, especially their underclothes. Now I do think it absolutely necessary that the children should be brought up in habits of person neatness. I am too poor to buy the clothes myself. (80)

Miss Smart's letter exposed a sad state of affairs. We know that there was some justification for her complaints because no less a person than the Governor, in a recent letter to Bishop Gray, had commented on Emma's dowdy appearance while at Zonnebloem.

(81) Moreover Bishop Cotterill had been moved to provide Emma with a wardrobe of brand new clothes when she arrived in Grahams-town after leaving the Kafir College.

Bishop Gray attempted to placate Miss Smart by promising to see that conditions in the girls' department were improved. He agreed to allow the schoolmistress £3 10s a year for each child provided that she clothed the girls entirely and paid for any extra cost out of her own pocket. But despite the Bishop's good intentions, he failed to bring about a reconciliation between the Warden and

the female teacher.

Glover makes no mention of the quarrel in any of his reports and so we only have Miss Smart's side of the story to go on. The Warden's standpoint can be explained in part, however, if we take into account his never ending struggle to make ends meet. With both the S.P.G. and the Government breathing down his neck, he could not be expected to countenance any expenditure that smacked of extravagance, when he was trying to enforce savings. Nonetheless, Glover's conduct in the circumstances seems questionable. Although he raised her salary to £12 a quarter, he cut her allowance for board by half, giving her £4 10s a quarter "to find all but dinner and wine". (82) This gave her a total income of £16 10s a quarter, a reduction of 15s. (83)

The last straw, as far as Miss Smart was concerned, was when Glover refused to provide the girls with the promised dress allowances. The schoolmistress informed the S.P.G. that having borne so much that was truly unfriendly and unkind, and having been so mistaken as to the position she was to occupy, she had resolved to leave Zonnebloem. (84) But Bishop Gray, who took a personal interest in the welfare of his female missionaries, somehow managed to heal the breach. Miss Smart was prevailed upon to remain at the College and only took her leave in October 1865, a year and a half later.

A Kafir Schoolmistress for the younger girls : October 1865 to February 1869

The girls' department was completely re-organized following the departure of Miss Smart. The girls were moved out of the cottage and given a dormitory and a schoolroom of their own in the main body of the Institution. (85) Mrs. Cowper, the new carpentry instructor's wife who had taken over as matron, was placed in charge of their welfare. (86)

Hester Ngece was then in her eighth year at the College. She had been recommended to the S.P.G. by Bishop Gray as being "a very good young woman who would make an excellent schoolmistress". (87) The Society, however, had not as yet seen their way to finding her a post in the mission field. And so she was asked to take Miss Smart's place, the first black person to be appointed to the teaching staff at Zonnebloem. The Kafir schoolmistress taught the younger girls for more than three years, receiving a salary of £1 a month. (88)

Besides their school lessons, the girls were responsible for making the clothes of their fellow students, being given a small allowance as remuneration for their efforts. (89) The acquisition of a sewing machine in 1865 must have greatly facilitated their labours. (90) Housework was still considered to be an essential part of the girls' training; but now that they were resident in the Institution itself, the Bishop was wary lest they should be employed as servants there. In a Bye law, introduced in December, 1866, he specifically stated that the girls' chores were to be confined to the Wardens' quarters. (91)

Hester's three pupils were baptized by the Warden in the College Chapel in July 1866, the schoolmistress acting as one of the witnesses. The girls were all given English Christian names - Noneko Toney became known as Harriet Mary, Nomenteshe Maqomo was christened Matilda, and Arthur Toise's sister received the name Elizabeth Francis. (92)

1867 and 1858 were disastrous years at Zonnebloem as far as the students' health was concerned, the incidence of chest complaints increasing alarmingly. Four pupils died during this period, while a number of boys were sent home hopelessly ill. Of those who remained in residence at the College, two were in delicate health. (93) Sadly, Elizabeth Toise was one of the victims of consumption. (94) After her death in January 1868, the

Superintendent-General of Education was authorized to make an immediate investigation of the living conditions at the Institution.

Reporting on his findings as regards the female department, Dr. Dale commended the girls for their clean beds and linen, but slated their accomodation. His criticism was directed at the construction of their dormitory. Although their room was large enough, unlike those of the boys, it was on the ground floor and paved with stone. The wooden ceiling was covered with zinc sheets, while one wall was made of wood. The room was excessively hot in Summer, and cold and damp in Winter. Dr. Dale maintained that it was unhealthy, an observation that was corroborated by the Medical Board when they inspected the College a short while later. (95) As a result, the Warden was forced to make some drastic alterations to the building. A brick wall was built to replace the wooden front wall, and the stone floor was taken up and a board floor laid in its place. (96)

But the female section at Zonnebloem was not fated to last much longer. Hester continued to teach her remaining two charges for only one more year. When she departed in February 1869, to take up an appointment in the Grahamstown diocese, the girls were left without a schoolmistress. Bishop Gray was reluctantly compelled to remove the girls' department of the Kafir Institution to the St. George's Orphanage. (97) Harriet was confirmed in the Chapel shortly before leaving the College. (98) She and Matilda were handed over to Miss Arthur's care on March 22. (99) As far as is known, no more women students were admitted at Zonnebloem until the Teacher Training School was opened in 1913.

Harriet and Matilda become Teachers at St. George's Orphanage

Harriet and Matilda, who were then both about sixteen years of age, were taken on as teachers at St. George's. The inmates of the Orphanage were drawn from different races and varied in age from toddlers through to teens. They were fitted out with "neat grey prints and caps with a cherry bow". (100) Those who were old enough to attend school, sat around one large table for their classes. They were set work according to their capabilities and the young teachers were kept constantly on their toes. All the sums would be going on at once, from a simple addition to logarithms. Miss Arthur kept a watchful eye on the proceedings, insisting that the lessons should be practical. Proportion sums, for example, took the form of puddings and their ingredients. (101)

Matilda did not remain long at St. George's, though. When Magomo was released by Governor Wodehouse in 1869 after having served nine years' imprisonment on Robben Island, he claimed Matilda before being repatriated to the Eastern Cape. Her guardians could not gainsay his wishes - "much against the grain the poor girl had to go, with a promise exacted that she should not be sold for cows - a promise faithfully kept". (102)

Harriet, on the other hand, stayed at St. George's until 1872. She finally returned to her home country, after an absence of eleven years, having obtained a situation as a teacher at St. Mark's Mission. (103)

According to Josiah Bennekazi, Gonya Sandile married "one of those girls who were with us in Zonnebloem", but unfortunately he did not divulge her name. (104) Gonya's bride was either

Hester, Harriet or Matilda. Bishop Gray would have been most gratified that at least one of the Kafir chiefs' sons paired off with one of the educated Christian girls from Zonnebloem, so realizing an object of the Institution.

4. Warden Glover and his Staff

Supervisory and Staff Difficulties

The Rev. Edward Glover, Bishop Gray's son-in-law who became the first Warden of the Kafir College in 1859, remained in charge of the Institution for ten years. Unfortunately he was obliged to make two lengthy visits to England during this time to seek medical aid for his ailing wife. It is evident that the Warden's long absences from his post had an adverse effect both on the day-to-day functioning of the College and its further development. The succession of priests, who were temporarily appointed to take Glover's place, were able to do little more than try and keep the College going. The students suffered not only as a result of the lack of continuity in leadership and deficiency in direction, but also from the progressively inadequate supervision which led to a deterioration in their living conditions, so endangering their health.

In addition to the recurring changes in authority, there was a rapid turn-over in schoolmasters. With the dearth of trained teachers at the Cape, Zonnebloem, like most of the local schools, was dependent on recruiting its staff in England. There was an inevitable delay in filling the posts as they became vacant, to the pupils' detriment. Understaffing and makeshift measures resulted in a fluctuation in the quality of instruction offered at the College, and the pupils' advancement was influenced accordingly.

The Rev. George Meyler Squibb was the first to take over as Acting Warden, deputizing for Glover during his absence overseas in 1861 and 1862. Squibb was chosen for the job as he had already had some contact with the College while serving as Precentor of the Cathedral. He was recalled from his parish of Plettenberg Bay and Knysna to take charge of the Kafir pupils (105)

After Glover resumed office in 1862, he was plagued by staff problems and had to make do with whatever assistance he could muster. The S.P.G. were dilatory in filling the schoolmaster's

vacant *post and the Warden was without any help at all for the greater part of 1864 and 1865. (106) Glover, burdened with a heavy load of teaching, which by now included advanced classes for the pupil-teachers, started to lose health and the Institution suffered as a result. Following an urgent appeal by Bishop Gray to the S.P.G., (107) the Society engaged Mr. Ellis as schoolmaster at a salary of £120 a year. (108)

The Bishop had specifically asked that the new master should be strict, as some of the young men were in their twenties and in need of rigorous discipline. (109) Ellis, who arrived at the Cape with his family in October 1865, was not a happy choice. (110) He was often ill, supposedly suffering from typhus, and was constantly absent from school. It later transpired that the schoolmaster's illness was caused by "long formed habits of Spirit Drinking". (111)

Ellis' unreliability particularly at this time was most unfortunate because, as a result of the gradual deterioration in Louisa Glover's health, the Warden had to take her once more to England for specialized medical care. They set sail in August 1866, not to return until a year and a half later. (112) Bishop Gray made every effort to ensure that there was continuity in the College's affairs during Glover's enforced absence. But despite his carefully laid plans, no less than three different priests were required to take their turn as Acting Warden during this period. It was no wonder that serious problems arose concerning the management of the Institution and supervision of the students, compelling the authorities to intervene.

The arrangement was that Edward Glover should exchange positions with his brother, who was rector of a parish in England, as a temporary expedient. (113) But their movements did not coincide and the Rev. W.E. Belson had to leave his parish at Malmesbury to take charge of Zonnebloem during the interregnum. (114) The Rev. George Glover eventually arrived at the end of 1866. He was brought out to South Africa at great expense for the purpose of superintending the College. (115) It is evident, however, that he did not have necessary experience to carry out his new duties and Zonnebloem went rapidly downhill during his term of office.

When George Glover returned to England in February 1868, there was yet another break in the College's direction for the Warden and

his wife did not arrive home until March. (116) This time the Rev. Lightfoot was called upon to act as a stop-gap and step into the Acting Warden's shoes. Lightfoot had taken a great interest in the Kafir pupils from the start of his ministry in Cape Town, and had been a regular visitor to Zonnebloem over the years. But as Missionary priest in charge of the large Coloured congregation at St. Paul's, Bree Street, he was already fully extended and could not possibly give Zonnebloem the attention it so urgently needed. (117) It was at this critical point that Dr. Dale was requested to inspect the Kafir Institution.

Dr. Dale subsequently made a most unfavourable report as regards the running of Zonnebloem. He was particularly disturbed by the fact that both Glovers were absent from the Colony and that there was no Warden or responsible superintendent in charge. He maintained that an institution which drew an income of £400 a year from the public treasury ought not to be left to the direction of subordinate officers over whom the Government had no control. (118)

Staff problems had added to the successive Acting Wardens' headaches during this difficult period. Ellis had been most unsatisfactory as a schoolmaster. After suffering recurring bouts of illness, he had ultimately died in 1867. (119) Not only had the Rev. George Glover been left without an assistant in the teaching department, however inadequate he might be, but he had also been saddled with the additional responsibility of caring for Ellis' four orphaned children. The Rev. Edward Glover had had to launch an appeal in England for funds for their support. (120) Once again there had been a long delay in filling the schoolmaster's post and the Acting Wardens had had to get by with a stream of temporary teachers. (121)

Industrial Instructors

Fortunately the various trade teachers proved to be a more stable section of the staff. Cowper, Powell and Adams each in turn gave a number of years of satisfactory service to the College as carpentry instructors, while the wives in their turn took the place of Louisa Glover and supervised the domestic side of the Institution. (122)

The teachers in the Industrial Department were expected to keep the usual working hours observed in tradesmen's establishments, and not confine their duties to instructing the boys. (123) The

carpenter was the most highly paid of them all, receiving a salary of £100 a year. The shoemaker was next in line, being paid £84 a year. The tailor trailed far behind with a miserly income of £23 per annum. (124)

Tailoring was discontinued as a trade in 1865. Nonetheless, the figures for 1868 show that one boy was being given instruction in tailoring by Mrs. Adam at that time. In addition, eight boys were learning carpentry and five were practising shoemaking. (125)

The days of the shoemaking department were numbered, however. Dr. Dale had complained about the poor drainage and cold stone floor in the shop. After his return from England, Warden Glover attempted to rectify matters by laying down a board floor and sinking a new drain. But the shoemakers' shop remained unhealthily damp and was closed for sanitary reasons at the end of 1868. (126) This left carpentry as the only trade offered at the Institution until printing was introduced about ten years later.

The Appointment of a Sub-Warden

After the dismal failure of Ellis as schoolmaster, Bishop Gray informed the S.P.G. that "a higher stamp of man" was needed for the new position of Vice Principal of the College. (127) Glover was able to select his second-in-command himself while he was in England. Lomax, who was then completing his Theological course at Lichfield, (128) accepted the offer of the job at a salary of £140 a year. (129)

Lomax arrived at the Cape with his wife and family at the beginning of May 1868, not longer after the Glovers' return. (130) He was given charge of the ordinary school-work and immediately impressed Bishop Gray as being a teacher of outstanding ability. (131) Glover was equally enthusiastic about his Sub-Warden. Reporting to the S.P.G. at the end of the year, he wrote : "Lomax is an energetic good man and shows much kindness to the boys, making friends of them as well as out of school as in school". (132)

Glover, besides being Warden of Zonnebloem, still had the charge of the parish of Papendorp. Lomax, who was in Deacon's Orders, was appointed assistant curate and helped to share the load of the mission work at St. Mary's. It was provident that a man of such a calibre had been chosen as Sub-Warden, for Glover resigned

his post in May 1869 and Lomax had the entire responsibility of superintending the College for the next two years. (133)

Glover Leaves Zonnebloem

Glover was nominated to succeed Badnall as Archdeacon of George. Before he could take up his appointment, however, Louisa's health suddenly deteriorated so alarmingly that the Glovers departed forthwith for England. (134) Bishop Gray, much distressed by his daughter's rapid decline and anxious about the couple's future, arranged with the Bishop of Oxford for Glover to be offered the living of Leafield in the Diocese of Oxford. (135) But Louisa died soon after their arrival in London and Glover returned to the Cape to become Archdeacon of George. (136)

Louisa's death was a great blow to Bishop Gray. As he told the S.P.G. : "She was very precious to me. I love my girls all dearly, but, perhaps she was the nearest to my heart Poor Glover will be long before he rallies, though he will keep all to himself. He is an admirable man". (137)

Glover was not destined to remain long at George. Sophy Gray's health was failing fast and the Bishop was advised to take her to England in 1870 to seek medical advice. The doctors diagnosed cancer and could offer no hope. At Sophy's request they returned to the Cape. (138) In April 1871, sensing that her end was near, Sophy wrote to her son-in-law begging him to give up the Archdeaconry and come and live with the Bishop. And so Glover left George, taking up residence at Bishopscourt shortly before Sophy died. (139)

Glover was made Canon of the Cathedral as well as being appointed Domestic Chaplain to the Metropolitan. He was Gray's constant companion, helping him with the organization of the diocese, accompanying him on Visitations, and caring for him in his last illness up to the end. Bishop Gray died on September 1, 1872.

(140) Glover left the Cape the following year. He took charge of a number of parishes in England until his death in 1894. (141)

An Evaluation of the Character and Work of the Kafir College's First Warden

What manner of man was the first Warden of the Kafir College ? It was primarily Glover who guided the Institution through its early evolution. Despite the fact that he was away overseas for

some of the time, his leadership and personality must have had a profound effect on the character of the Kafir children under his care. It was the Warden who supervised their training and ordered their daily lives. He was responsible for seeing that they acquired "the attainments of civilization". He directed their growth towards Christianity. In addition, he assumed the role of their father.

Although some of the students attended Zonnebloem for only a short time, the majority were resident there for many years. A number of them stayed at the College for as long as ten years. During this formative period in their lives, the only means the Kafir pupils had of communicating with their families was through the post. Seeing that their parents were in the main illiterate, most of the pupils were effectively cut off from all contact with their homes while they remained at College. The Glovers, in their turn, were childless. They adopted their black charges as their own sons and daughters.

From all accounts, Edward Glover was thought of as being a most beloved and saintly man who never spared himself, devoting all his energies to his vocation. Miss Smart, the unhappy schoolmistress, sounded the only jarring note. Hers was the solitary criticism of the Warden, and her complaints about him raised a number of perplexing questions.

There is no doubt that Glover had a difficult time trying to balance the limited College budget, and that the perpetual shortage of funds was a nagging worry. The Warden's sustained efforts to reduce expenditure were undeniably irksome to Miss Smart. She resented the constant penny-pinching which prevented her from dressing the girls as she thought fit. But her complaints to the S.P.G. appear to reveal a deeper resentment which had built up over a period of some time. In addition to her accusations against the Glovers of unfriendliness and unkindness, Miss Smart was greatly disturbed by their apparent lack of trust in her. We do not know the full facts of the matter and the schoolmistress may well have been irresponsible and troublesome. Nonetheless, Bishop Gray seems to have championed her cause. (142)

All other descriptions of Glover, written by friends and fellow-priests, were unanimous in eulogizing his virtues. There were many who praised "his gentle, loving, self-denying deeds of

kindness, even in little things". (143) When Glover left the Cape, a friend said of him that "his presence ever kept one in mind of what was best, as music does". (144) Mr. Widdicombe, who worked under Glover at George, described the Archdeacon -

as having something of the strength of the lion as well as the gentleness of the lamb. He was the gentlest, sweetest, and most unselfish of *men*, his personality was a most winning one, and there was a genial brightness about him which could not fail to attract. He was in a word my ideal of a good man, a devout, diligent parish priest, and a true Christian gentleman. (145)

Besides the respect and trust which Glover elicited from his brother clergy, they also considered him to be one of the ablest theologians in the diocese. (146) Bishop Gray appointed him his examining chaplain in 1858, and Glover held this office until the Bishop's death, valuing it as "one of the chief privileges of his life". (147)

The Church of England was rent by doctrinal controversies at frequent intervals during this period. The echoes of these disputes eventually reached the Colony at the Cape, causing a disturbance in the daughter Church which invariably led to heated debate. Glover was constantly brought in to give his opinion, his judgment being much valued. The controversy concerning the doctrine of the Holy Communion, which excited much acrimonious argument during 1869 and 1870, was one such example. Glover's statement on the Church's doctrine on this subject, which was published in the "Capetown Church News", did much to settle the minds of local Churchmen. (148)

The Colonials were very suspicious of any "High-Church" tendencies amongst the newly-arrived clergymen from overseas, and were quick to denounce any suspect practices. The newcomers, in their turn, resented such criticism. Glover's counsel and advice did much to soothe ruffled feelings, as well as preventing further confrontations in the already electrically charged ecclesiastical atmosphere of the local Church. The Rev. John Espin was a case in point. Soon after his arrival from England, he was publicly accused of "High Church" practices. Glover's sympathetic help saw him through a difficult time and the two men subsequently became close friends. Espin was able to draw on Glover's experience once more when he was appointed the second Warden of Zonnebloem

in 1871. (149)

The Warden's Duties

The office of Warden of the Kafir Institution was a demanding undertaking. Besides being Senior Curate in charge of the Parish of Papendorp, the incumbent was expected to fulfill many diverse duties at the College. These were explicitly defined in a memorandum drawn up by Bishop Gray in 1871. (150)

Firstly, the Head of the Institution was to exercise a general superintendence over every person and everything connected with the College. He was directly responsible to the Bishop for the well being of the whole and was required to submit a report every quarter.

Secondly, the Warden was given charge of the Management of the Institution. This included the letting of the farmland and cottages; seeing that the tenants were justly treated; the collection of rents; the prevention of trespassing; the maintenance of the walls, fences, buildings and plantations; and supervising the general tidiness of the place. The Bishop was very critical of the untidy conditions which had prevailed at Zonnebloem over the years and was most insistent that this "one great fault" should be remedied. (151)

The Warden was also directly responsible for the whole expenditure of the College. This included the ordering, and the outlay on all requisites such as timber, leather, clothing and any other necessary materials. He had to contract for the supplies of food, organize the carrying out of any repairs, attend to the returns of the carpenter's shop, and ensure that this department kept proper working hours. He was entrusted with the careful scrutiny against dishonest practices in any of the business transactions. (152)

The Bishop further directed that no expenditure was to be incurred without his authorization, except where absolutely necessary if he were absent. (153)

The Warden's most onerous responsibility was the care of the boys. He was charged to pay close attention to their morals, habits, health, discipline, food and cleanliness. He had to supervise the proper supply of food and clothing, the cooking of the food, and the avoidance of all waste. He also had to inspect the dormitories systematically to check on the cleanliness of the bedding and floor, and the tidiness of the rooms. The boys' health

was a matter of great concern and was to be vigilantly superintended. Medical attendance was to be arranged when needed. (154)

Furthermore, the Warden had to keep a watchful eye on the boys' conduct out of school. No child was to be sent to Town or elsewhere without his consent, nor were any children to be allowed out during school or working hours except for the most urgent reasons. (155) Bishop Gray was most anxious that the Warden should make sure that the boys did not go out at night. (156) Many of them were adults and, with the Metropolis so close at hand, they might be tempted to sneak out in order to sample the pleasures of town life.

Lastly, the Warden was required to carry on the education of the most advanced boys so as to prepare them for passing the Government examinations as far as the Second Class, and the Church's examinations for catechists and teachers. Although the Sub-Warden now bore the main load of teaching, his superior was expected to be frequently present in the school, testing and helping with the education of all within it. The Warden's post, with its many obligations, commanded a salary of £200 a year. (157)

Glover's Successor

Glover's resignation in 1869 coincided with yet another crisis in the College's affairs. Following on the official criticism of the management of the Institution, Zonnebloem's future hung in the balance while the colonial authorities deliberated as to whether the College merited continued State support. Bishop Gray was diffident, therefore, about finding an immediate replacement for Glover. He was unwilling to bring a man out from England to fill a post which might shortly become redundant, and whom he subsequently might not be able to maintain. (158)

As soon as the Government gave Zonnebloem the green light to go ahead, however, the Bishop set about looking for a suitable Warden. But he experienced considerable difficulty in finding someone who was prepared to take on such a demanding job. An unnamed clergyman in the Grahamstown Diocese refused the invitation. The S.P.G. also drew a blank in their search in England. (159)

Two years elapsed before Glover's successor was finally appointed.

The Rev. John Espin, an assistant master at the Diocesan College and friend of Glover's, was eventually persuaded to accept the post. The second Warden took up his duties on May 1, 1871. (160)

Unfortunately Espin was far from strong and he found "the place and work very trying". (161) He had left England two years earlier after suffering a complete breakdown and had come to the Cape under medical orders, to recuperate. His delicate health was a constant anxiety and he would never have coped at the College without Glover's help. The ex-Warden, who was then living at Bishop's Court, continued to take a lively interest in Zonnebloem. He assisted Espin as much as he could until he went to England two years later. (162)

5. Money Matters

The Government Grant

Not the least of the Warden's worries was the constant economizing that was necessary to ensure that the Institution stayed solvent and was able to carry on functioning within its limited means. Zonnebloem suffered from a chronic shortage of money.

Gone were the "palmy days" when a benevolent Governor, in the person of Sir George Grey, bestowed a generous Imperial grant of £1000 a year on the College. (163) Wodehouse was a professional civil servant and his term of office was marked by financial stringencies in every department of his administration. (164) As a result of the re-organization of the educational system, which took place under his regime, State aid to the schools was rigidly controlled. But even though the grant allocated to Zonnebloem was much reduced, the College was at least assured of a regular annual income as long as it maintained a satisfactory standard.

From 1865 to 1867 Zonnebloem qualified to receive the maximum aid allowed a Class C school. This amounted to £400 a year, namely £100 for the schoolmaster and £12 each for the maintenance of twenty-five native boarders. (165) As the number of black students diminished over the years, however, so did the grant decrease. A reduced sum of £375 was allowed in 1868, falling still further to £306 the following year. (166)

The white pupil teachers and handful of Coloured scholars, who made up the rest of the student body, did not qualify for State subsidies. Matters came to a head at the beginning of 1869 when,

with the departure of six Kafir teachers to the Eastern Cape, only about ten black students remained at the College. What with the drop in number of native boarders and Government dissatisfaction with conditions at the College, there was renewed uncertainty as to whether the grant would be continued. Without the guarantee of State support, the College would soon collapse. Such other sources of income as there were, were both limited and unreliable.

The Endowment in Kaffraria

Bishop Gray had hopefully envisaged that the property in Kaffraria, granted by Sir George Grey as an endowment to Zonnebloem, would be the means of providing the College with a steady income. But this scheme proved to be an abysmal failure, much as the Duke of Newcastle had predicted. What small amount of revenue the property did produce, came in very sporadically.

In 1865 the Bishop asked Governor Wodehouse for permission to sell the six cottages in King William's Town which were held in trust for the Kafir College as part of the endowment. The cottages were getting into a bad state of repair and Gray had been advised to dispose of them. He proposed to invest the proceeds either in land or in a mortgage; but there is no record as to how much the sale realized or what became of the money. (167)

The farm, which was included in the endowment, was leased to an approved tenant in 1865 for a period of five years. (168) However 1868 was the only year in which rents from King William's Town, amounting to £34 17s 2d, appear in the College receipts. (169) Gray was given the Governor's sanction to sell the farm in 1869 but owing to "the depression of the times" this step was not thought advisable. (170) This meant that no funds could be realized from the endowment to help Zonnebloem over the financial crisis.

The Income from the Estate at Zonnebloem

Bishop Gray's whole purpose in buying Zonnebloem estate had been to see the Institution placed on a sound business footing. A regular income was to be secured from the sale of farm produce so making the school partly self-supporting. This plan proved to be a fiasco too. Although the farm was taken over as a going concern, the Church neglected to provide the necessary manpower and

machinery to continue making it a viable venture. What had once been a profitable enterprise was soon running at a loss.

The Kafir pupils could not be coerced into working in the fields. For want of labour much of the estate was needlessly unproductive. The farmland, which had once been used for growing grain and vegetables, now remained largely uncultivated, with a concomitant drop in revenue. The vineyard, which had yielded a heavy harvest during the first few years bringing in a welcome return, failed to produce a crop after 1866. The vines were possibly killed off by the grape disease, oidium, which was rife at the Cape at that time. A cowman was hired to supervise the dairy and this was the only branch of the farm which continued to bring in a steady income, up to £100 a year. (171)

Bishop Gray reviewed the situation at Zonnebloem at the end of 1866 and decided that instead of farming themselves at a great loss, he would let the farm. (172) This move turned out to be a mixed blessing. Although the College was now assured of a regular return from the estate, there were many disadvantages in permitting uncontrolled farming operations to function within the precincts of the Institution. The new tenant concentrated on stock farming. Under his management the cowhouse, stable and extensive piggery were allowed to get into a filthy state. These farm buildings were in close proximity to the College dining hall and dormitories and were held largely to blame for the rapid deterioration in sanitary conditions at the Institution. (173)

Whereas the farm at Zonnebloem was a failure, the cottages on the estate made a steady profit over the years. They were leased to private individuals, the income from the rental varying between £60 and £90 per annum. (174)

Other Possible Sources of Income at Zonnebloem

The Kafir pupils made up for their lack of co-operation on the farm by working hard at their trades. Yet even though the products of their labours were sold to good effect, the industrial department regularly ran at a loss. The profits from the carpenter's and shoemaker's shops, which were used to pay the salaries of the trade instructors and to buy timber and leather, were still not sufficient to cover the costs. (175) This department of the Institution could not be expected to augment the College's income.

Unlike other schools, Zonnebloem's financial problems could not be solved by levying school fees. It had been the founders' policy to provide the Kafir children with free education and maintenance while they remained at the College, and this agreement must be honoured at any price. The amounts of £6 17s 8d and £1 16s 0d which appear in the receipts for 1865 and 1866 as fees, were most probably paid by pupil teachers. (176)

Funds from England

Bishop Gray was, therefore, almost entirely dependent on funds from England to balance Zonnebloem's budget. This money came from two sources, the S.P.G. and the public. The S.P.G. had kept up with the payment of a regular allowance since the founding of the Kafir College. Their grant paid for the Warden's salary as well as providing a subsidy for the girls' department. (177) Essential as this financial dependence on the English Church Society was, it nonetheless had considerable drawbacks. The Executive Committee of the S.P.G. reserved the right to have their say in the running of the College, the Warden being expected to keep them regularly informed of developments. Zonnebloem's administrators had the difficult task of trying to serve two masters, the S.P.G. and the Government, at one and the same time. All additional expenses at Zonnebloem had to be covered by the money which Bishop Gray managed to raise in England from private benefactors and the public. These funds were entered in the College receipts as Drafts on the Bishop. An examination of the accounts reveals the fact that the Metropolitan was called upon to provide a record amount of £600 in 1864. (178) The English Churchmen's charity tided Zonnebloem over the period when the College was without Government assistance : after the Imperial Grant had come to an end and the State-aided educational system had not yet started.

What the figures in the balance sheet fail to reflect is the effort exerted by Bishop Gray in order to wring such large sums of money from the public on Zonnebloem's behalf. The success of this scheme was directly proportional to the Bishop's pertinacity in making personal appeals to Churchmen, the length and breadth of England. Comparatively little of this financial support was given in cash. It came instead in the form of subscriptions,

promised over a period of five years. Although there were no strings attached to these funds, there was also, no guarantee of their regular payment.

As the initial scheme drew to a close in 1865, Bishop Gray was compelled to launch a new appeal. A Special Fund was accordingly established in England. (179) At the same time, every effort was made to reduce expenditure at Zonnebloem to the barest minimum. Even so, the College's financial future looked bleak in 1867. The Bishop, writing to the S.P.G. at the beginning of the year, said : "I am a little nervous as to the means, all my subscriptions having been paid up; but I think some of our subscribers will continue to help us". (180) The money trickled in very slowly, though. The Bishop was only able to hand over £400 to the College that year, an all time low. (181)

By a stroke of good fortune as far as Zonnebloem was concerned, Bishop Gray was obliged to go to England in 1867 to attend the first Pan-Anglican Synod. The Conference took place at Lambeth in September. Gray was deeply involved in many of the thorny problems which troubled the Church at that time and he was kept constantly busy with top level discussions during his stay in England. Yet despite his many other commitments, the Bishop still managed to make use of this opportune visit overseas to rally support for Zonnebloem's pledged-giving scheme. He was able to elicit the sympathy of many new subscribers besides rousing the old faithfuls to further efforts.

For the first time, however, Bishop Gray found a number of doors closed to him. The Colenso controversy was then building up to a climax and feelings ran high in Church circles. Gray met with much opposition from those who criticized his handling of the dispute and sided with the Bishop of Natal. As a result some of the Kafir College's most generous past benefactors could no longer be called upon to give aid. Miss Burdett Coutts in particular had taken great exception to Gray's actions in declaring the see of Cape Town, which she had endowed, to be an independent South African Church. She had gone so far as to petition the Queen to maintain the existing tie. But to no avail. (182)

Bishop Gray was under pressure on all sides. Not only did he have to go all out in the Church's political arena as he sought to obtain the backing of his fellow bishops in the Anglican Communion,

but he also had to make even more strenuous efforts than ever before to raise funds for the work of the Church in South Africa. (183) Gray somehow managed to find time to tour the country and sandwich a succession of missionary meetings in between the countless consultations, committee meetings and conferences.

The Kafir College featured in Bishop Gray's appeals for funds. (184) His plan of action involved local missionary societies, families and neighbours combining forces. His suggestion was that each group should adopt a student in whom they could take "a special and prayerful interest". (185) They would be required to raise the sum of £16 a year to cover the cost of boarding and educating a Kafir lad at the College. The money came in slowly but surely. These funds were hardly won and yet it was this financial support that made Zonnebloem's survival possible.

But money matters remained a never ending worry to the College's administrators. Bishop Gray, writing to the Rev. Espin in 1871 prior to his taking up office as Warden, gave this warning : "It will only be by the greatest watchfulness and economy that the Institution can be carried on with our present very limited means". (186)

It is interesting to speculate how different Zonnebloem's destiny might have been if the College's development during this period had not been so constantly thwarted by a deficiency in funds, its advancement checked by the continual struggle to make ends meet.

1. Cory, op.cit., 6:163 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4: ch. 57 and 58; Walker, o .cit., 317 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:44 et seq.
2. Walker, op.cit., 315ff.
3. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:78f.
4. Cory, op.cit., 6:85ff; Walker, op.cit., 306ff.
5. Ibid.
6. J.H. Brand became President of the Free State in 1864.
7. Becker, op.cit., 243 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4: ch. 57 and 58; Tylden, op.cit., 88ff.
8. Cory, o .cit., 6:217ff; Hinchliff, Colenso, ch. 5 and 6, and The Anglican Church, 91ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 167ff.
9. Hinchliff, The Church, 68f.
10. Ibid., 69.
11. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 113ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 193ff.
12. Colenso retained the title of Bishop of Natal until he died in 1883.
13. Macrorie was consecrated in Cape Town in January. For further details - Hinchliff, The Church, 69 and The Anglican Church, 100ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 327ff.
14. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 133.
15. Picard, Grand Parade, 39; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:78.
16. Bishops court Record Book, 17.5.1865, BA.
17. There is some discrepancy between the various sources as to the number of ships wrecked. - Bishops court Record Book, 17.5.1865, BA; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:76ff.
18. "The Great Storm of 1865", Unpublished autobiography of Ann Low Walker (nee Crammond), 6ff.
19. Gray to Lt. Governor of Natal, 11.8.1864, LB9:130.
20. A Charge to the clergy of the Diocese of Cape Town, by Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town, delivered at St. George's Cathedral, 17.1.1865, 62f.
21. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49.
22. The Institution would provide instruction in "English classical literature, mental philosophy, abstract and physical science". Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 264.
23. Ibid., 264f.
24. Bishop Gray's Charge, 17.1.1865, 63.
25. Gray to Baker, 21.12.1863, LB9:22.
26. "Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 79.
27. Bishop Gray's Charge, 17.1.1865, 63.
28. Entry in 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
29. Gray to Baker, 21.12.1863, LB9:22.
30. Entries for 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.

31. Gray to S.P.G., May 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1271, USPGA.
32. Ibid.
33. Entry in June 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
34. Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 213f.
35. The pupils at Ekukanyeni had been equally enthusiastic about cricket. According to Hattersley, the African boys skill in flinging assegais gave them an advantage over white boys - "they rarely fail to strike down the wicket from a distance". Quoted from Anglo-African, 16.4.1857, Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 221.
36. Entries in the Zonnebloem Accounts from 1861 - 1865, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
37. Ibid.
38. July 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
39. It is recorded that the pupils were taken to Kalk Bay for the day in 1863, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
40. Hattersley, Social History of S.A. 207f.
41. Parish Church of St. Mary.
42. The Rev. Peters was Warden of Zonnebloem from 1874 to 1900.
43. The "Moederkerk".
44. "Kafir College at Stellenbosch", N. Cohon, quoted in "The Kafir College at Capetown", MF, 1.5.1866, 95f.
45. The total expenditure for 1865 was £971. Zonnebloem Accounts, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
46. "Description of Stellenbosch", W. Monde, 10.7.1865, MF, 1.5.1866, 94f.
47. Ibid.
48. "The Kafir College at Capetown", Report by Warden Glover, 1865, MF, 1.5.1866, 93.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 94.
51. "St. Mark's Mission School Church at Kanaladorp", TN, 1.1.1867, 2:39.
52. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 147.
53. TN, 1.1.1867, 2:39.
54. Glover's Report, 1865, MF, 1.5.1866, 94.
55. Ibid.
56. Entries in the Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, 15.1.1865, ZP.
57. Ibid., May 1865, ZP.
58. Glover's Report, 1865, MF, 1.5.1866, 94.
59. Entries in the Zonnebloem Baptismal Register between April 1860 and May 1865, ZP.
60. "Ekukanyeni Mission, Natal", Report by Colenso, S.P.G. Quarterly Paper, April 1859, No. 8:3.

61. Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, 1860 - 1865, ZP.
62. Josiah referred to "Gonya who is christianised as Edmund Sandile; Komani or Herbert Xoxo; Kondile or Nathaniel Mala (Umhala); Stephen or Mtutuko (Mnyakama); Noneko (Harriet Mary Toney); Nomenteshe Magomo (Matilda Macomo)". J. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GCAL, African Letters X.
63. The terms of reference of the Watermeyer Commission were "to inquire into the present state of the established schools in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and into the conditions on which grants of money are made from the colonial treasury in aid of the salaries of teachers of schools not on the establishment; and to consider and report what measures, if any, it might be desirable to adopt for the extension of sound elementary instruction to all classes of the people". Commission appointed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, to inquire into and report upon the Government Educational System of the Colony, 25.11.1861. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament, April 1863.
64. Education Act, No. 13 - 1865. Cape of Good Hope Statutes, 1652 - 1886 : "Act for Regulating the mode of appropriating Grants from the Public Revenue in aid of General Education". Published on 10.10.1865, 1:845f. For further information - Behr and Macmillan, *o.cit.*, 113f; Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 221; Loram, *op.cit.*, 49f.
65. Zonnebloem received State aid from the moneys reserved under Schedule D of the Appropriation Ordinance annexed to the Order in Council of 11.3.1853. The sum apportioned to the eight schools in this scheme amounted to about £4000 a year and was granted according to Dr. Dale's discretion. A total of 24 native apprentices and 100 boarders received allowances in this way. - Pells, *op.cit.*, 132.
66. Education Act, No. 13 - 1865 : 846. See also Behr and Macmillan, *o.cit.*, 379; Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa (Oxford, 1949) 351; Loram, *op.cit.*, 49f.
67. Pells, *op.cit.*, 132.
68. Report of Visits of Inspection of Zonnebloem, Kafir Institution - included in Report of an Inspection of Schools the Western Districts by the Superintendent-General of Education, Jan. to June 1868, G33-'65:3.
69. "Zonnebloem", Speech by Dr. Dale, Cape Argus, 15.5.1877
70. Further regulations were introduced in 1874.
71. Behr and Macmillan, *op.cit.*, 265f.
72. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49.
73. Zonnebloem Accounts, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
74. It was recorded on the headstone, which formerly marked the grave of Maud Elizabeth Dorritt in Zonnebloem Cemetery, that she was connected with the institution as female warden from 1862 to 1866.
75. Zonnebloem Accounts, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
76. Smart to S.P.G., 20.4.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:2257, USPGA.

77. E. Sandile to Smart, 26.3.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2261, USPGA.
78. Entry in Zonnebloem Record Book, July 1862, ZP.
79. Smart to S.P.G., 20.4.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2257, USPGA.
80. Ibid.
81. Wodehouse to Gray, 12.3.1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 1001, USPGA.
82. Smart to S.P.G., 20.4.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 2257, USPGA.
83. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1865, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
84. Smart to S.P.G., 20.4.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D_7: 2257, USPGA.
85. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1865, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
86. Ibid., Mrs. Cowper was Matron from Nov. 1865 - 1868, re-
ceiling a salary of £2 10s a month.
87. Gray to Hawkins, 15.10.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1215, USPGA.
88. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1865 - 1869, S.P.G. and Miss Book, ZP.
89. Ibid., 1865 - 1866.
90. Ibid., 165.
91. "Bye-Laws to be observed at Zonnebloem Institution, No. 2", 20.12.1866, formulated by Bishop Gray, ZP.
92. No. 34, 35 and 36, Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, 29.7.1866, ZP. Hester had been baptized in 1860.
93. Report of an Inspection of Schools in the Western Districts by the Superintendent-General of Education, Jan. to June 1868, G33-'68:4.
94. Elizabeth died on 17.1.1868, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
95. Dr. Dale's Report, Jan. to June 1868, G33-'68:4. See also Landsberg to Colonial Secretary, 13.4.1868, Report by Medical Board which inspected Zonnebloem on 3.4.1868, ZP.
96. Glover to Colonial Secretary, 24.4.1868, ZP.
97. St. George's Orphanage became a Diocesan institution in 1868.
98. Harriet was confirmed on 7.3.1869, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
99. 22.3.1869, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
100. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 106.
101. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 148.
102. Ibid. It is not certain whether Matilda was Maqomo's daughter or granddaughter.
103. Espin (Warden of Zonnebloem) to Colonial Secretary, 2.9.1872, ZP.
104. J. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GCAL. African Letters X.

105. Squibb was editor of the Hymnal authorized for use in the diocese by the first Synod in 1857. After leaving Zonnebloem in 1862 he became Acting Rector of Rondebosch until he returned to England in 1863. He had the sole charge of the parish of Totteride, Herts. for many years, CCM, May 1894, 2 no. 10:115.
106. Bishop of Cape Town's Special Fund, May 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1271, USPGA.
107. Gray to Bullock, 12.4.1865, LB9:228.
108. Accounts for 1865, S.P.G. and Misa. Book, ZP.
109. Gray to Bullock, 16.9.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1125, USPGA.
110. Entry for Oct. 1865, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
111. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1567, USPGA.
112. Entry for 2.8.1866, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
113. Glover, op.cit., 8; CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21.
114. S.P.G. Digest of Records, 291. The Rev. W.E. Belson, M.A., Corpus Christi, Oxford, had begun work in South Africa at Riversdale, where he was responsible for building the Church of St. Matthew. He had moved to Malmesbury in 1856. CCM, 1896, 97.
115. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
116. Rev. G. Glover sailed for England on 11.2.1868. Rev. E. Glover arrived at Zonnebloem on 14.3.1868. Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
117. "Archdeacon Lightfoot one of God's Englishmen", CCP, 21.12.1904, 1 no. 51:814, see also The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot for further details of his ministry.
118. Dr. Dale's Report, Jan. to June 1868, G33-'68:3.
119. Ellis was buried in the Zonnebloem Cemetery.
120. Appeal by the Rev. E. Glover, TN, 1.6.1867, 89.
121. The teachers were Peek, Close, Lindley and Ashley. Accounts for 1867 - 1868, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
122. Accounts for 1865 - 1869, S.P.G. and Miss. Book and loose set of accounts, 1862 - 1869, ZP.
123. "Bye-Laws to be observed at Zonnebloem Institution", Gray, 20.12.1866, ZP.
124. Accounts for 1865 - 1869, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
125. Dr. Dale's Report, Jan to June 1868, G.33-'68:3.
126. Ibid.
127. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1567, USPGA.
- 128a Gray to Bullock, 11.2.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1657, USPGA.
129. Accounts for 1868 - 1869, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.

130. Lomax arrived 4.5.1868, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
131. Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1868, LB10:242.
132. Report by the Warden of the Kafir College for the year ending Dec. 1868, Glover to S.P.G., S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:249, USPGA.
133. Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1869, LB10:242.
134. Glover, op.cit., 8f; "In Memoriam"- Edward Glover, CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21; Gray to Bishop of Oxford, 17.6.1869, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:474f.
135. C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:474f.
136. Louisa died on 4.11.1869. - Glover, op.cit., 9; CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21.
137. Gray to Bullock, 17.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:379, USPGA.
138. Gutsche, op.cit., 210ff.
139. Sophy Gray died at the age of 57, on 27.4.1871.
140. "Notes on Some Recollections of the Life and Church Work of Bishop Gray in South Africa", author unknown, CCM, Jan. 1893, 1:24; CCM, Jan. 1895, 3 no. 2:21.
141. Glover worked in the parishes of Calbourne, Isle of Wight (1873 - 1876); Christ Church, Wolverhampton (1877 - 1880); Denham, Bury St. Edmonds (1880 - 1886); and Whittlesford, Cambridge (1886 - 1891). He resigned in 1891 because of failing health. He died in London on 17.12.1894, leaving a widow, Mary Jane (Stokes) whom he had married in 1882 - Glover, op.cit., 11 et seq.
142. Smart to S.P.G., 20.4.1864, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:2257, USPGA.
143. Recollections of Rev. Taylor of Mossel Bay, quoted in Glover, op.cit., 11.
144. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 740.
145. Widdicombe to G. Glover, n.d., Glover, op.cit., 9f. Archdeacon Glover gave £1000 to increase the endowment of George and presented half of his library to the town when he left - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 740.
146. Espin to G. Glover, n.d., Glover, op.cit., 18.
147. Ibid., 8.
148. Espin to G. Glover, n.d., Ibid., 18.
149. Ibid.
150. "Memoranda for Warden of Zonnebloem" by Bishop Gray, Feb. 1871, LB10:397.
151. Gray to Espin, 27.2.1871, LB10:399.
152. Gray's Memorandum, Feb. 1871, LB10:397.
153. Gray to Espin, 27.2.1871, LB10:399.
154. Gray's Memorandum, Feb. 1871, LB10:397.
155. "Bye-Laws to be observed at Zonnebloem Institution", Gray, 20.12.1866, ZP.

156. Gray's Memorandum, Feb. 1871, LB10:397.
157. Gray to Espin, 27.2.1871, LB10:399.
158. Gray to Douglas, 28.7.1869, LB10:272.
159. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
160. Entry for 1.5.1871, Zonnebloem Record Book, ZP.
161. Espin to G. Glover, n.d., Glover, op.cit., 18.
162. Ibid., 19.
163. "Zonnebloem", Dr. Dale, Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.
164. One of Wodehouse's officials said of him that "he studies finance and abjures politics - very clever at a reply, but I think too bitter and so he makes few friends". Gawler to Grey, 6.7.1866, CA.
165. "Detailed Reports of Visits of Inspection", Dr. Dale's Report, G33-'68.
166. Zonnebloem accounts, 1864 - 1869, ZP.
167. Gray to Wodehouse, 16.3.1865, LB9:215.
168. Gray to Kitton, 18.12.1865, LB9:344.
169. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1868, ZP.
170. The farm was sold in June 1928 and the money invested as "The Sir George Grey Bequest", ZP.
171. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1860 - 1866; Entries between 1861 and 1868, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
172. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1567, USPGA.
173. Landsberg to Colonial Secretary (Inspection of the Kafir School by the Medical Board), 13.4.1868, ZP.
174. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1860 - 1866; Entries between 1861 and 1868, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
175. Ibid.
176. Zonnebloem Accounts, 1865 and 1866, ZP.
177. S.P.G. Allowance, 1864 to 1869, S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
179. Bishop of Cape Town's Special Fund, May 1865, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1271, USPGA.
180. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7: 1567, USPGA.
181. Drafts on the Bishop - £600 in 1864; £469 0s lid in 1865; £500 in 1866; £400 in 1867; £480 4s 9d in 1868; £150 for the first half of 1869 - S.P.G. and Miss. Book, ZP.
182. According to Miss Burdett Coutts: "The object of my endowment was to maintain a bishopric of the Church of England in the diocese of Capetown. Therefore any attempt to apply that endowment to the establishment of a separate Church is opposed to the views and wishes which I entertained at the time when I provided the funds, and still continue to entertain". - Burdett Patterson, op.cit.
183. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 100f and 111ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 86ff.

- 184. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 112f.
- 185. "Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 79.
- 186. TN, 1.5.1867, 79; Gray to Espin, 27.2.1871, LB10:399.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST YEARS OF AN ERA IN EDUCATION : 1867 - 1869

1. Publicity for the Kafir Pupils

The Role of the Missionary Magazines

Even though Zonnebloem now functioned as a State-aided Industrial Institution, it still continued to operate as an Anglican school and remained the responsibility of the Church, more especially the Church in England.

It was reasonable to expect that those people in England who provided Zonnebloem with financial assistance would take a personal interest in the College and its students. The missionary publications in particular played a leading role in disseminating information about the Institution. Through the medium of their monthly magazines they regularly printed reports by the Warden and Bishop Gray, so publicizing the school's needs and portraying the students' advancement in an effort to inspire and maintain support from their readers.

Anne Mackenzie, the indomitable editor of "The Net", was particularly diligent in this respect. (1) As a member of the support party of the ill-fated Zambesi mission, she had perforce had to stay at the Cape for some time. During the many months of waiting she had become intimately involved in the work of the Kafir College. After her return to England she had kept up her contact with Zonnebloem and had done all in her power to capture the interest of her reading public by passing on news of the pupils' progress.

In 1867, the May edition of "The Net" featured two essays written by Kafir lads at the College, with a view to showing the improvement in their style and language. Miss Mackenzie made a point of printing the exercises as they were written, without correcting the errors. Both essays had "Africa" as their subject. The first one was obviously written by a Ngqika tribesmen, his national pride being much in evidence. (2)

Africa

Africa is remarkable for its vast deserts of burning sand, the ignorance and barbarism of its inhabitants, and the number and ferocity of its animals; though some countries of Africa, particularly Egypt and Carthage were early distinguished for civilization and commerce. Africa is a barren tract of country; it is

full of wild animals, among which elephants, lions and tigers, and many more, are of great abundance; the snakes are of many kinds. The country is a peninsular; its inhabitants consisted of different tribes.

The principal of these races are the Kafirs; these people are supposed to be descendant from the Jews, or from the Egyptians, but sane people say the Kafirs are descendant from the Arabs; but I don't know why they say they are descendant from the Arabians, the customs are of the Jews partly.

These people are well-formed, well-looking men in their appearance; the ears and noses are well formed; they are stout, some of them above six feet high, and others are less than six feet; they are sagacious, and their language is one of the best language in the World. The principal tribes are the Gaika; (3) their chief Missionary is C. Brownlie, who knows the Kafir language thoroughly, and can speak it as Kafir man: I think he is a Scotch Missionary. (4)

The English have a part of it, which we call the English Colony; it is bounded on the north by the Orange, on the east by the British Kaffraria, on the south by the South Ocean, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; the chief town is Cape Town, where the governor lived; and Graham's Town is another large place, where the general lives. In the summer the rain is of great abundance; the lightning is fearful, and so is the thunder. (5) Sometimes the lightning and the thunder takes away cattle, sometimes they destroy the houses, and the principal animal in the rivers is crocodile, an ugly looking thing.

There was a war with the English; (6) only one tribe who fought the English, and many of the other nations, such as the Dutch or Boers, Malays, Fingoes, and some of the Kafirs, together with the English, against only the Gaikas; and they didn't conquer that tribe; and they were obliged to make peace while there was peace. Our great general, Makomo, (7) went to Graham's Town, because he thought the English made peace with him; but the English accused him of killing some of their men, and that was done in fighting; but they saw that he was a brave and clever man. I consider him that he was as brave as Napoleon or Duke Wellington. The government was left to him by his father, but he gave it to his brother. (8) (9)

Miss Mackenzie added an explanatory note to this essay to the effect that Maqomo was still a State prisoner on Robben Island with the other convict Chiefs. What her readers most probably did not realize was that two of his children (possibly grandchildren), Matilda (Nomenteshe) and Archibald (Mede), were at that time students at Zonnebloem with their cousin Edmund (Gonya) Sandile. (10) Considering the sentiments expressed in the composition, it

could quite conceivably have been written by Archibald. The second essay on "Africa" was written by a much younger boy. Miss Mackenzie prefaced the piece with the remark - "His pride in his country is beautiful". (11)

I don't know much about Africa, although I am an inhabitant of it; and although I am native of Africa, still I am not ashamed to confess that I know very little of it. Africa is rather hot in some parts of it; I think it has the hottest climate than the other three divisions. It is also very barren, yet I think it is not the worst of the four globes. (12) Sometimes the rain is very scarce, and sometimes is very rainy; and I am the inhabitant of it, I think I am bound to commend it.

The inhabitants of Africa are the Kafirs, Basutos, and some other petty nations. In my opinion, I think Africa is the best known of all the divisions. The inhabitants are savages, and I don't know in what year the Englishmen came to it. The chief town in the colony is Cape Town, and it is a very nice town; but there is one drawback - water is very scarce. (13) Natal is another colony belonging to the English, and the capital of it is Pietermaritzburg. Graham's Town is another town belonging to the English; King William's Town is another. I think now, dear friends, I must conclude, having no more to say about Africa; but I say Africa is very good, although I sometimes hear people saying that it is no good. All what I say is, Africa is very attractive to the white people. (14)

"A marvellous change has taken place in the boys"

The Rev. W.E. Belson, who took over as Acting Warden of Zonnebloem in the last quarter of 1866, was most impressed with the Kafir pupils' response to their education. His observations, published by the S.P.G. in their Annual Report for 1867, are particularly noteworthy as he had come to the College having had no previous close contact with his black charges. He wrote :

A marvellous change has taken place in the boys who have been some years resident They came wild little savages; they are now to all appearances civilized, and many of them are Christians. Their manners are most polite. I am not aware that a complaint has ever been made by any one that they have misconducted themselves in Capetown; and this is saying a great deal, for all eyes are upon them, and many would be only too glad to find them tripping. With the majority of the inhabitants, the education of Kafirs is a sore subject. The Dutch would never think of undertaking it. As regards their intellectual powers, some of the boys are decidedly clever, some the reverse; but with all there is an inability to express themselves grammatically in English, which no doubt is owing to their speaking amongst themselves always in Kafir. (15)

Apparently the introduction of white boys into the Kafir lads midst, with the purpose of encouraging them to become conversant with English, had not yet had the desired effect. Two compositions written by black pupils in 1867, were published in "The Net" the following year, the editor of this missionary publication adding the comment that she thought her readers would be amused by the class exercises. However, Miss Mackenzie was careful to explain that English was a foreign language to these scholars. (16)

Both essays had as their subject, "The World". They provide us with unique evidence for an evaluation of the intellectual development of the Kafir pupils up to this stage of their education. Taking into account the boys' background, their literary efforts exhibit a surprisingly competent standard of English. What is more, they reveal well-developed reasoning powers and critical faculties, as shown by the arguments which the boys advanced to test the validity of the facts which they had been taught. Testimony indeed to the type of training offered at Zonnebloem at this time.

The World

The author of the first essay was not named:

The earth is a solid and spherical body, it hangs upon nothing, and is not quite a circle. When a ship comes in the bay we first see the top of the masts, then when it is near enough to our vision we see the whole of it. Likewise, when it leaves the bay, we first lose sight of the hull, then at last we lose sight of the top of the masts. We are taught that the world moves. The world moves round the sun; but we think that the sun moves, for it says in the Bible that Joshua told the sun to stand still. We don't know exactly what to believe when no man has yet ascended to see whether the sun moves or not. I do believe that the earth is round, for I learnt that men have sailed round the world and had come to the point where they started. But the movement of the world is what I can never believe till a man explain to me about it. We learn that the earth throws its shadow on the moon, which I can never believe, for no man did see the earth in the air so near the moon as to throw its shadow on the moon. (17)

Walter, who wrote the next essay, was a son of Kemsel (Kemtél 2), a petty Ngqika chief. (18) According to Miss Mackenzie he was one of the cleverest and most endearing boys in the College.

We read about the world in great numbers of books, and there are great numbers of men who tell us about it. They say it is round, like an orange, but I can't

prove it, and therefore if anyone ask me about it, I can soon tell him that I don't know. Captain Cook has sailed three times round the world, and he says that it is round. Drake, too, tells us about the world, therefore we ought to believe those men that say the world is round, for they can prove it. I don't know what Columbus says about it, for in geography he is as wise as Cook. Geographers say the earth moves, and not the sun, but we stupid men say that the earth is standing still, and the sun goes round it. They say that on earth we are just like flies on the top of the mountains on earth, and they say that there are stars larger than the world, for instance, Mercury, Saturn, and some others, and also there are fixed stars and moving stars, and that this world is one of the stars which moves. I wish I knew more about the world and the stars, then I would write a good description of them. (19)

The editor's comment on this composition was that it had a very touching ending for Walter's wish, as expressed in the last line, was fulfilled not long afterwards. The lad died in June 1867, victim of galloping consumption. (20) Miss Mackenzie, much moved by the story of this young Christian's last days at Zonnebloem, (21) recounted for her readers how Walter had been carefully and affectionately nursed by his friends during his short illness. They had sat up at night, reading and praying with him, using books which the Warden had left in the room for that purpose. When Glover had seen how well the patient was being care for, both in soul and body, he had left them a good deal to themselves. A celebration of the Holy Eucharist had been held in the boy's room just before he died, many of his companions joining in.

But touching as the account of Walter's passing was, the death toll of Kafir pupils was reaching alarming proportions. Many of the College's supporters were beginning to question the wisdom of carrying on with this educational experiment at such a high cost. Miss Mackenzie, a staunch protagonist of the project, tried to rally the doubters. She reasoned : "Because Walter is taken from the work we hoped he was being trained for, shall we think all the pains that were taken with him and the money spent on him were thrown away ? Surely not". (22) She then went on to cite the case of a Melanesian boy at the Norfolk Island Mission, who had been quoted as saying that he would rather die a Christian "with a bright heart" than live in this land "with a dark one". (23) Miss Mackenzie asked : "Shall we be less faithful?" (24)

2. Plans for Zonnebloem to become a Theological College and Native University

"A School of the Prophets"

Bishop Gray's faith in Zonnebloem never faltered. Enthusiastic about its purpose, he was ever eager to expand the College so that it could fulfill further functions in the Church's Mission in Africa, serving both black and white alike. Encouraged by strong backing from his clergy, the Metropolitan spent much time over the years working on a plan to graft a Theological College onto Zonnebloem. The Dutch Reformed Church had established a Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch in 1859, but the Anglicans could offer no such facilities whatsoever in South Africa. (25)

The possibility of increasing Zonnebloem's scope to include theological training first came up for open discussion on the occasion of Bishop Gray's Visitation to George in January 1864. The clergy of the local Archdeaconry felt deeply concerned about the subject and passed the following resolution :

That it is highly desirable that some educational course, in which theology should occupy a chief place, be, if possible provided in connexion with the Kafir College of Zonnebloem, which might be available for youths between the ages of (say) 18 and 25, who have purposed to devote themselves to the work of the Church. (26)

The Bishop wrote at once to the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., enclosing a copy of the Resolution and asking for immediate aid to put this plan into action. His request was supported by a forceful argument. Gray contended that, just as there were a dearth of teachers from England, so were the clergy of the Mother Church not coming forth in sufficient numbers to supply the wants of the Church at the Cape. (27) Moreover the clergy fresh from England were hampered in their work by their ignorance of Dutch. They were of little use for some time after their arrival and frequently never acquired the language at all. The Bishop believed that it was imperative for the Colonial Churches to train their own men for the ministry. He maintained that this view was held throughout the diocese; but they could make no move without money. (28)

Bishop Gray explained that his funds and energies had been depleted by the founding of three educational institutions in Cape Town - Diocesan College, Kafir College and St. George's Grammar

school. (29) The local Church was too poor, amidst the general bankruptcy in the country resulting from the depression, to start a separate Institution. (30) In the meantime, the Bishop expressed his willingness to allow theological training to be connected to the Kafir College. It had been selected from the three local Church schools as being the most suitable for this purpose, its teacher training institution having served as a precedent. Gray asked the Societies to provide a few scholarships so that the young men who had already offered themselves for the work of the ministry might start training at once. (31) This plea met with no response, however, and the scheme had to be shelved for the time being.

Having failed to find support in England, Bishop Gray next tried to get his own flock motivated. He brought the subject of theological training up for discussion at Diocesan Synod at the beginning of 1865, calling upon the assembled clergy to treat it as a matter of some urgency. In his charge, the Metropolitan spoke of the ever increasing difficulty of obtaining suitable men from England. This was due in part to the great demand for them "at home", but attributable also to the small inducements that could be offered by the South African Church.

The Bishop's solution to the problem was to establish a "School of the Prophets" at Zonnebloem. (32) Training could be provided there for black and white clergy and catechists, much in the same way that teacher training facilities had been added to the College's curriculum.

Synod passed a unanimous decision declaring that a Theological College should be established for the whole Province. Since the prevailing poverty in the country made this a practical impossibility, they agreed to support the Bishop's proposal that theological training should be grafted onto Zonnebloem as an interim measure. But no matter what the intention might be, there was no money with which to execute even this makeshift plan and it was suspended yet again. (33)

Glover held the office of the Bishop's examining chaplain. Following his return to the Cape in 1868, he made a valiant effort to fill the gap by acting as theological tutor to a number of young men who were preparing for the ministry. This work was, of necessity, very limited, though.

The Synod of Bishops finally took a decisive step to solve the problem. In January 1869, they recommended that while the Kafir Institution should still continue with its work of educating Africans, in future its chief work should be the training of the most promising youths drawn from the Mission schools of the several Dioceses for the office of Catechist and Holy Orders. (34) This Resolution had dramatic repercussions for Zonnebloem, as the College was steered onto an entirely new course as a consequence.

Plans to make Zonnebloem the future Native University for Africa

At the same time as Zonnebloem's future as a theological college was being considered, there was a movement afoot to include a university in the overall scheme of the College's development. The matter was first mooted at a conference of missionaries held in Grahamstown in 1867. (35) The Bishops of the Province took up the subject again at Synod at the beginning of 1869, and agreed that the Kafir College should be made the future Native University for Africa.

The Bishops' proposal followed on from their decision not to send any more natives to England to further their studies. They blamed the severe climate for the high mortality among students who had gone overseas, and resolved that the Church in South Africa must provide all advanced education for natives in the future. Zonnebloem was selected for this work in preference to the Grahamstown Institution. Bishop Gray assured the S.P.G. that the Bishop of Grahamstown was "thoroughly of one mind on this point, and we should have prepared statutes before this had we not had our time and energies exhausted by the troubles and the conflicts of the day". (36)

A Change in the Church's Educational Policy at Zonnebloem

As a result of the Bishops' ruling as regards Zonnebloem's future, Gray was required to formulate a plan to implement the new policy, so bringing about a gradual change in the College's educational system. For a start, he decided that no more raw Kafirs would be admitted. Although this would probably mean that there would be fewer students in the future, those that came to the College would have had a certain amount of schooling. Only the most promising lads from the various mission stations would be chosen to complete their education at Zonnebloem.

Bishop Gray also intended to drop part of the Industrial system. But it is not clear as to how he hoped to reconcile the College's new image with the Government's requirements which enabled Zonnebloem to be classed as an Industrial Institution, and so continue to receive the State aid which was vital to its existence.

According to Gray's plan, the young men from the missions would be sent back to the stations from which they had come, on completing their education. Their careers would be guaranteed because the Church bodies who had sponsored their higher education would be responsible for finding them jobs on their return home. (37) Such a system would do away with the present difficulty of finding the College graduates posts in other dioceses. Up to this time the Zonnebloem pupils had had no specific connection with any mission stations and were not known by the missionaries. Their fate had been in the uncertain hands of the S.P.G..(38)

The new education policy signalled a significant change in the College's progression. Although Zonnebloem never became a Native University, it was nonetheless recognized as an Institution for the higher education of selected native students. In addition, Coloured and white candidates were trained for the work of the Church.

3. New Boys at Zonnebloem : 1867 - 1869

The Chiefs' Sons and the New Trend

No longer was Zonnebloem limited to accepting the children of African chiefs. Instead, the trend veered towards the training of native evangelists and teachers, whose selection was based on moral and intellectual standards rather than pedigree. The new students were chosen for qualities which gave promise of them being useful teachers to their own people in due time, and not according to the power and influence which they might possibly wield in the future as a result of their tribal rank.

Even so, the old order still prevailed to a certain extent, and chiefs' sons continued to come to the College. But the new draft, who entered Zonnebloem in 1867, were distinguished from their predecessors in one important respect. Unlike the first batch of black aristocrats, they had already received some schooling. They had been selected as being promising students worthy of this opportunity in their own right, and not because of their family connections.

Smith, a grandson of Jan Tzatzoe, was one such example. This chief's son, probably named after Sir Harry Smith, was said to have a good education and a great desire to learn. Governor Wodehouse, while on one of his periodic visits to the Frontier, promised the boy's grandfather that he would arrange for Smith to be sent to Zonnebloem. Although the lad was apprenticed, his master agreed to free him from his indentures. (39) And so he joined three of his brothers at the Kafir College, in August 1867. (40)

The First Coloured Student at the Kafir College

The other chief's son to enter Zonnebloem that year, had the distinction of being the first Coloured student to be admitted to the College. He was the son of Adam Kok III, the captain of a Griqua clan. Although Kok was designated a chief, the Griqua Hottentots had no connection whatsoever with any of the African tribes. They were a mixed race, "who were predominantly of Khoikhoi origin, but through long interaction with white people in the Cape Colony, had become infused with caucasian physical stock and influenced by Afrikaner trekboer culture". (41)

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the Griquas had divided into two distinct communities with separate leaders. The West Griquas had settled around Griqua Town under Waterboer. While the East Griquas had established themselves in the district of Philippolis and were led by the Koks.

The London Missionary Society had taken these Coloured people under their wing and many of them had been converted to Christianity. The missionaries, besides their evangelical work, had also been active in championing the Griquas' rights. Led by Dr. Philip, they had fought for political reform and had disputed the clans' territorial claims, so causing much animosity among the European settlers. (42)

The Griqua "states" were loosely organized and were easy prey to the land hungry "trekboers". Situated as they were in the path of the northward trek, they were not able to withstand the steady Boer encroachment. During the eighteen thirties and forties, the unstable Griqua people were easily persuaded to defy their tribal law and sell their land. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the greater part of the Griqua territory had become absorbed into the rapidly expanding European settlements.

Over the years Kok and his people had proved themselves loyal

allies of Britain. As their reserve dwindled, Sir George Grey felt bound to come to their aid. They were offered a portion of the newly ceded No Man's Land, east of the Drakensberg, the Governor's intention being that they would form a strong pro-Government buffer state between the Basutos and the hostile coastal tribes.

Kok sold the Griquas' rights to their remaining land north of the Orange River to the Free State Government in 1861. Accompanied by two thousand of his followers, he abandoned Philippolis and migrated east. The Griqua trek through southern Lesotho was hampered by the drought, and it took them two years to reach their destination. Their new homeland became known as Griqualand East. Here they founded the settlement of Kokstad. (43)

The emigrant Griquas were without a missionary and Bishop Twells, newly arrived in the Free State, felt deeply concerned about their spiritual welfare. Even though the clan lived beyond his diocese, he made a number of journeys over the Drakensberg mountains to visit Kok in his encampment. (44) The Bishop was most impressed with the Griqua leader, more particularly with his views on Church and State, which Twells heartily endorsed. Kok's convictions formed an interesting comparison with those of the chiefs of the neighbouring African tribes.

Kok told Twells that, as a chief, he believed that it was his duty to support religion and so he never interfered in ecclesiastical affairs. On the other hand, he always took care that the missionaries should not interfere with secular matters, nor meddle with things that were the chief's business.

The Griqua leader and the Bishop conversed in Dutch. Much to Twells' horror, however, Kok reverted to speaking the old Hottentot language when he talked to his followers. The Bishop was astounded that such a civilized and apparently enlightened Christian chief could lapse into speaking "this barbarous tongue". He described it as "a language consisting, as it sounds, of nothing but clicks, unattainable by a European, and having the effect of the chattering of a lot of apes". (45) Twells was most anxious that the young Griqua people should not learn it and grieved that he could not provide school facilities at the new settlement.

The Bishop's only recourse was to persuade Kok to send one of his

sons to Zonnebloem. A lad was chosen who had already received some schooling from the London Society missionaries. (46) He entered the Kafir College in 1867 and remained there for a number of years. Twells was amply rewarded for his patronage, for when the Anglicans began missionary work in Kokstad in 1875, this Griqua chief's son immediately offered his services to the Church and became a teacher to his people. (47)

Three Promising Lads from the Anglican Mission School in Zululand

March 1868 saw the arrival at Zonnebloem of the first students who had been selected for admission to the College purely on merit. The three new boys all came from the pioneering Anglican Mission in Zululand. Hali Abraham and Charlie Heber were both Zulus, while the third member of the group, Billy Fea, was a half-caste. (48) Though these promising lads from the mission school were without any influential tribal connections, they had the assurance of powerful backing in England, instead. This was a significant aspect of the new trend at Zonnebloem.

All three boys had been cared for by the Rev. Robertson and his wife for the greater part of their lives. The story of their upbringing and education by their white foster-parents had received much publicity in England. Anne Mackenzie, who had got to know the lads well during her stay in Natal, had featured tales of their childhood in her memoir of Henrietta Robertson. (49) In addition, she had continued to print up to date reports of the youngsters' doings in her missionary journal.

An appeal by the Rev. Robertson for funds to send his protégés to Zonnebloem, which was launched through "The Net" in 1867, met with an overwhelming response from the papers' readers. Evidence indeed of how the missionary public's interest could be won by a personal approach. No matter that they lived thousands of miles away, those who had followed the young mission celebrities' progress over the years felt intimately involved in their welfare. The English Churchmen and women were eager to sponsor the lads' training as teachers, hoping that they might eventually be found fitting to become ministers to the Zulus. (50)

As a result of the extensive publicity which Hali, Billy and Charlie received through the Church's news media we have a comprehensive documentation of their background, Christian upbringing

in a European home, and early schooling, which includes the necessary particulars about their parents and descriptions of the development of their personalities and intellects. The boys' childhood forms a striking contrast with the traditional tribal upbringing of the majority of their fellow students at Zonnebloem. Besides which, the detailed record concerning the trio from Zululand is unique : the early years which the Kafir children spent in their fathers' kraals can only be a matter for conjecture. For this reason, the case histories of the mission protégés are dealt with in full.

The Civilized and Christian Upbringing of the Mission Proteges

Hali was the son of two Christian Zulus, Boy and Mary Abraham. Boy served as a catechist under the Rev. Robertson at the Umlazi Mission in Natal. The Anglican missionary and his wife were childless. Eager to offer needy children the benefits of their home, they set about gathering together a multi-racial family which ultimately numbered twelve. They adopted the Abraham's son as a baby. He was baptized as an infant, being christened Harry; but the letter "r" is unpronounceable to the Zulus and his name was soon corrupted to Hali. (51)

William Fea, commonly known as Billy, was a few months older than Hali. He was a half-caste, his white father having married a Christian native woman. Billy lost both his parents at an early age. Following his mother's death from consumption at the Umlazi station, the orphan baby boy was also adopted by the Robertsons. Hali and Billy were treated as brothers, being brought up by their foster-parents as their own children. (52)

Mrs. Robertson was a doting mother. She wrote endless accounts of her infant sons' doings to Anne Mackenzie in England, which the editor of "The Net" then printed in her paper. The readers apparently found the reports of the boys' quaint sayings and childish escapades very endearing. The sentiment may seem rather mawkish for modern taste. Nonetheless, these published letters provide us with valuable data concerning the lads' progressive development. It is evident that they were very precocious. "A pretty account" of the boys, written when they were three years old, reveals that Hali was Mrs. Robertson's favourite. She wrote :

Hali has lived with us as our own little child. He is an affectionate, intelligent boy: he quite loves me as his mother, and knows no other, though I try

to teach him the love due to his own mother; he loves her, too, but says the Inkosikazi (the lady) is his mamma. He speaks English, and is, I think, as advanced as any English child. He knows from Sunday picture-books all the stories of the Old Testament In his pretty baby way he goes through on Sundays all the histories from Adam and Eve to the life of Moses, and also all the lives of the prophets Elijah and Daniel. I do not press him with any actual lessons, but he has thoroughly mastered the alphabet, and is beginning little words of two letters. (53)

Mrs. Robertson then went on to relate, at length, what this "teachable, lovable child" had to say about God, and recounted the words of his lisping prayers. (54) A short while later she proudly reported that he was able to recite his hymns "very prettily and feelingly". (55) A visiting English clergyman who met Hali at this time, described him as being "more like an English boy who had a tender bringing up than a young Zulu". (56)

Billy suffered from delicate health and was not as advanced as Hali. His foster-mother considered that he was "a very engaging child, more passionate and wilful than Hali, but affectionate and intelligent. He has such an ear for music that you hear him singing the chants and hymns he catches from the daily service in the prettiest way". (57) His "mamma" confessed, however, that she found Billy's "naughty tempers" rather trying. (58)

Charlie Heber joined Hali and Billy in 1859. But although he lived with the missionary and his wife as part of their family, he was never officially adopted by them. Charlie was an only son. His father, a Zulu by the name of Upatwa, was unwilling to part with him for good. Upatwa came from Faku's country, south of Natal. Converted to Christianity by his catechist cousin, Boy Abraham, he had been persuaded to dissolve his polygamous marriage and send his second wife home to her own people in the Amapondo country. When his first wife had died soon afterwards, Upatwa had taken his son, Uvonye, and three daughters to live at Umlazi. He was shortly baptized, being given the name of Heber; and as a catechist he became a leading member of the mission community.

Anne Mackenzie stood as sponsor at the baptism of Heber's son, the little boy being named after her brother, the missionary bishop. Hali was responsible for teaching his new companion his first English words, which were : "God bless Charles Mackenzie, and make Charles Mackenzie a good boy". (59)

Charlie proved to be a clever little fellow and the Robertsons were loathe to leave him behind when they set off north in 1860, to found the first Anglican mission in Zululand. The pioneer mission party had to be kept as small as possible because of the difficulties of providing them with food and the absence of any accomodation whatsoever at their destination, and so the Heber family had to remain at Umlazi. However the missionaries' strangely assorted family of adopted children, which now numbered eight, insisted on accompanying their foster-parents to their new home at Kwamagwaza. Besides the two half-caste orphans (Billy and his brother), and Hali, the only Zulu, there were two white orphans and three fatherless Hottentot children. A number of Christian African servants made up the complement which embarked on the two hundred mile journey in two ox-wagons. (60)

Once the mission at Kwamagwaza was established, the children were organized into a routine of prayers, religious instruction, school lessons and household chores. For many years Hali acted as waiter at table and was consequently always remembered by visitors to the station. (61) The boys were also required to assist with the industrial work. Young though they were, they were kept busy making bricks and cutting wood for the new buildings. (62) After a time Heber brought his family to settle at Kwamagwaza and Charlie was reunited with his friends.

It was the Robertsons' wish to absorb as many children as possible into their home in order to give them the benefits of a civilized and Christian upbringing. They were enabled to carry out their purpose through the financial assistance of benefactors in England. The scheme was so organized that either an individual, parish, district, or guild, sponsored one of the boys or girls. They each sent £4 a year to pay for the education and maintenance of their particular child. A personal link was kept up with the sponsors, they being allowed to choose their godchild's name at baptism as well as being given regular news of their charge. (63) Hali and Billy were both supported in this way, Mrs. Robertson being most diligent in reporting on their progress. When the boys were five, she described how they delighted in telling each other stories from the Old and New Testaments which they had learnt from pictures. They had also started to learn to write, Billy excelling at this exercise. (64) The youngsters were obviously flourishing in their Westernized home environment.

The lads' cosy world was suddenly shattered a short while later, though, by the death of their foster-mother. Hali and Billy were horrified witnesses of the tragic accident. The boys had accompanied the Robertson on a trip to Natal to fetch supplies. Returning home, the ox wagon overturned as it came down a steep slippery grass slope. Mrs. Robertson, who was pinned underneath the wagon, was fatally injured. (65) The bereaved missionary was left with the entire responsibility of bringing up his large family of adopted children. It was many years before he re-married and gave them another mother.

The Rev. Robertson's wards continued with their lessons at the mission school, making good progress with the passing years. Even a serious bout of typhoid fever failed to hold Hali back. By the time he was ten, his English was nearly as good as his Zulu and he could read fluently in both languages. His command of scriptural knowledge was said to be quite astonishing. He had memorized long passages from the Bible including many of the psalms. But the educational facilities at Kwamagwaza were of necessity limited, and the Rev. Robertson, who had ambitious plans for his promising charges, realized that he would have to make arrangements for them to complete their training at the College at the Cape. (66)

Plans to Prepare the Mission Proteges for the Native Pastorate in Zululand

The embryo missionary work at Kwamagwaza received much publicity in England during the late eighteen sixties, as a result of Anne Mackenzie's efforts to raise funds for a Memorial Bishopric to her brother, in Zululand. This scheme had the enthusiastic support of Bishop Gray. Following the failure of the Central African Mission, the Metropolitan was eager to extend the chain of Anglican mission stations northwards through Zululand in an attempt to reach the Zambesi region from the south. (67)

In 1867, bearing the needs of the future missionary see in mind, Robertson recommended that a native pastorate should be trained in readiness to accompany the Bishop when he was eventually consecrated. The missionary considered that Hali and Billy, with the special advantages of their upbringing and with their good religious foundation, were particularly promising material. The boys were then eleven years old. Robertson, who had long taken a

lively interest in the work done by Zonnebloem, proposed to send his charges to the Kafir College, a plan which secured Bishop Gray's enthusiastic approval. (68)

An appeal was accordingly made through "The Net" for money for this project. The sum of £16 a year was needed to cover the cost of each boy for board, clothing and education at the College. A further amount of £10 each was needed to pay for their travelling expenses to the Cape. The necessary funds were quickly forthcoming from England. A "kind friend" and a parish respectively, offered to sponsor Hali and Billy. While "a lady" preferred an additional amount so that Charlie could accompany his friends. At Robertson's request, these donations were turned into subscriptions, tenable for five years. This arrangement ensured that the three boys would be provided for during the entire proposed period of their schooling at Zonnebloem. (69)

But before the boys could set off for their new school, permission first had to be obtained from their fathers. There was no problem as far as Billy was concerned, seeing that he was an orphan. Charlie and Hali were another matter, though, Heber, Charlie's father, was a humble-minded man who had served Robertson faithfully for many years as a native catechist. Nonetheless, under normal circumstances he would have been loathe to part with his only son for such a long period. He was, however, then going through a very difficult time. Whereas he had formerly been respected by all who knew him, he had recently been accused of being an "Umtaki", a wizard. This was a serious tribal offence, and, as a result, the local Zulu tribesmen were making the catechist's life miserable with their persecution. Consequently Heber was only too willing to give his permission for Charlie to go to Zonnebloem. (70)

The consent of Hali's father was not so easily come by for Boy Abraham was then living a long way away, in No Man's Land. He had given up his work as a catechist, having left Kwamagwaza some time back to embark on a lucrative career under Adam Kok as a trader, interpreter and tax collector. Robertson had to send a special messenger the many miles south through Natal, in order to seek Boy's permission for Hali's removal to the Cape. The missionary's diligence was well rewarded, however, for Boy readily acquiesced to the plan, saying : "Hali is your child, we agree to

whatever you think best for him". (71) Boy even went so far as to make the tedious journey to Zululand so that he could bid his eldest son farewell before his departure. He brought Hali a present of a horse.

By the beginning of 1868, the final preparations had been completed and the boys were all set to leave for Zonnebloem. Hali and Billy had turned twelve and were reported to be growing up fast. Of the three, Hali was considered to be the best equipped for his new life. As a result of his years of waiting at table he had good manners and an excellent understanding of English. Although he could not write as well as Charlie, his reading had greatly improved; and, with his alert mind, he surpassed the others in intelligence and knowledge of Scripture. His schoolmaster was greatly impressed by the fact that Hali's eyes seemed "to blaze with joy at the beauties of Scripture", and held out high hopes of him eventually entering Holy Orders. (72) This did not mean that the Zulu lad was not sometimes troublesome. But his teacher was prepared to overlook Hali's infrequent lapses on the grounds that they were common to most boys of his age, and said : "If we have reason to be grieved with Hali occasionally, he generally makes up for it by doing something, or bringing forth some question or answer which gives us much satisfaction or amusement".(73)

Billy was the smallest in size of the trio, and was not such a lively character as Hali. He had no outstanding scholastic abilities and was said to be happiest when herding cattle. One cannot but help questioning the missionary's motives in trying to mould his half-caste adopted son for work for which he manifestly seemed to have been ill-suited; and criticizing Robertson for lavishing an expensive extended education on Billy when he appeared to have had no vocation for the career in the Church which had been mapped out for him.

Charlie was the youngest member of the group. He was described as being clever, sharp, and full of harmless fun. As a small boy he had been a most unwilling helper to the cook in the mission kitchen. He had often been berated for being inattentive to his duties and for being late with the food. Once he was freed from this detested domestic service, though, and allowed to take part in the more congenial work of making bricks and helping on the station, there had been no more trouble. The little fellow was popular with the staff and they were sad to see him go. Charlie

was said to possess more ingenuity than Hali, but his knowledge of English was considerably less. (74)

The Trio from the Zululand Mission School enter Zonnebloem in March 1868

The trio set off on their travels over land and sea in the New Year. They were resplendent in smart new clothes which had been sent them by their English benefactors. (75) The Rev. Robertson, describing the boys' departure to Miss Mackenzie, wrote : "They left in excellent spirits. Just a few tears came when I was delivering my last counsels to them before leaving the wagon for the railway A kind gentleman undertook to comfort them on board, also a nice Kafir lad going to seek his fortune in Cape Town". (76)

In parting from his charges, the missionary was somewhat consoled by the thought that they would have Zulu companions at Zonnebloem, for the three sons of Chief Umnini were still at the College. Robertson believed that apart from their being assured of the friendship of compatriots, it was also important for the future work of his mission protégés that they should continue to speak their home tongue. He reasoned that speaking English as well as they did, they might be in danger of forgetting their own language, had they been alone at the College. (77)

Hali, Charlie and Billy were admitted into Zonnebloem at the beginning of March 1868. (78) Their arrival was much heralded for it signalled the start of a new era at the College. They were the vanguard of the more sophisticated students whom Bishop Gray hoped to attract from missions throughout the country.

The lads from Kwamagwaza settled down quickly at Zonnebloem for the disciplined daily routine at the Kafir Institution followed a pattern with which they were well familiar. Besides which, the education which they had received at the mission school in Zululand had been of a sufficiently advanced standard to prepare them for immediate training, as pupil teachers, so putting them on a par with the white boys who entered the College at this time.

The Church had high expectations of the three mission pupils. By reason of the fact that they had been raised by white foster-parents in a civilized and Christian environment, there was every hope that after completing their education they would adjust more easily to mission work than their African counterparts, and be

able to withstand the pressures and temptations of the tribal surroundings which constantly threatened to bring about the downfall of the Kafir pupils on their return home from College.

The majority of the trio's fellow black students had had to make the leap from the kraal to Western society in a short space of time. No amount of cramming at the College could compensate for the so-called deficiencies in their tribal upbringing, nor completely eradicate all memory of the despised heathen customs which they had learned as children. Not so Charlie, Hali and Billy. As a result of their Western upbringing they were expected to go from strength to strength and be faithful servants of the Church for many years to come.

Zonnebloem Continues to Open its Doors to the Illiterate Sons of Leading Chiefs

Despite Bishop Gray's determination that Zonnebloem, in line with its new policy, should offer more advanced education than heretofore in preparation for the inclusion of a native university within its fold, he was still committed to honouring the original objects which had inspired the founding of the College: namely, the education of the sons of chiefs.

The Bishop believed that the co-founders' vision still held true: that the education of the African leaders of the future could be a significant means of bringing lasting peace to the country. No matter that the Bishop would now have preferred to close the College doors to "raw Kafirs" and only admit students selected for their scholastic ability, he was nevertheless still willing to allow an illiterate pupil to enter Zonnebloem if he came from the family of a leading chief. Bishop Gray was resolute that the practical problems of providing facilities for the diversification in education which inevitably followed from this move, must be overcome. A grandson of Moshesh's, who was brought to the College by Governor Wodehouse in 1868, was a case in point.

Ramatasi Maama, grandson to Moshesh by his senior son Mohato, commonly known as Letsie I, (79) had had no previous schooling. But because the young man would most probably be a powerful force in Basutoland one day, Bishop Gray promised the Governor that he would be given suitable elementary tuition and religious instruction at Zonnebloem.

The political motives for educating the sons' of chiefs were

considered to be just as important as fulfilling the Church's needs. Apart from which, the Church stood to benefit from such a service as much as the Government in the long run. Further, the link with Basutoland was of particular consequence at that time. As a result of Moshesh's repeated requests to the Queen for Britain to annex his country, in order to save it from the clutches of the Free State Boers, Wodehouse had finally been forced to take positive action and proclaim Basutoland a Crown Colony. (80) With the incorporation of their territory into the British Empire in March 1868, the Basutos became subjects of Britain, Wodehouse having to assume responsibility for their welfare. Lengthy negotiations followed this development, the Governor being required to make frequent trips north to preside over the endless meetings between the Boer and Basuto leaders. It was during one of these visits that Wodehouse was approached by Letsie and asked to take the chief's son to Zonnebloem.

Moshesh had set the example by supporting the Kafir College from the start. According to Bishop Gray, the Basuto ruler had repeatedly expressed his sense of the Institution's importance.

(81) His grandson was so eager to attend the College at the Cape, and so follow in his three uncles' footsteps, that it was in vain that the Governor tried to dissuade him because of the possible danger to his health. Wodehouse felt duty bound to warn both the boy and his parents that several students at Zonnebloem had suffered from consumption, and that some had died. But Ramatasi Maama was adamant that "even if the same must happen to him, go he would". (82) His father was equally persistent and would brook no refusal from the Governor. And so it was that Letsie's son accompanied Wodehouse when he returned to Cape Town in May, the raw recruit from Basutoland being admitted to Zonnebloem on the 16th of that month. (83)

Unlike the Anglicized and well-educated new boys from Zululand, Ramatasi came to the College knowing no English or Dutch and only a little Kafir, and finding none who could speak his language. Warden Glover arranged that the Basuto boy should be given a private tutor and selected one of the senior students, Julius George Naka, for the job. Julius was given fifteen shillings a month for his pains. He had originally trained as a shoemaker. Following the recent closing of this department, he had tried his hand at carpentry, but had shown little aptitude for this

trade. His new role as teacher suited him admirably, though, Ramatasi responding enthusiastically to his efforts. After only eight months study together, the Warden was able to report to the S.P.G. that :

The progress of the pupil has been wonderful, he now reads, writes and speaks English very fairly. I wish I could speak equally well of the poor fellow's arithmetic. I can only say that both tutor and pupil make strenuous efforts in this subject also and it is not for want of energy and perseverance if the practice of 'Division' is still a very unfathomable mystery. Better than all the other learning, he has learnt from the same tutor to repeat and to understand in some degree the creed and parts of the catechism and baptismal service. He was baptized 'Alexander' on Christmas Day (84) - it seemed a very happy day for him - he had been long asking for baptism, and I feel quite sure that his 'promises' came from his heart. I need not say that his good 'tutor' Julius was one of his witnesses, and I suppose nearly as happy as his pupil. (85)

Alexander Letsie (Letsea) Moshesh, by which name he was known, spent nearly five years at Zonnebloem. Despite Wodehouse's forebodings, he remained in good health throughout his school career. He eventually returned home in January 1872, to become a notable leader to his people. (86) His brother, Mojela, was one of the batch of sixteen Basuto boys who came to the College in 1875.

(87) Subsequent to the Basutos becoming British subjects, the Government agreed to subsidize the education of some of the sons of their leading chiefs at Zonnebloem. As far as the African students were concerned, the College catered almost exclusively for members of the Basuto tribe during the eighteen seventies.

The White Candidates for Pupil-Teacher Training at Zonnebloem

Besides the chiefs' sons and mission school graduates, a small but steady stream of white candidates for pupil-teacher training also entered Zonnebloem during the period under discussion. Unfortunately there is little information about this important experimental group, the first English boys to be educated alongside African and Coloured students at the College. Apart from the few facts that can be gleaned from the College Register, the background and careers of all but the Clementson brothers remain a mystery.

When Zonnebloem opened its doors to the sons of impoverished diocesan workers, in 1865, Thomas Clementson, junior, was the

first such student to be enrolled as a pupil-teacher. His fifteen year old brother, William Lawson, joined him two years later. (88) They were the sons of the catechist schoolteacher at Hoetjies Bay, a village on the West Coast. (89)

Thomas Clementson, senior, was a graduate of Durham University and a classical scholar and linguist of some note. He had come to Cape Town with his wife and five children in 1853, and had taken up work as a schoolmaster in St. George's Cathedral parish. He also served for a time as assistant missionary to the Moslems, with Dr. Camilleri, in Cape Town and at Papendorp. In 1864, Clementson was asked by Bishop Gray to undertake the teaching and missionary work at Hoetjies Bay. He remained at this post for thirty years. (90)

The Clementson boys' home environment provides us with the only example of a mission station in the Cape diocese. As such, it forms an interesting comparison with the missions from which the English youths' black College companions came. Hoetjies Bay was a fishing hamlet situated on "a creek with a shore" at the northernmost point of Saldanha Bay, the site of the present day town of that name. Besides the local Coloured fisherfolk, the community in this secluded village consisted of a cosmopolitan collection of settlers. There were men from every nation - sailors honourably discharged from the Queen's navy, deserters from sailing vessels of every description, human flotsam left behind by foreign fleets. Many of them had taken Coloured wives. They sought to make their living from fishing, and by trading in sealskins, whales, ambergris, guano, penguin eggs, fish, meat and wool. (91)

Hoetjies Bay was reached by a long lonely sand track that snaked its way across the sand flats which skirted the land-locked Saldanha Bay. Glover, who accompanied Bishop Gray on a visit to the out-station en route to Namaqualand in September 1871, described the journey there as being a very cruel one for the horses, they having to struggle to make headway through the heavy sand. The beach offered a surer footing of good hard sand when the tide was low. (92) The veld, a brilliant carpet of wild flowers in the spring, was desolate and dreary country to cross during the rest of the year. The heat was intense in the summer: the wind, a trial to weary travellers.

The chapelry at Hoetjies Bay was one of the out-stations of the

large missionary parish of Malmesbury, known by the old folk as the "Zwartlands Kerk". The Anglican Church had commenced work at the outpost in 1863, at the instigation of an old Coloured man called Klipfas (Cleopas). He had built a suitable place, with "a prophet's chamber" attached, and had then offered it for use as a school chapel. The building was afterwards bought from Klipfas by Bishop Gray. (93)

Clementson was appointed catechist and placed in charge of the station in 1864, and he started the mission school. The chapelry served a poor congregation who had to make do without the creature comforts and cultural pursuits normally obtained in civilized society. In this isolated spot, Church activities formed the focal point of the social, as well as the spiritual, life of the little community. The catechist was the natural leader. Under Clementson's direction, his congregation set to work and built a dressed stone church. Klipfas' building continued to serve as a schoolroom, and this is where the Clementson boys received their early education. Their father provided them with a sound grounding in English and the classics. The Dutch language, in which the schoolmaster had become proficient, was also included in his sons' studies. (94) School, church and parsonage nestled together on the seashore, only a stone's throw from the beach. Close by stood the jetty, the hub of the sea-faring community's working life. (95)

The Rector of Malmesbury, the Rev. Belson, was revered by all and his parochial visits were eagerly awaited by his scattered flock. As he made his rounds of the numerous out-stations which had been planted so as to encircle Saldanha Bay, he was often the first to bring news of events in the outside world. It was Belson who left his parish for a short time in 1867, to take temporary charge of Zonnebloem during Warden Glover's absence overseas. And it was most probably he who encouraged his scholarly catechist at Hoetjies Bay to send his sons to the Church's newly opened Teacher's Training Institution at Zonnebloem, to further their education.

According to the College Register, the Clementson brothers and another white pupil-teacher, Louis (Lewis ?) Eaton, were chosen for the newly instituted office of monitor in 1867. (96) Only one other English lad is recorded as having entered Zonnebloem prior to 1870. He was sixteen year old John Devine, who arrived from Caledon in 1868. Devine and Eaton were confirmed in the College chapel in March 1869, together with a Coloured student,

John Anthony, Harriet Toney and five other black pupil-teachers. (97) This meagre information is all that is available concerning the white students during this period.

4. A Deterioration in Conditions at Zonnebloem Places its Future in Jeopardy

An Analysis of Glover's Statistics Reveals some Disquieting Facts

In 1868, Glover collated certain statistics regarding past and present students at Zonnebloem. (98) An analysis of the Warden's figures reveals the following information. Ninety Kafir pupils were admitted to the College between 1858 and 1868. Of these, fifteen, who came in the first batch, were sent home as soon as possible as being hopeless. A further fifteen of the least promising were repatriated in 1861 after the withdrawal of the Government grant. The Warden subsequently lost sight of these thirty. He was, however, able to give an account of the remaining sixty, so providing evidence for a contemporary evaluation of the College's work: its successes, its shortcomings, and its failures. The Church was wont to measure the fruits of its missionary work in terms of conversions. Glover used this yardstick, too. He recorded that the majority of the Kafir pupils came to the College as heathens, (99) and that there were forty-two baptisms during the first ten years. Besides this encouraging number of conversions, the Warden had additional statistics to offer which gave further proof of the Institution's effectivity. In 1868, there were twenty students still resident at Zonnebloem, while two had gone to St. Augustine's to continue their studies. Of those who had left after receiving an adequate education, seven had become schoolmasters, two (the Zambesi lads) had gone into service, and twelve were said to be doing well. Only one was known to have gone to the bad. Satisfying as this appraisal was, the information relating to the Kafir pupils' health gave rise to considerable disquiet.

By the middle of 1868, three boys had been sent home chronically ill, two had died in England, eight had died at the College, and five, including one of the schoolmasters (Edward Magomo), had died in their own country : a mortality rate of 25%, not to mention the invalids. (100)

Consumption was the chief killer. These figures furnished indisputable evidence that the health of an alarming number of black

students had suffered through being at Zonnebloem. Many people began to question whether civilization and Christianity should be implanted at such a high cost, and to express their doubts as to the wisdom of bringing African children to Cape Town.

Consumption Takes its Toll of the Kafir Pupils : 1967 - 1868

Concern about the Kafir pupils' health came to a head in 1868 when the death toll reached critical proportions. Three boys and one girl had died of consumption within the period of a year. Warden Glover, who returned from England in March 1868, was much saddened by these heavy losses, especially as two of the victims had been amongst his most promising pupils. Reporting on the situation to the S.P.G., he said :

I need not say that these deaths are a great discouragement not only to us, but to those kind friends in England who had paid for the boys' maintenance, and who of course looked forward to the time when the boys should carry forth to others the blessings they had here received. It is to ourselves some satisfaction to know, and I trust it may be so to others, that of those who died all of them knew and felt that even if their life was shorter than it would have been in their own kraals, their gain is immeasurable, and that a young Christian's death is better than the longer life lived in the polluting of heathenism.

The question whether the average of life among our pupils here is or is not shorter than among those who still live in Barbarism, is one that is difficult to decide; but after questioning several of our boys as to their relatives, fathers, brothers, etc. living in their kraals, I have heard such a lamentable catalogue of deaths that I do not think civilization has as many murders to answer for, as some will have us believe . (101)

The High Death Rate of Native Converts Placed in Perspective

Glover's argument that the death rate was comparatively high in the African homelands, only held true up to a point. He could not have been blind to the fact that the black people were very susceptible to the white man's diseases. As they came progressively more in contact with Europeans, they proved to be particularly prone to contracting consumption.

At the same time, the high mortality amongst the Kafir pupils was not peculiar to Zonnebloem. The frequency of early deaths amongst native converts was a matter of concern, not only in South Africa, but in missions throughout the world. Florence Nightingale had

made a specialized study of the subject and held very definite views on the health and education of the natives under the impact of civilization and Christianity. In a memorandum which she had presented to Sir George Grey in 1863, she had put forward the theory that : "If a child's brain is forced, whose father's brain has been free, the child dies : children are killed by school discipline". (102)

Miss Nightingale believed in the health value of exercise. She had suggested that in an aboriginal school, the children should not be kept in a close room for too long, "cramming and exciting them with formulae", but should be allowed out-doors to work and play for at least half the time. She felt that even greater care should be taken when a change of religion was added to all the other great changes which followed on the natives' Westernization. She considered that "without bodily activity, the best man among the converts will fall under disease, and thus become lost to the cause of Christianity". (103)

Bishop Webb of the Free State took the view "that the weight of divine truth is often too great for the native convert, physically and mentally, to bear; and the most earnest and devout among them die young". (104) This theory could well have had some grounding in truth for it is quite possible that the radical alterations in the native converts' lives led to psychosomatic disturbances and stress, so lowering their resistance to disease.

Valid though various viewpoints such as these might be, Dr. Dale was nonetheless deeply disturbed by the state of affairs at Zonnebloem. He could not ignore the fact that four boarders out of twenty-five had died within twelve months. As Superintendent-General of Education he was responsible to the Government for overseeing the administration of the Kafir Institution. The indications were that negligent management might well be responsible for the high incidence of consumption among the pupils.

An Official Inquiry into Conditions at Zonnebloem

Dr. Dale made a Personal inspection of Zonnebloem in February 1868. His visit coincided with the period in which Canon Lightfoot had temporary charge of the College, during the short interregnum between the Rev. George Glover's departure for England and the return of the Rev. Edward Glover to his post. Bishop Gray, who was also overseas at the time, felt most aggrieved that Dr. Dale

should have chosen to make his official inspection at this unfortunate stage. The assistant chaplain was doing his best to keep things going and it was well known that the arrangement was merely a temporary measure. (105) The School Inspector, on the other hand, maintained that he had waited for some time for the Warden's return and that he was concerned for the pupils' welfare. He commented severely on the fact that there was no responsible superintendent in charge of the Institution.

Dr. Dale carried out a thorough inspection of the school with the intention of seeing whether any defects in accommodation or inattention to hygiene could account for the pupils' bad health. The results of his survey were anything but satisfactory. On the credit side, he found that some improvements had been made - such as sinking a drain next to the school buildings and replacing brick floors with board ones - as a result of the recommendations he had made on his tour of inspection the previous year. Nevertheless he was very disturbed by the "lamentably dirty" conditions and shocking sanitary arrangements which he found in the dormitories and dining hall. (106) These, unhappily, pointed to mismanagement.

Dr. Dale felt duty bound to bring the sorry state of affairs at Zonnebloem to the colonial authorities' attention. As a result, the Medical Board was requested to conduct an official inquiry. Four members of the Board visited the Institution on April 3rd. Their findings, which were contained in a report to the Governor, corroborated the results of Dr. Dale's investigations.

The buildings at Zonnebloem, with the exception of the school, workshop and chapel, were denounced as being badly built and in a state which was "in many respects objectionable". (107) The dormitories were all condemned as being unhealthy. The girls' section was criticized as being poorly constructed. While the boys' quarters were considered to be too cramped as well as being in an undesirable position, over the stables. Dr. Dale reported that not only had liquid manure soaked into the walls of the building, but that the floors of the boys' bedrooms were so badly made that in places they were sufficiently open "to admit the effluvium of the stables". (108) Matters were not improved by the soiled state of the boys' coverlets and blankets.

The dining hall was also badly sited and in an equally dirty

state. It was Dr. Dale's opinion that there was not sufficient regard to cleanliness at the College to ensure health. (109) The Medical Board concurred with these views. Their observations, presented in their report, were worded as a masterly understatement of their opinion :

The Dining Hall and Dormitories are ill ventilated and the neglect of whitewashing and systematic scrubbing is too clear. They have a close and unwelcome air about them, which is not relieved by the appearance of the bed furnishings. These rooms are in close proximity to a cowhouse, a stable, and an extensive piggery and they are all in such a filthy condition as to render it questionable if any ventilation in the walls of the Dormitories would add to their salubrity. (110)

The only item which found favour with the Board was the Diet Scale. This was described as appearing to be liberal and unexceptionable. (111)

Further, the Board supported Dr. Dale's standpoint that even though the state of the school buildings left much to be desired this could only be held partly responsible for the pupils' ill health. The position of the College on the spur of the mountain was said to subject the Kafir children to adverse climatic conditions and was cited as being a contributory cause of their chest complaints. Dr. Dale argued that the buildings, by reason of their location, were exposed to the full severity of the South East winds which blew constantly in the summer months. These were not only trying to those who were naturally susceptible to chest disease, but they also caused sudden changes in the temperature and the moisture of the air which were a danger to those with delicate health. (112)

The Medical Board concluded their report by saying that if all these evils were taken collectively, they would be sufficient "to account for the great mortality from consumption amongst a class of boys, whose physical conformation shows them to be predisposed to that disease and this in spite of all the kind care that has for years been bestowed on them". (113)

Although the Board did their best to soften the blow, their findings together with those of Dr. Dale's, were damning. As a result, Zonnebloem was threatened with the withdrawal of aid from the State. The supervision of the Superintendent-General of Education had been a condition of acceptance of the Government

grant, with the clear understanding that the annual allowance would only be continued as long as the reports showed that the Institution was being satisfactorily conducted. Dr. Dale's criticism of the deterioration in conditions and evident mal-administration at Zonnebloem, which was substantiated by the results of the Medical Board's investigations, meant that the College's future was placed once more in jeopardy.

Warden Glover's Attempts to Rectify Matters

Warden Glover returned to Zonnebloem, after eighteen months away, to be confronted with this crisis in the College's affairs. He was naturally most upset by what had taken place during his enforced absence and immediately made every effort to put matters to rights. He attempted to placate the Government by implementing the improvements which had been recommended by Dr. Dale and the Medical Board.

After a fortnight of intense activity, the Warden was able to give the Governor a commendable account of the alterations which had been carried out to improve the domestic arrangements at Zonnebloem. (114) The bedrooms had all been given board floors. The girls' room had been largely rebuilt and a sitting room fitted out for their use. The insertion of ventilators in the walls of the boys' dormitories had alone been delayed until the piggery could be moved. Although Glover did not dispute the necessity of these alterations, he was obviously irritated by some of the criticisms, and, believing that they were unjust, saw fit to defend them.

As far as the whitewashing of walls was concerned, Glover contended that although the dormitories had been in need of whitewashing on this occasion, this had been an unfortunate lapse for the job was normally done twice a year when he was in residence. Similarly, the cleaning of rooms was supposed to follow a set routine. The dining hall was scrubbed systematically every Thursday, a cleaning woman coming from Town especially for this purpose. The boys were responsible for washing their dormitories every Saturday, this having been the practice ever since the College servant had been dismissed in order to save money, following the reduction in the Government grant.

With regard to the bed furnishings - the mattresses were taken to pieces once a year, the coverings washed, and the stuffing cleaned

and changed before the mattresses were remade. The sheets were washed once a fortnight, and the blankets and coverlets when they required it.

But no matter what the routine should theoretically have been, it is evident that there had been inadequate supervision during the Warden's absence and the work of cleaning and maintenance had been carried out in a slipshod manner. The inspectors' complaints were more than justified. With Glover once more at the helm, however, discipline and order soon reigned again.

The Warden lost no time in re-organizing the farming activities at Zonnebloem, the seat of so much of the trouble. The tenant was given notice to quit and the piggery removed. As a precautionary measure, Glover intended to insert a clause in the farm lease which would in future limit the number of pigs that could be kept on the property.

There is no doubt that Bishop Gray, in his anxiety to obtain an income from the estate, had allowed a private business to operate within the school's midst without taking due regard for the pupils' well-being. The most elementary precautions had not been taken to prevent abuse, even though the College and the farm had to share the same buildings. The farming operations, over which the Church had no control, had consequently got out of hand, much to the pupils' detriment. The Government, who were financing the native boarders' education, had good cause to take the Church authorities to task for neglecting their duties.

The site of the Institution was quite another matter. Rather than embark on a fruitless debate, the Warden contended himself with letting the facts speak for themselves. He pointed out that when Zonnebloem was purchased for a school, it had been specially recommended for its healthiness by Dr. Bickersteth and others.

As far as the pupils' health was concerned, Glover was quick to produce evidence which showed that the children had been well cared for at the College. He argued that although the epidemic of low fever, which had recently swept through Cape Town, had decimated the coloured population in particular, there had not been a single case among the Zonnebloem students. Bishop Gray took this point up with the Governor, giving Glover his backing in his defence of the Church's conduct of Zonnebloem's affairs.

Bishop Gray Deals with Doubts Concerning Zonnebloem's Future

The high incidence of consumption at Zonnebloem had triggered off a chain of events which now threatened the College's very existence. Forces other than finance were gathering to sound its death knell. Although Glover had done his best to rectify the practical problems which had been brought to his attention, the official inquiry had raised questions concerning the College which went much deeper than the ramifications of a business arrangement between Church and State. Questions which raised doubts as to whether the Kafir Institution should be allowed to continue in Cape Town. Bishop Gray dealt with the matter as a subject of some urgency, soon after his return from England in October 1868.

Gray decided that Zonnebloem's future should be determined by examining three considerations. Firstly, whether such an Institution was still needed or desirable. Secondly, whether if it was desirable it should be continued at Zonnebloem or moved elsewhere. And thirdly, if it were continued at its present site, whether "any or what alterations were required, either in the Buildings or Management, or system of Education". (116)

After a short life of just over ten years, the Kafir College had reached the crossroads. But Bishop Gray was not going to be hurried into making any hasty decisions. He first conducted his own survey of the state of affairs at Zonnebloem, obtaining independent medical advice to assist his investigations. Dr. Abercrombie, the Kafir pupils' personal medical attendant, was consulted among others. (117)

Gray did not formulate any immediate conclusions. Rather, he chose to wait for the opportunity of laying the problem before the leaders of the Anglican Church in South Africa. The Bishops of the Province, who met in Cape Town in January 1869, were charged with deciding the whole question of Zonnebloem's future role in education. The substance and outcome of their deliberations are dealt with in the final chapter. It will be this reappraisal which will draw the first phase of the Kafir College's history to a close.

The Bishops' resolution regarding Zonnebloem was responsible for directing the Church school into a new phase of development, so saving it from extinction. The system of education recommended

by them at this crucial point, was followed until the turn of the century.

5. The Fathers of Some Kafir Pupils are Released from Robben Island : 1869

Bishop Gray's Concern for the Exiled Kafir Chiefs

During the first twelve years, the Kafir College concentrated mainly on educating the children of African tribal leaders. It is fitting, therefore, that the climax of this first era should have been the visit to Zonnebloem in 1869 of the three Kafir chiefs, the fathers of a number of past and present pupils, who had recently been released from exile.

Bishop Gray had long been troubled by the fate of the Kafir chiefs who had been seized by the British after the Eighth Kafir War and at the time of the Cattle Killing, imprisoned for "real or assumed offences", (118) and banished to Robben Island to serve their sentences in the company of lunatics, lepers and convicts. (119) As far back as 1862, Gray had told the Duke of Newcastle that : "Nothing but the fear that their escape or liberation might lead to another Kafir War, has withheld me and others from urging their release, or some amelioration of their condition". (120)

Most of these political prisoners had been pardoned and released after a few years in exile. By 1869, three alone remained captive - Maqomo, Seyolo and Xoxo. Maqomo had received a sentence of twenty-one years transportation. (121) Gray maintained that this chief, "the greatest warrior the Kafirs ever had", was being held ostensibly for murdering one of his own people according to Kafir Law. (122)

The Bishop understood that Seyolo, the Imidushane chief, had surrendered himself freely after the War. (123) He had been tried by court martial and found guilty; but his death sentence had been commuted to banishment, first to Wynberg and then to Robben Island. (124) As for Xoxo, Gray was certain that no charge had been brought against him and that he was being held for security reasons only. (125)

The Government had not yet dared to risk letting these three chiefs go free. They were known to still have a loyal following among their tribesmen, Maqomo in particular. The authorities feared that their release might lead to a renewed outbreak of unrest in Kaffraria. In fact Maqomo, when asked what he would do

if he were freed, had replied rather ominously : "On that point Maqomo has his own ideas" (126) As Bishop Gray said, in 1869 : "Political necessity has been the cause, and perhaps the justification of their detention". (127)

The Zonnebloem Pupils' Distress at the Continued Detention of the Kafir Chiefs

Bishop Gray had to resign himself to accepting the Government's harsh treatment of the Kafir chiefs, but, at the same time, he did what he could to assist some of their sons and daughters by educating them at Zonnebloem and in England. (128)

During their sojourn in Cape Town, though, these children were not allowed any contact whatsoever with their fathers. Over the years they had to suffer the tantalizing experience of having their fathers' island prison constantly in sight across Table Bay, yet always separated by the sea. For that matter, they were not allowed to see their mothers either. The Governor would only give the wives of Seyolo and Maqomo permission to visit their imprisoned husbands in 1862 provided that they did not go near Zonnebloem during their stay in the city. The women were warned that if they broke their banning order they would be barred from any further visits to Robben Island. (129)

The Kafir pupils as a body were greatly distressed by the continued detention of the chiefs. Before Bishop Gray left for England in 1867, they petitioned him to intercede with the Governor for the African leaders' release. The Bishop was much moved by the letter which the pupils addressed to him, in which they prayed for his help in the matter. (130)

According to Gray, the Governor had long been anxious to set the chiefs free. But it was not until 1869 that Wodehouse deemed the situation in Kaffraria sufficiently stable to take this step. Returning from a visit to the Frontier, in April, he authorized the immediate release of the State prisoners. Bishop Gray, who was then on a Visitation to the Archdeaconry of George, was overjoyed to learn the glad tidings through the newspaper. He set down his views about the whole affair in his Visitation Journal. (131)

The Kafir Chiefs visit Zonnebloem following their Release

Following their release from Robben Island, the three Kafir chiefs

were invited to visit Zonnebloem before returning home. But Warden Glover failed to include their wives in the invitation to dinner at the College. The chiefs, however, had other ideas and replied with great dignity : "The chiefs and their wives have much pleasure in accepting the kind invitation". (132)

The Glovers assembled a few friends to meet the party of Africans. One of the guests, Miss Anderson-Morshead, had only recently arrived in South Africa as a member of the newly formed missionary community of All Saints Sisters. (133) She was much intrigued by the chiefs' visit and wrote a short account of the event : "And they arrived; Maqomo not a big man, Xoxo gigantic, Seyolo a slim nonentity. They came late, and were first fed, and then sat in the drawing-room, conversing through the interpretation of the boys and being shown pictures". (134)

Several of the chiefs' children had already completed their education at the College and returned to Kaffraria. Herbert Xoxo had left two months earlier to go as a teacher to a mission, while Archibald Maqomo had been invalided home with chronic chest trouble. (135) The remainder were now claimed. Matilda Maqomo was said to have been most reluctant to leave Miss Arthur's Orphanage, where she had recently been removed, and return home. (136)

1. "Anne Mackenzie", biographical notes, TN, 1.4.1877, 49 et seq.
2. "Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 77.
3. Ngqika.
4. For further details of Brownlee's life and work see : C. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History (Love-dale, 1896).
5. The young man's homeland would have been in the Summer Rainfall region. Cape Town falls in the Winter Rainfall area.
6. Eighth Kafir War : 1850 - 1853.
7. Makomo: Maqomo or Macomo.
8. Chief Sandile.
9. "Kafir College at the Cape", TN, 1.5.1867, 77f.
10. George and Edward Maqomo, ex-Zonnebloem pupils, were both dead by this time.
11. TN, 1.5.1867, 78.
12. An irate reader has written in the margin of the magazine page, alongside this statement : "There is but one globe known; don't dream - you disgrace the Kafirs you fool". TN, 1.5.1867, 78.
13. The students at Zonnebloem were also affected by the prolonged country wide drought. Cape Town was ill supplied with water and was suffering from a severe water shortage at the time.
14. TN, 1.5.1867, 78.
15. Report by the Rev. W.E. Belson, 1867, Annual Reports of the S.P.G., 1867, 72 (Diciest of S.P.G. Records, 291).
16. "Kafir School Boys", TN, 1.6.1868, 85.
17. Ibid., 85f.
18. Entry no. 14 in Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, 20.4.1862, ZP.
19. TN, 1.6.1868, 86f.
20. Walter died on 28.6.1867, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
21. Walter was baptized on Easter Day, 20.4.1862, Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP.
22. "Kafir School Boys", TN, 1.6.1868, 86f.
23. Quoted by Bishop Patteson, Ibid., 87.
24. Ibid.
25. The D.R.C. had discussed the forming of a Theological Seminary at its Synod in 1824, but its inception was delayed because of opposition from many of its older ministers who wanted to maintain close ties with the Dutch Universities of Leyden and Utrecht. They feared that severance would result in intellectual and spiritual loss. The "Kweekskool" was finally opened in 1859 in the old

Drostdy in Dorp Street, Stellenbosch, with four students and John Murray (Andrew Murray's brother) as its first principal - Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 217; Malherbe, op.cit., 106; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:138, Walker, op.cit., 30 and 294.

26. "Resolution of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of George at the Visitation of the Bishop", Jan. 1864, S.P.G. Letters and Papers, 1860 - 1867: 973, USPGA.
27. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49.
28. Gray to Hawkins, 13.2.1864, LB9:48.
29. Ibid.
30. Gray to Glennie, 19.2.1864, LB9:49.
31. Gray to Hawkins, 13.2.1864, LB9:48.
32. A Charge to the clergy of the Diocese of Cape Town by Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town, 17.1.1865, 63.
33. St. Paul's, Grahamstown became the Provincial Theological College in 1902 when it opened as a hostel for Ordination candidates under Canon Espin - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 204f and 296f.
34. Synod of Bishops, Jan. 1869, Resolution xviii, BA.
35. "Conference of Missionaries at Graham's Town", MF, 1867, 12:58f.
36. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1567, USPGA.
37. Ibid.
38. Gray to Bullock, 10.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1649, USPGA.
39. Renny to Gray, August 1867, ZP.
40. Smith's brothers were baptized on 12.5.1867 and named Harold Eustace, Adrian Liton and Herman. Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP.
41. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:414.
42. Meintjies, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 53 et seq.
43. No Man's Land was ceded to England by Faku, Chief of the Amapondo tribe, in 1862. It was not incorporated with the Cape Colony until 1879 - S.P.G. Digest of Records, 305. For further information about the Griquas and their migration : G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld (London : Gardner, 1911) 90ff; Meintjies, Bantu, Boer and Britain, 53ff and 342f; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:93ff and 341ff; Walker, op.cit., 258f and 305f; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:442.
44. Accounts of Bishop Twells' Visits to the Griquas in No Man's Land : BM, 1863, 1:8ff; TN, 2.7.1866, 99f; TN, 1.8.1866, 113f.
45. TN, 2.7.1866, 114.
46. TN, 2.7.1866, 99f.
47. MF, 1.6.1875, 164.

48. Zonnebloem Register, March 1868, ZP.
49. A. Mackenzie (Ed.), Mission Life Among the Zulu - Kafirs (A Memoir of Henrietta, wife of the Rev. R. Robertson, S.P.G. Missionary, compiled from Letters and Journals written to the late Bishop Mackenzie and his sisters), (London : Benrose, 1875, 2nd. ed.)
50. TN, 1.1.1867, 2:28 and 1.2.1867, 2:26ff.
51. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 4 and 32n.; TN, 1.2.1867, 2:26ff and 1.3.1874 :46f.
52. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 4; TN, 1.1.1866, 1:4 and 1.2.1867, 26ff.
53. "Education of Mali and Billy. Hopes of a future native pastorate in Zululand". TN, 1.2.1867, 26ff.
54. Ibid.
55. MF, 1.12.1861, 6:281.
56. TN, 1.12.1867, 184f; MF, 1.12.1861, 6:281.
57. TN, 1.2.1867, 28.
58. Ibid.
59. "Story of Heber, a Christian Zulu at Kwamagwaza", TN, 1.12.1867, 184ff.
60. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 91f; TN, 1.1.1866, 4ff.
61. Report by a Norwegian Missionary, TN, 1.8.1874, 128.
62. "A Day with Zulu Boys", TN, 1.2.1866, 27.
63. TN, 1.5.1874, 9:140.
64. MF, 1.12.1861, 6:281.
65. "A Visit to Kwamagwaza" by an English clergyman, TN, 1.9.1866, 136f; Report to S.P.G. by Rev. E. Glover, 1868, ZP.
66. "Education of Hali and Billy. Hopes of a Future Native Pastorate in Zululand", TN, 1.2.1867, 26ff,
67. By 1870, sufficient money had been collected to endow the missionary see of Zululand. This was to include the tribes towards the Zambesi. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 227; Hinchliff, The Anglican Church, 130ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 659f.
68. TN, 1.2.1867, 26ff.
69. Mackenzie, Mission Life, 227; TN, 1.1.1868, 3:46 and 1.1.1869, 4:52.
70. TN, 1.9.1866, 138f and 1.12.1867, 184f and 1.12.1868, 190.
71. Robertson to A. Mackenzie, 11.7.1867, TN, 1.12.1867, 186.
72. Jackson to A. Mackenzie, n.d., TN, 1.6.1868, 87f.
73. Mr. Jackson gave further evidence of Hali's intelligence : "For example, only a few days ago I was speaking to them about different kinds of government, and happened to say that in England, and under all good governments, even a King had not power to put a person to death who might be innocent and had not the benefit of a fair opportunity to prove his innocence; and I was thus pointing out the difference in this respect between civilized society and

Zululand, and the blessings bestowed upon a people by embracing Christianity. 'But', said Hali, 'it was not so with Philip II of Spain'. More than six months ago Mr. Robertson and I were reading Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, and it appears that Hali had listened, and now remembered the history sufficiently to come to the conclusion that Philip II was not such a king as most of those of whom he had heard and read, but that he deserved rather to be classed with heathen kings Jackson to A.Mackenzie, n.d., TN, 1.6.1868, 87.

74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Robertson to A. Mackenzie, n.d., TN, 1.6.1868, 87.
77. "Education of Hali and Billy", TN, 1.2.1867, 27.
78. Entry for March 1868, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
79. Further biographical details concerning Ramatasi Maama, baptized Alexander, have been obtained from his grandson, Chief Azarias Theko Maama Letsie who was at Zonnebloem from 1915 to 1917. Chief Theko Maama to Hodgson, October 1972, 16.11.72, July 1973, 22.7.74.
80. Wodehouse was forced to take positive action to end the Basuto War for the Free State Boers had gained the advantage. The Basuto people were in a state of siege and were threatened with defeat and destruction. The breaking up of the tribe would cause chaos on the north-eastern border of the Cape Colony. Consequently the Governor was manoeuvred into a position where he had little choice but to comply with Moshesh's repeated pleas for his country to be taken over by Britain. Wodehouse issued a proclamation on March 13, 1868, in which he declared the Basutos to be British subjects and their country, British territory. See: Becker, op.cit., 247 et se.; Egerton, 408; Macmillan, Basuto, Boer and Briton, 356; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:286ff; Walker, op.cit., 310; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:425, 445f.
81. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
82. Warden Glover to S.P.G., Report for the year ending 31.12.1868, S.P.G. Letter Book D37:249, USPGA and ZP.
83. Entry for 16.5.1868, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
84. Entry No. 47, 25.12.1868, Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, ZP. The Warden and his wife were the other witnesses.
85. Glover to S.P.G., 31.12.1868, S.P.G. Letter Book D37:249, USPGA and ZP.
86. Entry for 4.1.1872, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
87. Entry. for 9.1.1875, Ibid.
88. Gray to Woodruffe, 6.12.1869, LB10:242; Entry for 1867, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
89. The Bay was known by various names - Hoetjies, Hoetjes, Hoedjies, Hoedjes, Hooges, Hostzis and Houtjes.
90. "In Memoriam - Thomas Clementson" and other notes by M. Houghton, his granddaughter. Margaret Clementson,

- wife of Thomas, was the daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Lawson of Durham.
91. "Some Recollections of Early Days in the Parish of Malmesbury", author unknown, CO_s July 1896, 4 no. 7:97, MF, 1.4.1872, 17:112; "In Memoriam - Thomas Clementson", M. Houghton.
 92. "Six Weeks with the Bishop of Capetown", Glover, MF, 1.4.1872, 17:112.
 93. S.P.G. Digest of Records, 292; CCM, July 1896, 4 no. 7:57. Klipfas was one of the first to receive Holy Baptism in the building which he had erected. During the service the Rev. Belson paused and looked about for some vessel to use for pouring on the water. Seeing his difficulty, Klipfas quickly left the chapel and ran to the beach close by. He found a shell suitable for the purpose and handed it to the minister on his return. The service then proceeded with due solemnity.
 94. Report by Innes, 1857, J. du P. Scholtz, Die Afrikaner en sy Taal : 1806 - 1875 (Cape Town : Nasionale pers, 1939) 80 no. 43.
 95. For descriptions of Hoetjies Bay at this time see : CCM, July 1896, 4 no. 7:97; Wood, op.cit., 94ff; S.P.G. Driest of Records, 291f.
 96. Entry for 1867, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
 97. Entries for 1868 and 1869, Ibid.
 98. A statistical analysis of the students by Glover, 1868, ZP.
 99. Jeremiah Moshesh and the 3 boys from Zululand were among the few black Christians admitted to the College in the first decade.
 100. Student deaths at Zonnebloem : 2 in 1860, 1 in 1863, 1 in 1865, 2 in 1867, 2 in 1868.
 101. Glover to S.P.G., 31.12.1868, S.P.G. Letter Book D37:249, USPGA and ZP.
 102. Nightingale to Grey, July 1863, Quoted in Rees, op.cit., 336.
 103. Ibid., 337.
 104. BM, April 1876, 2 no. 32:32. (Did the converse hold true ?)
 105. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
 106. Report of an Inspect on of Schools in the Western Districts by the Superintendent-General of Education, Jan. to June 1868, G33-'68. Dormitory accomodatlion for boys at Zonnebloem : Dormitory no. 1 - about 22 feet by 18, contained 7 beds; Dormitory no. 2 - about 30 feet by 18, contained 7•beds; Dormitory no. 3 - about 13 feet by 18, contained 5 beds.
 107. Landsberg to Colonial Secretary, 13.4.1868, ZP.
 108. Dr. Dale's Report, Feb. 1868, G33-'68.
 109. Ibid.
 110. Landsberg to Colonial Secretary, 13.4.1868, ZP.
 111. Ibid.

112. Dr. Dale's Report, Feb. 1868, G33-'68.
113. Landsberg to Colonial Secretary, 13.4.1868, ZP.
114. Glover to Colonial Secretary, 24.4.1868, ZP.
115. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP. The loss of life was high in the epidemic of low fever which swept South Africa in 1867, see Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 179; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:83ff.
116. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
117. Gray to Dr. Abercrombie, 9.1.1869, LB10:225.
118. Bishop Gray's unpublished Journal concerning his Visitation to the Archdeaconry of George, March - June 1869, MR.
119. "Kafir Chiefs at Robben Island", TN, 1.6.1867, 2:16. According to de Villiers, the chiefs included Maqomo with his wife, Katje, and his younger brother Xlo-Xlo, Umhala, Fadana, Kenti, Delima and his brothers Mate and Umpfafa; Xoxo and Chief Seyolo whose hut was built apart from the rest. S.A. de Villiers, Robben Island : Out of Reach, Out of Mind (Cape Town : Struik, 1971) 40f.
120. Gray to Newcastle, 9.2.1862, LB8:286.
121. Maqomo was convicted of having been accessory to the murder of a petty chief who refused to destroy his cattle at the bidding of Umhlakaza, Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:202f.
122. Gray's Journal, March - June 1869, MR.
123. Ibid.
124. The sentence had been commuted by Sir George Cathcart, Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:206.
125. Gray's Journal, March - June 1869, MR.
126. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 130.
127. Gray's Journal, March 4 June, 1869, MR.
128. Gray to Newcastle, 9.2.1862, LB8:286.
129. Travers to Dr. Minto (Robben Island), 8.2.1862, GH 31/1.
130. Gray's Journal, March - June 1869, MR.
131. Ibid.
132. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 130.
133. Ibid. Bishop Gray brought a group of eight ladies with him from England in Oct. 1868. The All Saints Sisters (Grey Ladies) lived under a common quasi religious rule as an Anglican missionary community in Cape Town, working among the poorer people and in schools. See, St. George's and All Saints Home : 1874 - 1910.
134. Ibid.
135. Entry for 1.12.1868, Zonnebloem Register, ZP; Teacher at Port Elizabeth to Glover, 14.4.1869, ZP.
136. Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 130. Maqomo had been released under a promise of good behaviour but the Governor's fears that he would stir up trouble were soon realized. The Ngqikas rallied round the chief on his

return home and, according to Theal, "he began immediately to foment disturbances". (Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 3:203). The authorities were taking no chances and the chief was again taken prisoner and banished once more to Robben Island. This time he was given no special privileges and was consigned to a ward for the chronically sick, where he was said to feel much "the degradation of waiting on himself". (Anderson-Morshead, A Pioneer and Founder, 130). Magomo died there on 9.9.1873, aged about 73. (Meintjies, op.cit., 63). His passing was much mourned by his tribesmen, who were said to feel his death as "a blow to their pride". (Walker, op.cit., 368).

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER XIII

THE KAFIR TEACHERS RETURN TO THEIR HOME COUNTRY

Whilst this study of Zonnebloem will be ending in 1869, it is now necessary to trace the careers of some of the graduates beyond this time in order to make an evaluation of the work of the College. This chapter deals with the contingent from Kaffraria, most of whom became catechist schoolteachers in their own country. Because they followed similar careers, we are able to compare the way in which individuals within a reasonably uniform group developed differently, with special regard to their readjustment to tribal conditions.

In the next chapter we shall follow the diverse careers of a contrasting group of graduates. The case histories covered in this section will include those of a number of the sons of Basuto and Barolong chiefs, who resumed their tribal positions; the three, promising mission pupils from the station in Zululand, who returned to the mission field; and the Clementson brothers, who paved the way for Zonnebloem's new educational policy whereby English and Coloured lads were to be trained for work in the Cape diocese.

1. The Problem of Finding Employment for the Kafir Pupils

The Threatened Wastage of Trained Manpower

The chief drawback with which Zonnebloem had to contend during its early years, was, so Bishop Gray told Wodehouse, the never ending problem of finding employment for the young men on their return to their homeland. It was a great disappointment to the Bishop that the Church was so tardy in making suitable jobs available while the Government made no effort whatsoever.

It had been Sir George Grey's intention to employ the Kafir College graduates as interpreters and policemen, and in any other such Government posts for which they were qualified. But during the first twelve years, not one single Zonnebloem pupil had any such position given to him. Bishop Gray had perforce to rely on the Church to find his students jobs as catechists and schoolmasters. (1)

The problem was not peculiar to Zonnebloem. The Grahamstown Kafir Institution had the same difficulty in obtaining employment for its youths. They found that the local white population were

prejudiced against employing what they called "educated blacks" and the only jobs available were for teachers. (2) Here again there were difficulties. Bishop Gray had no posts for native teachers in the Cape diocese; and while the Bishop of Grahamstown had many such vacancies, he had no funds to support them in these jobs. The S.P.G. held the purse-strings when it came to the financing of missionary work. Bishop Gray was entirely dependent on the Society to make funds available, yet they seldom saw fit to make the necessary grants. (3)

The consequence was that when the Church was not able to employ the Zonnebloem students, or where they were not fitted for spiritual work, they were sent home to support themselves as best as they could. Bishop Gray was most concerned about the fate of these untried young corwerts who were left to make their own way "amidst all the evil influences of Heathens in their several tribes", (4) without the Church's support. He pleaded with the S.P.G. to come to their aid :

I cannot bear to send young fellows to their kraals, to dwell among the Heathen, without countenance or assistance, yet I have no alternative, if the Society can do nothing, for I have not the means of supporting them in their native land. (5)

Apart from his concern for the young mens' spiritual welfare, Gray was appalled by this tragic waste of precious manpower. For want of funds, the Church was throwing away trained black workers at a time when they were urgently required in the mission field. The Rev. Waters, alone, maintained that he had sufficient European teachers but that he needed to expand his African staff tenfold in order to cope with all the missionary work that was waiting to be done in the district of St. Mark's. Not only were tribes in many areas pressing him to send them teachers; but there were many other localities where it was vital that teachers should be sent to work among the heathen, even though they had to make their way against strong opposition. (6) The picture was much the same in the other mission districts. There was a desperate shortage of native teachers, Zonnebloem had a supply, albeit small, all that was needed was the money to pay their salaries. All depended on the S.P.G..

The Graduates' Wish to Work "under the Shelter of the Churches Mina"

As the young men from the various tribes finished their training

at Zonnebloem, Bishop Gray persisted in bringing their needs to the notice of the S.P.G. Writing to Bullock, in January 1867, Gray pleaded with the missionary body to take a responsible interest in the students' future :

I think the time has come for the Society carefully to consider what is to be done with them. They are being educated at a great cost to the Church - to you, and to me. They are generally very promising young men, and much liked by all who have to do with them. They have learnt trades, and might be sent back by us to take their chance of maintaining themselves amongst their own countrymen. But this is not what for the most part they wish. They would rather be employed by us in subordinate posts; and they have a wholesale dread of being thrown into the midst of their heathen countrymen, to stand their ground alone. Those who have been placed in such circumstances have been sorely tried; and they cling to us, and wish on their return home to be under the Shelter of the Churches wing At present all I can do is to try and provide employment for these lads as they leave us. I have no work for them in the Diocese. You will, I hope, authorize the Bishop of Grahamstown to engage one every now and then. (7)

Anxious as Gray was for the Society to provide the Zonnebloem graduates with posts in the mission field, he yet insisted on making one proviso: that the young men should be placed under European supervision for a start. The Bishop believed that they would initially need guidance to give of their best. (8)

But the posts continued to be few and far between. By the end of 1867, there were students ready and waiting for jobs in three dioceses - Natal, the Free State and Grahamstown, the majority being for the latter. (9) The difficulty was that Zonnebloem did not have the financial reserves to maintain the senior students for an indefinite period of time. Once their training was considered to be complete, they were required to leave the College so as to make way for new recruits. Bishop Gray had no alternative but to send these young men back to their homelands if posts did not become vacant in their respective dioceses in time.

In an effort to overcome this problem, Gray tried to persuade the S.P.G. to allow him a small sum of about £100 a year which could be used to facilitate his efforts in finding the students temporary employment. With readily available funds at his disposal, the Bishop would be able to maintain a number of graduates as Probationary teachers or catechists at some mission station in their own country until such time as posts became vacant and they

could be taken on to the regular staff. (10)

This scheme found no favour with the S.P.G...However sympathetic the Society might be to the Zonnebloem graduates' needs, the S.P.G. were themselves in dire financial straits at the time. They had insufficient resources to carry out their pledged support and had found it necessary to enforce retrenchment measures. They were, therefore, concentrating on reducing their financial commitments, not expanding them. With requests for money continually streaming into their London headquarters from missions all over the world, it is not surprising that they were unable to respond to all the demands for their aid, no matter how worthy they might be.

During 1868, the S.P.G. were forced to cut their grants drastically by £4000 a year. All the dioceses in South Africa suffered a diminution in their allowances as a result. Seeing that the Bishop of Grahamstown was also short of money, he was not in a position to support additional staff from outside his diocese and could not come to Bishop Gray's assistance either. (11)

The Unemployment Crisis : 1868

The shortage of money for mission work threatened to thwart Zonnebloem's purpose. By the end of 1868 the problem of unemployment had reached critical proportions. As Glover pointed out to the S.P.G. in his Annual Report, the College could not see its work brought to fruition as long as the Church failed to provide the Kafir graduates with posts. For want of a comparatively small sum of money, trained black workers were having to face the prospect of returning to tribal life, so being lost to the Church's service.

The Warden reported well of the seven pupils who had already gone from Zonnebloem as schoolmasters and assistant catechists. He declared that if it were not for a deficiency of funds he could send out as many more at once. There was abundance of room for them in their own land and more than enough work. They did not receive large pay either, Some of them were paid as little as £30 a year each. But it seemed that several sums of £30 were not to be raised. (12)

Bishop Gray was most depressed about the plight of his jobless students. He feared for the College's future if this was to be a permanent worry. Writing in his Journal, during his Visitation to

George in April 1869, he said :

It is a great grief that the S.P.G. is not able to supply the funds necessary for the employment of these young men when educated. So much disappointment arises from our not being able to find posts for those whom I have trained at my Native College at Zonnebloem, that I have even had fears that I should be constrained to give up the Institution. (13)

Fortunately the S.P.G. came to the rescue at this juncture. The Society had a heavy investment in Zonnebloem, after having subsidized its work from the start, and were moved to make funds available to meet the present crisis. A substantial grant enabled seven students to leave for jobs in Kaffraria in 1869. These were the first fully qualified teachers to graduate from Zonnebloem, and, as such, their careers merit a comprehensive study.

Included in this contingent were two young men who had recently returned from England after having completed an advanced course of training at St. Augustine's : the second group of Zonnebloem students to achieve this distinction. Before we follow their footsteps home it is first necessary to learn something of their background and to make a short resumé of their time at the Missionary College in England.

2. The Second Group of African Augustinians

The Selection of the Scholarship Students : 1866

The Warden of St. Augustine's was delighted with the results of the first experiment in educating Africans and was eager that the College at Canterbury should continue with this work. But despite much urging, Bishop Gray allowed two years to elapse before sending another batch of black students to England.

No matter that the scholarships, made available once more by the Archdeaconries of Hereford and Salop, were lying vacant, the Bishop was determined that the second lot of Kafir pupils should be more advanced than their predecessors. He was insistent that the candidates should be more proficient in English and general attainments, as well as having a clean bill of health. The senior students at Zonnebloem were consequently subjected to a rigorous medical examination before being considered for selection.

At last, in 1866, three students were pronounced fit and ready to embark on a higher scholastic career. They were Josiah D. Bennekazi, Stephen Mnyakama and Nathaniel Cyril Umhala (Mhala). Stephen

was the son of one of Sandile's councillors, (14) while Nathaniel was the son of the famous chief, the only member of the group to be of rank. (15) This in contrast to Sir George Grey's selection of four chiefs' sons for the launching of the experiment in 1861.

Chief Umhala created a last minute diversion by trying to stop his eldest son from taking up his scholarship. Nathaniel, who had been away from his family for eight years, was allowed to return home to see his father before going overseas. He sailed for "Kafir Land" in April. (16) The story goes, that while Nathaniel was visiting his home, his father did all in his power to persuade him to become a heathen again. Umhala even offered to make his son a chief. But to no avail. Nathaniel was resolute in his determination to continue his studies in England. (17) However he was away from Cape Town for five months and by the time he returned his companions had already left. There was subsequently some delay in finding a chaperone to take care of him on the sea trip, and he did not enter St. Augustine's until May of the following year. (18)

Meanwhile the main party had sailed on August 20 with the Warden and his wife as escorts. (19) The Glovers were then intent on going to England to seek medical help for Louisa. The students' ranks had been swelled by the addition of a recruit from the Kafir Institution at Grahamstown. Bishop Gray had not been able to find enough suitable pupils at Zonnebloem to fill all the places and so he had offered the rival College one of the missionary scholarships. Jonas Ntsiko, a Fingo by birth, was the first African to go to St. Augustine's from the Grahamstown diocese. (20)

The Africans' Studies are Curtailed because of Concern for their Health

The studies of the second group at St. Augustine's were cut short when it became apparent that even the fittest Africans were not able to withstand the severity of the English climate for long. Josiah Bennekazi was the first to be repatriated home on medical advice. He returned to South Africa in December 1867 after little more than a year at Canterbury. He had shown signs of developing chronic chest trouble and the doctors had urged his leaving England before the Winter set in, in the hope of preventing a serious breakdown in his health. (21)

On his return to the Cape, Josiah had initially spent some months at Zonnebloem, being nursed back to health. Once he had regained his strength sufficiently to be sent home, he had been found a job at St. Mark's as a teacher. We have already seen how that at the mission he met up with Arthur Toise, a school friend from Zonnebloem days. (22) Josiah's diseased lungs eventually healed in the dry climate of his homeland and he lived to a ripe old age.

Nathaniel Umhala and Stephen Mnyakama were pronounced ready to leave St. Augustine's by Christmas 1868. Although they had both enjoyed good health up to that time, it was thought prudent that they should avoid a third English winter. (23) They had completed sufficient of their course to qualify as catechists, and were spoken of in the highest terms by the Warden and their fellow students. But once again the perpetual difficulty of finding the Africans posts in their own land threatened to thwart two promising careers.

Owing to the S.P.G.'s straitened circumstances, the Society could not come to the young mens' aid. They were stranded in England without any money. Nathaniel and Stephen had been maintained at the Missionary College by the Diocese of Hereford but following the termination of their scholarships there were no other funds available for paying their passage home and for providing support for them in jobs in the Grahamstown diocese. Yet it was imperative that they should leave England as soon as possible for health reasons. Those interested in the African Augustinians' welfare were in a predicament and knew not what steps to take.

Happily Bishop Gray came to the rescue by making an impassioned appeal for funds through "The Net". The cause was taken up by the indefatigable British public and contributions poured in, more than enough to assure Nathaniel and Stephen of sufficient support. (24) The young men took their leave of the College on December 6, 1868, exactly a year after Josiah's departure. The Warden gave them a glowing testimonial, making special mention in his Annual Report of the African graduates' piety, gentlemanly manners, diligence, and commendable progress in the various branches of knowledge which they had cultivated. (25)

It was a long while before any more Africans were sent to St. Augustine's to further their studies, (26) the South African bishops having resolved that the risk of endangering their health

was too great. (27) This decision was a great disappointment to the Missionary College. The New Building, which had been specially built to house the young men from Zonnebloem, was given over to the use of visiting missionaries until such time as it could be tenanted once more by its proper occupants - "the Native students from foreign parts". (28)

"What a Joyful Shake of Hands" : Zonnebloem Welcomes back the Augustinians

Nathaniel and Stephen were well chaperoned on the voyage home, for they sailed on the "Briton" in the company of the new Dean of Cape Town and the Bishop designate of Natal, the Rev. W.K. Macrorie. The Augustinians' identity as black English gentlemen is well illustrated by their attitude to some of their fellow passengers. Stephen, writing an account of their journey to the Warden, related how at St. Helena the ship had taken on board a party of soldiers and their families. He described the newcomers as -

a company which no student of St. Augustine's would wish to be in. Nathaniel and I were awfully sorry when we saw them, knowing they would be of bad company than the former passengers ... and we made up our minds to be social to them, and not answer to their common talk. (29)

The ship reached Cape Town on January 21, 1869. (30) The Church party were made a great fuss of on their arrival, Mr. Lightfoot coming on board to meet the new clergymen. Stephen and Nathaniel, together with the Anglican dignitaries, were taken ashore in a large boat. Much to the Africans' excitement they were met by a welcoming party from Zonnebloem. Stephen gave a graphic description of the reunion :

When we were near the jetty we saw three of our Zonnebloem students awaiting us : Oh what a joy What a joyful shake of hands we had with them, and how they admired our height and growth ! Unhappily we found our Warden (Mr. Glover) and his lady were away to Bishop's Court, on account of his wife's health. We were then introduced to Mr. Lomax, the new schoolmaster We found our Fellow Collegians all well, except for one, whom they told us was on his way to Kafir Land. (31)

After having been away for two and a half years, Stephen and Nathaniel were overjoyed at being reunited with their former friends and mentors at Zonnebloem. Both Bishop Gray and Mr. Glover came to visit them, but the Warden could not stay long

because of Louisa's failing health.

The five newly qualified Churchworkers at Zonnebloem, who had at long last been assigned posts in the mission field, had been due to leave the College in the New Year. They had, however, begged the Warden to allow them to await the Augustinians' arrival from England. With the coming of Nathaniel and Stephen, the group of graduates made preparations to return to their country and take up their positions forthwith. (32)

3. The Trained Teachers Return to Work Among their Tribesmen : 1869

"The Flower of the Institution" take their Leave of Zonnebloem

Besides the pair from St. Augustine's, the party of African teachers included Julius George Naka (Mabozanaka), who had been acting as private tutor to Alexander Maama Letsie; Herbert Xoxo, the son of the exiled chief; Edmund Gonya Sandile, who was believed to be heir to the Ngqika Paramount Chieftaincy; Gilbert Mgxitama (Mxitama), son of a councillor to Umhala; and Hester Ngece, sometime handmaid to Emma Sandile and the only girl in the group. (33)

Before taking their leave of Zonnebloem, they wrote their "Father in God" a long letter thanking him for the education they had received and pledging themselves to be true servants of Christ. They said that it was their unanimous wish that they should be allowed to receive the Sacrament of the Body and the Blood of Christ at his hands one last time before they sailed. This wish the Bishop gladly granted. (34)

The graduates were also allowed to attend the consecration of Mr. Macrorie in St. George's Cathedral. Finally, on February 3rd, they sailed for Kaffraria. They were accompanied by the Bishop of Grahamstown, their new superior, who was returning to his diocese after the Natal Bishop's consecration. (35)

"The Flower of the Institution", as Bishop Gray called the teachers, had all been members of the first batch of Kafir pupils who had come to Cape Town with Sir George Grey in 1858. During the ensuing eleven years they had had little or no contact with their families, friends and fellow tribesmen. Only Nathaniel had been home for a holiday in the interim. They had left their fathers' kraals as children. Throughout their formative years they had been kept far distant from the tribal environment and heathen influences. They were now returning to their country as educated adults,

strangers, accustomed to the European way of life. The home-coming of these Westernized Africans was bound to be a traumatic experience.

The Teachers' Home-Coming

The party of teachers disembarked at East London. Bishop Cotterill, who had left the ship at Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth), had provided them with letters of introduction to the local magistrates and clergymen and they were soon found lodgings at an hotel in the town. The next day being Sunday, they were obliged to delay their departure upcountry. But on Monday they set off by ox-wagon for King William's Town, a two day journey. Nathaniel and one of the others now left the group because their home was not far from the Kaffrarian capital. The remainder, all Ngqikas, travelled on by wagon for another five days. After "enjoying a pleasant ride", they at last reached their respective homes where they spent the next few weeks on holiday. (36)

Incidentally the Kafir College graduates were all conveyed home at Government expense, according to Sir George Grey's promise to their parents not to abandon them in Cape Town. Governor Wodehouse honoured this promise, authorizing the Treasurer-General to pay the travelling expenses which included those of Archibald Maqomo who had been invalided home three months earlier. The total sum amounted to £34 13s Od. (37)

Stephen's description of his homecoming, which he recounted to the Warden of St. Augustine's, gives us an intimate picture of how the Kafir College pupils were welcomed back by their families. At the same time it shows just how much some of the parents had grieved at the long separation from their schoolchildren: a factor which was apparently not greatly appreciated by the young Africans' white guardians.

My home, (wrote Stephen) is just upon the river Kei. I found all the people at home all well, except one of my sisters, who was very ill indeed. My mamma shed tears when she saw me, and would have kept on like that, had not my elder brother gave a command when I met him near King William's Town, to say that my nephew was to tell her not to cry. Unfortunately my papa was away and some of my brothers too were away. I was told that my father was away to Faku's Land to take charge of the 'Royal Princess Victoria', (38) who had been gone there two years, and I am sorry to say that I have not seen my father yet.

The people at home was glad as well as exceedingly

sang. The hours of the evening service was the same as in the morning. (46)

Gxulu where Stephen was, was one of three out-stations attached to St. Matthew's. The Mission district was supervised by a European staff of two, who, even though they were based at the central station, still managed to keep their band of black teachers under constant surveillance. Either the Rev. Greenstock, the priest-in-charge, or his assistant, Mr. Charles Taberer, who served as chief catechist and schoolmaster, made regular visits to the kraal schools during the week, to superintend the activities of their native staff. (47)

Gxulu was situated in an unhealthy area and before long Stephen became ill. This setback led to his removal for a time to St. Matthew's. Some idea of the vicissitudes of life in the mission field can be gauged from the story of Stephen's troubles, which he recounted to the Warden, as follows :

On the very first night I was at the place I got cold, and so I went getting cold night after night, and on my second week I complained of the chest, on the third week it proved worse, and on the fourth week I made myself known to Mr. Greenstock who is at St. Matthew's, that I had this complaint of the chest. He asked me whether the place was damp, I told him yes, the cottage I live in is always damp from the springs that is under the houses round; not only myself complain of the dampness of the place, but also all the Christian people who live there. (48)

Chest complaints were not to be taken lightly for consumption was an ever present danger among the converts. And so Stephen, mounted on an old mission horse, was sent to King William's Town to see the only doctor in the area. After a thorough examination, he was given a large bottle of medicine and told to return when it was finished. He spent the next few months at St. Matthew's, teaching in the primary school; and, happily, was soon restored to health.

Stephen's life at the central station was in marked contrast to that at the out-station, where he had lived in the midst of a heathen tribe with few fellow Christians for company. St. Matthew's, founded among the Fingoes at Keiskamma Hoek in 1857, had attracted a flourishing community of native Christian families. The mission district embraced a largely heathen population and many of the Christians had sought refuge at the centre from the persecution of their tribesmen. Through their labours, the mission had be-

come partly self-supporting. A large area of land had been put under irrigation and was farmed productively, "yielding bountiful crops". (49) The industrial branches included a wagon-making industry, and carpentry and tin-smith's shops. Besides bringing in a steady income, they provided trade training for the apprentices at the school which came under the State-aided industrial educational scheme. (50)

Stephen's life as a teacher was a well-ordered existence in comparatively protected surroundings. But not all of the Zonnebloem graduates were as privileged. Whereas Stephen and his friends, who were posted at mission schools, started their careers under the watchful eye of European superintendents, there were those who were sent to lonely outposts to make their own way among their heathen countrymen with only minimal guidance from the Church. Yet the work done by the native catechists in the field, who penetrated into their peoples' homes, was a vital part of the Church's outreach.

These black layworkers were effective in spreading the gospel to their heathen neighbours in areas that would otherwise have remained untouched by the Church. Outlying kraals and stations which might have been left without spiritual oversight for months on end, received regular visits from the catechists. On their rounds they gathered children and adults together in classes for instruction, using any convenient open place for the purpose, and preached and taught from selected portions of the scriptures.

The Catechist's Work

The catechist remained a layman. He was licensed by his bishop to exercise functions "which any other lay member of the Church would be at liberty, on emergencies, to assume". (51) His duties were clearly defined, as were the restrictions which limited his responsibilities. He was only given permission to baptize in cases of extreme emergency. He was never allowed to administer Holy Communion, nor was he allowed to solemnize the Holy Rite of Matrimony, nor use any form of Absolution, nor pronounce the Benediction. He was, at all times, to regard himself as being under the authority of the priest or deacon in his area and was to act under his direction.

The catechist was required to fulfil a large number of duties. The one half of his work concerned the members of the Anglican

Church and other professing Christians in his district. He was instructed to - keep an exact census of their numbers; organize and conduct prayer meetings; keep a register of the sermons he preached each week; devote part of his time to educating the children; act as lay visitor with especial regard to the sick, aged, or otherwise infirm; exert himself to reclaim evil livers; give notice, as occasion required, of the administration of Holy Communion; and give notice of Confirmation, receive the names of candidates and assist in preparing them.

The other half of the catechist's duties were directed towards those, who, as Bishop Gray put it, "remained still out of the fold whether white or coloured (for there shall, in this respect, be no difference), infant or child". (52) Ordinarily this consisted of preparing them for Holy Baptism and providing them with sponsors.

This will be done, (read Bishop Gray's instructions to the catechists) with due regard to such means in the way of schools, as may be within your reach, and will demand much tenderness, patience, diligence and caution The Church is pledged to this portion of the work equally with the others. (53)

Candidates for baptism were taught the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Commandments, and the nature of baptismal vows. After baptism they learnt the Catechism - the latter part relating to the Sacraments being reserved till they were more advanced and preparing for Communion. (54)

The catechists were required to sit an examination set by the Church. This meant that they had to reach a certain standard of education before they could qualify for a certificate. In Kaffraria, they were assisted by a large body of preachers and unpaid native catechists who were, on the whole, poorly educated. Preachers might be men, with little or no schooling, who were encouraged by their priests to preach among Christian and heathen. (55) The unpaid catechists, on the other hand, had sane education. They were at least able to write a moderately fair hand and could read the whole Bible in Kafir; but their knowledge of scripture was chiefly concerned with the New Testament. They were either chosen by a congregation or, more usually, offered themselves for the work of carrying the gospel to the heathen. They had to be Christians of some years standing, men of blameless lives and of good report among their countrymen. Because they received no

salary from the Church, they had to work to support themselves and their families in addition to their missionary activities. (56)

It was the duty of the priest in charge of the local mission district to co-ordinate the work of these black layworkers. Ideally they would meet at regular intervals, maybe once a month, for religious instruction and to discuss matters of common concern such as the disciplinary measures that should be meted out to wayward members of the flock. But this system was still in its infancy in the late 1860's for the mission field was hopelessly understaffed.

The educated native catechists, in particular, found the pioneering work among their heathen brethren an uphill struggle. They often despaired of making any headway. Julius George Naka, a Zonnebloem graduate who was sent as a catechist to his own people, was a case in point.

"And my grandfather's hut was crowded" : A Zonnebloem Catechist at Work

Julius was described by Bishop Gray as having always been a very well conducted young fellow. (57) On his return to Kaffraria, he lived at home, working among the tribesmen in the surrounding kraals. His dedication and perseverance, his fortitude in the face of great spiritual and intellectual loneliness, and his fight against the frustrating limitations of his solitary labours, are graphically illustrated in the letter which he wrote Bishop Gray, giving an account of his first few months work :

My relations and other Kafirs asked me many things concerning Christianity. One would say, What use is the Word of God ? and another, What is God ? Had I seen Him that I spoke so much about ? I tried to answer every question and to make them understand. Some seem to be willing to be taught, and they many a time wanted to read, pray and sing, (the latter touched them) saying They are afraid to be converts. As for temptations, my Lord, I was so much oppressed that I would sometimes go aside and weep for their ignorance. For nine Sundays I tried to tell them about our Lord, and my grandfather's hut was crowded. (58)

"Be a Witness for Jesus Christ" : Bishop Gray's Rules

Bishop Gray was well aware of the many hurdles which his black catechist teachers had to overcome on their return home. Above all else, he feared that their new-found faith might waver under the onslaught of heathenism. And so he devised a set of simple

surprised at seeing me at last, for they thought that they would never see me again. Some could not believe it was me, for I have grown big and tall. I found my mother got old and thin through my absence, for every one at home say that sometimes she would eat nothing, only keep on crying and calling my name, saying 'Oh where could he be'. Then my father would follow just in the same way. I have seen but few of my sisters, only four I have seen. They cannot make out what made me grow so tall; few relations I have seen at present, for most of them have not heard that I have come back from 'over the sea'.

They say that I have a leave of one month to see my friends, from the Archdeacon of King William's Town, and after that we were all to be at St. Matthew's Mission, where we were to be separated into different parts of the country. (39)

The Teachers Start Work in Kaffraria

The unfledged teachers met together at the mission station at Keiskamma Hoek as arranged, on March 16th, and were given their postings. Nathaniel Umhala (40) and Herbert Xoxo were detailed to go to Caba (Encaba), a station a few miles north of the Kei. (41) Gilbert Mgxitama was sent to Siggiki, an out-station of Bolotwa. (42) Julius George Naka was given a job amongst his own people. (43) Stephen Mnyakama was put in charge of Gxulu Mission, an out-station about four miles from Keiskamma Hoek. (44) While Edmund Sandile was taken on to the staff at St. Matthew's. (45) Hester's posting is not known.

Stephen comes into the limelight at this stage for he alone remained in touch with his old headmaster. But the ordering of his working day must have been much the same as that of his Zonnebloem friends who had been placed in similar jobs. Besides keeping school, Stephen took services twice a day, Kafir being used throughout. He was immensely proud of his new responsibilities and gave the Warden of St. Augustine's a detailed rundown of his daily routine :

My school was from 9 o'clock in the morning till 11.30, and from half-past eleven till 1.30 was for manual labour; and the afternoon school began at 2.30 and closed at 4 p.m. At 5.30 the first bell rang for service and at 6 o'clock service began, and at 8.15 singing commences and ends at 9 o'clock. In the prayers I chanted responses and hymns, but not the psalms. In the morning at 9 singing for 20 minutes, then till 10 o'clock arithmetic, then for 45 minutes reading; and after that to 11.30 writing. And when the school was over, the Benedictine was

Rules which were to be observed by all the Old Zonns as a spiritual discipline in their daily lives, no matter where they were living or what work they were doing.

The basic set of Rules - "for those who love Jesus" - were concerned with Prayer, Meditation, Bible Reading and Fasting. An additional set of Rules were "for those who are living at a distance from Church, and who are without the public means of grace". (59) They were as follows :- Firstly, be all the more diligent in private devotions. Secondly, strive to unite yourself in Spirit with the company of the faithful by saying devoutly at appointed times the Offices of the Church. Thirdly, be diligent and regular in Study of Holy Scripture, in Spiritual reading, in prayer, in meditation, in self examination. Fourthly, try to be of some use to others, instructing the ignorant, awakening the careless. Be a witness for Jesus Christ.

4. The Old Zonn Reunion at St. Mark's : November 1869

"Partly a Social and Partly a Religious Conference"

Most of the Zonnebloem graduates were assigned posts in the district of St. Mark's. The reunion at the central station which was organized for them by the Rev. Waters in November 1869, was Bishop Gray's idea. As he told the S.P.G. : "I thought that in many ways it would do good for all the Zonnebloem boys that have left to meet, and hold partly a social and partly a religious Conference". (60)

The young men had by then been at work in the mission field for nearly eight months. 'They had had time to find their feet and take stock of their main difficulties. Bishop Gray was most anxious that these novice teachers, transplanted so abruptly from town to tribal school, should be given as much encouragement and support by the Church as possible in making an effective adjustment.

The Conference, which took place at St. Mark's from the third to the fifth of November, was attended by twelve Old Zonns. Those present were Edmund Sandile, Herbert Xoxo, Henry Neville Umsitweni, Julius George Mabozonaka (Naka), John Nikani, Michael Tutu, Simeon Gawe, Gilbert Nxitamo (Mgxitama), Peter Masiza, and three Augustinians - Josiah Bennekazi, Arthur Toise and Stephen Mnyakama. Nathaniel Umhala sent his apologies as he had had to go home to visit his family following the death of his father. (61) Apologies **were** also received from Eliel Saba (Sala 7) who sent

word that he was too ill to accept the invitation; and Henry Duke Tshatshu and his brother, Herman, who had not been able to raise the money to make the journey. The minutes recorded that John LQala of King William's Town was the only one who had not replied to his invitation. (62) In contrast to the majority of the delegates, Eliel and Henry Neville had already had two years teaching experience, having left Zonnebloem in 1867. (63)

Peter Masiza's name on the list is something of a mystery. There is no official record of his having attended the Kafir College; but as the early school documents only provide fragmentary information, and many names are absent from the files, this lack of evidence is not conclusive. Peter's presence at the Reunion, recorded as being an Old Zonn, has great significance for he was the first African to be ordained priest in the Church of the Province of South Africa (1877), the first African Canon (1899), and the first African priest to be given charge of a parish (1899). (64)

Peter (Petrus) Masiza was by birth an Umbo, more commonly known as a Fingo. (65) He, with his twin brother Paul (Paulus), was educated by the Moravians at Genadendal. As a result he was fluent in Dutch as well as Xhosa and English. (66) He took up his first teaching job, at St. Matthew's, towards the end of 1858 when he was about twenty-five years old. It is quite possible that Peter could have attended the Kafir College for a short time early in 1858, before leaving the Cape, as we know that Bishop Gray was enthusiastic about the Moravian missionaries' work and that there were close ties between Genadendal and Bishop's Court. As one of the few educated Africans living in the vicinity of Cape Town, he could well have been called in to help cope with the Kafir children on their arrival at the capital. As far as the Conference was concerned, it is noticeable that Peter took a back seat during the proceedings. His name does not appear once in the minutes as a participant.

The Subjects Presented for Discussion

The Rev. Waters took the chair at the Conference. He started the proceedings by reading a brief statement on the objects which Bishop Gray and Sir George Grey had had in establishing the Kafir College. (67) The former students were urged to carry out the intentions of the founders. The meeting then got underway, the

Africans taking the floor, the clergyman taking the minutes.

Stephen proposed the first subject for discussion - "What ought to be the position of Zonnebloem men with regard to their present and future usefulness among the Kafir tribes ?" A spirited debate followed. The men were unanimous in agreeing that each tribe wished to have those who had been trained as teachers living among their own people. But there was a difference of opinion as to the practicability of such an arrangement being made at the present time. They appeared to be equally divided on the principle of sending teachers to their own tribes.

The next question was presented by Josiah. It read : "What can be done for those educated men who have fallen back to heathenism or to a careless life ?" The discussion on this matter confirmed the views expressed by Mr. Charles Brownlee in a recent report to the Native Commissioner, in which he had stated that many had been led to return to kraal life for want of proper employment. The Conference decided that the only practicable way of meeting this evil at present was to place kraal teachers under a senior, and give them a small salary. A suggested amount of ten shillings was deleted in the minutes. The subject was taken up again the next day. Arthur's motion, which stated that some effort should be made to provide employment for those men who had been at Zonnebloem and who had not fallen back to heathenism or to a careless life, was unanimously accepted. The delegates resolved to make inquiries as to their number and report their present positions to the Bishop. (68)

Questions relating to mission work and the native church took up a large part of the discussions during the Reunion. One subject that led to an animated debate was - "How can the native church become self-supporting ?" Stephen was a strong advocate of the formation of a self-supporting Missionary Institution in which every member should work at some trade, in addition to being an evangelist. His motion was seconded by Edmund Sandile and was acclaimed by all present. The Rev. Waters noted in the minutes that this subject had evidently been much discussed before the Conference. It was "confidently and unanimously asserted" by those present that if such an Institution was established, it would be joined by a large number of natives who had learned trades in various missions. The suggestion was that a trial should be made near a town where a few native teachers already lived. The con-

senses of opinion was that a site at or near King William's Town would be a suitable place to start such a Kafir mission.

Another lively issue was - "The raising of a body of native preachers at all the missions". The delegates were insistent that the native preachers should have irreproachable reputations. They stated that only men of tried and approved character should be allowed to preach or conduct services in the missionary's absence. The question of licensing catechists was also discussed but no resolution was passed.

The old Zonnebloem students were most concerned that their members should maintain a certain professional standard. The Conference recommended that the Bishop of Grahamstown should be requested to appoint an examining chaplain, and that quarterly examination papers should be sent to all the native teachers, according to their class. They suggested that the Head of the Kafir College would be the proper person to act as examiner. **Julius** also drew the meeting's attention to the necessity of supplying teachers to the large masses of the neglected native population in the Colony and beyond. The discussion showed that native teachers were greatly needed in many parts.

Julius provoked an amusing debate by proposing a motion to the effect that it was desirable for the teachers to adopt a peculiar dress. He suggested that the Bishop of Grahamstown should be asked to approve the wearing of distinguishing clothes such. as moleskin trousers and lay cassocks. No immediate resolution was passed, and the subject was re-opened for discussion the following day. It was eventually decided to allow the dress to remain as it was - but what their usual apparel was at that time is not known.

Before the Meeting drew to a close, the delegates resolved to form some sort of Old Boys' Union and keep up regular contact with each other. Henry Neville Umsitweni was elected Secretary and was directed to correspond twice a year with all former Zonnebloem students, with especial reference to those in Basutoland. The Secretary was asked to collect and report information as to their manner of life etc. and to supply any special news concerning Zonnebloem men. With the exception of **Julius**, Gilbert and Herbert, they all agreed to pay one shilling a year towards covering postage expenses.

Worship and Recreation

Worship formed an integral part of the three day Conference. The members attended the usual morning and evening services in St. Mark's chapel, taking their places with the surpliced choir. The Rev. Waters delivered special addresses at each service and administered the Holy Communion on the Sunday.

Bishop Gray had expressly asked that the gathering should be partly social, and so sporting activities were organized each day. The delegates took part in several games of cricket and they also held an athletics meeting. There was keen competition for the prizes in the different events. Stephen was the champion athlete, winning both the one hundred and two hundred yard foot races as well as the throwing of a twenty-five pound weight. Edmund threw the ball the farthest, while Arthur won the long jump.

In his report back to Bishop Gray, Mr. Waters gave his assurance that the Conference had answered its purposes fully, that those present had been very happy, and that good had been done in many ways. The Bishop was delighted to learn of the success of his scheme. Seeing that it had cost as little as £10, he hoped that the Reunion might become a regular occasion and that more old boys would be able to attend in following years. (69) An account of the proceedings was published in a special paper, printed at St. Peter's Mission Press. This was circulated to the other missions. At the same time, the S.P.G. and interested Churchmen both in South Africa and England also received copies.

Evaluation

The delegates who attended the Reunion at St. Mark's were the cream of Zonnebloem. There is no doubt that they felt a tremendous pride in their affiliation to the Kafir College, even that their education had elevated them to rather exclusive ranks. Nonetheless on studying the minutes of their meetings, one cannot fail to sense the enthusiasm and dedication which these novice native teachers felt for their vocation.

Fresh from College, they were intent on reaching the goal which the founders of the Kafir Institution had set for them. They were young, they were idealistic. They were imbued with the purpose of taking the good news to their heathen brethren. But it was an all or nothing venture. To aim at less than perfection was

not a possible course. It seems that they had committed themselves to living with an unattainable ideal. It was not long before the casualties started to pile up.

These "Champions of the Faith" tried so hard. They had such noble intentions. But so much was expected of them, not the least, by themselves. They had to be worthy witnesses of the Word which they were preaching and teaching. They had to be paragons of virtue, shining examples to their pagan countrymen at all times, there was no latitude for backsliders. It was inevitable that many of them should fail. As we follow their careers, we shall see that before long they fell by the wayside, one after another, defeated by irreconcilable odds. If they managed to escape falling victim to the vices of civilization, then the pull of their peoples' customs proved too strong a force to resist, polygamy being the final downfall of most of them.

As the "trials and temptations" of both civilized and tribal life took their toll, the young teachers must have felt a bitter disillusionment in that they had failed to meet the high expectations. Further, having broken the Church's rules, they automatically became excommunicate. Deprived of the rights of Church membership, they were relegated to a limbo in which they had to find a new identity. Rejected by the Church, on the one hand, they soon came to the realization that they were not acceptable to their own people either. Their education had given them an identity which had alienated them from their fellow tribesmen. Yet they could not look to the colonists for help, for the mass were highly critical of the new breed of educated blacks who dared to ask for equal opportunities.

The outward symbol of the Zonnebloem graduates' new identity was their dress. European clothes had taken the place of the red clay and the red blanket. But their Western trappings alone did not set them apart. Many Africans, including some of the heathen chiefs, had also taken this step towards civilization. Rather, it was their mode of behaviour and European outlook which marked the teachers from the Kafir College as misfits in a tribal society. Just as their brainwashing in the Christian faith had hopefully obliterated all vestige of their inherited beliefs, so had their strict Victorian upbringing hopefully smothered all trace of their black cultural identity. This was well and good while they remained in a society in which the refinements of

civilization were the accepted norm, and where a well-regulated school routine safeguarded them from wandering from the straight and narrow path. But once they stepped out into the wide world to take their place among their people, as was their appointed lot, they had to fit into a framework of society in which they had great difficulty in finding a niche for themselves.

The impact of civilization, accelerated by the advent of British rule, had shaken tribal society to its very foundations. Consequently it was in a state of flux at the time, so accentuating the tensions to which these detribalized Africans were exposed. In trying to obtain an overall picture of this transitional period in African development, against which we have to measure the Kafir teachers' adjustment and so evaluate their education, it is interesting to note the contrasting impressions of two black commentators whose views were set down nearly a hundred years apart.

Firstly, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, writing to his superiors in Scotland in the 1860's, made a contemporary appraisal of the way in which his people were responding to the winds of change wrought by the white man, and the Church's role in the new scheme of things. Committed as he was to saving his people from their "heathen degradation, in all its forms and varieties", he still believed that the African must be given time to take the changes slowly in his stride. It was his opinion that : "The knot of the Kafir's prejudice and habits is not to be rudely cut, by the uncompromising knife of civilized tastes. It must be patiently and cautiously untied As a race, the Kafirs prefer to be drawn, rather than driven". (70)

The black missionary was greatly concerned that, as the tribal structures came tumbling down under the onslaught of civilization leaving a disintegrated society in its wake, the Church should provide the cornerstone on which the new black Western society should be reconstructed, so bringing order out of the present chaos. Soga wrote

To the chains of heathen customs and practices, which hold my countrymen in bondage, there have been added others ... these are the results of contact with civilization. My faith in civilization alone, if it does not follow in the wake of Christianity, is gone. The civilization of civilized men, who care nothing, and do nothing, for the moral, physical, and intellectual improvement of ignorant men in barbarous countries,

with whom they come in contact, is destructive. No man needs talk about civilization, apart from Christianity, when I see the natives here rushing to ruin by drunkenness, and the other vices of civilized ungodly men. Civilization is the handmaid of Christianity, only when it is the result of Christianity. (71)

It was simple enough for African converts, such as the Kafir pupils, to conform as Christians while they remained within the precincts of a sympathetic society such as Cape Town; but witnessing in the kraals of Kaffraria was quite another story. We shall see how that it was only those Zonnebloem graduates who managed to submerge their identities as Africans into the larger entity of the Church, who were first and foremost Christians rather than cultured black intellectuals, who survived the time of testing comparatively unscathed.

Noni Jabavu, writing in the 1950's, looks back at this period and speaks with awe of the religious zeal with which the earlier generations of her people armed themselves to accomplish the seemingly impossible task of living up to the ideal which they had set. She describes how they had to make "conscious and constant efforts to measure up to the new requirements, the higher standards of life; to stretch the intellect to try and meet the new ideas. We young people of ... this century listen and shudder to think how unbearable life must have been in such a hive of puritanism, of perpetual endeavour". (72)

It seems highly doubtful whether Sir George Grey ever anticipated the manifold difficulties of re-adjustment which were the legacy of the educated children of the Kafir chiefs on their return to their country. This visionary seems to have believed that by taking the African aristocrats away from their homes and steeping them in the English cultural tradition at an impressionable age, they would automatically be furnished with the necessary expertise to achieve a reconciliation between the conflicting cultures and so solve the country's problems. It appears that he was so taken up with his plans for using them as pawns in the game of Empire-building, that he gave little or no thought to their vulnerability as people who had to come to grips with overwhelming personal problems of alienation as a result of having a foot in both worlds. And as they made their precarious way along the tightrope that stretched between the conflicting modes of life, it is no wonder that so many of them lost their balance

and came to grief.

Bishop Gray was well aware of the many pitfalls which awaited his proteges and did his best to see that the Church gave them what support it could. But working under the shelter of the Church's wing, although it provided the security of belonging to a strong body, could hardly be called a safe refuge. The Church's call was to fight the good fight and "the solders of the living army of God" were expected to go to the forefront of the battle which was being waged against heathenism. The young Kafir teachers could hardly hope to survive the encounter with their recalcitrant countrymen unscathed.

In retrospect one questions the Church's attitude in being so hasty to condemn all the African traditions out of hand. Would not a greater awareness of black culture and an appreciation of its many worthy values have given the Africans a sounder footing in bridging the centuries of civilization. If only the Church had been prepared to compromise, to accept more and judge less, there would have been far fewer casualties, especially among the Zonnebloem graduates. There is no doubt that a more compassionate approach to the social pressures which assailed these first generation Christians would surely have given them a chance of putting their education to greater use.

Of all the Anglican clergymen at the time, Colenso seems to have been unique in having more enlightened views, particularly with regard to the age-old system of polygamy. (73) When we consider the fate of those Zonnebloem graduates who were condemned by the Victorian Church for becoming partner to this traditional form of marriage, we must bear in mind that the problem of plural marriages has still not been resolved by the Church a hundred years later and is certainly regarded in a more sympathetic light to-day. (74)

Returning to the Conference at St. Mark's in November 1869, one can now ask whether the Church, instead of allowing her black evangelists to set unattainable ideals, should not have acted more responsibly by encouraging them to set goals well within their reach. Instead of letting them concentrate on surveying the mission scene from rather lofty heights, a sharing of their day to day difficulties at their meetings might have led to a more effective execution of their work. The realities of the mission

field were a far cry from the idealistic approach instilled in the converts at College. Important as it was for them to have the chance to air their views, it still seems strange that the Conference was allowed to pass by without use being made of the opportunity to give the young teachers practical advice on how to tackle their appointed tasks. Judging by the rapid falling away in their ranks during the next few years, they were in dire need of this type of counselling. It is significant that the Old Zonns' intentions to keep in touch with each other came to naught and that there is no record of any subsequent Reunion.

5. The Promised Land

Sir George Grey's Grants to the Kafir College Pupils

Although the Kafir teachers became servants of the Church on returning to their country, they were also still entitled to hold positions of rank in their respective tribes. In fact it was for this very reason that they had been selected to go to the Kafir College. Once the British Government had taken over control of their country, however, the chiefs had only been allowed a fraction of their former power. This meant that the claims to leadership of the sons of chiefs no longer held the same significance. Nevertheless, by reason of their rank, the College graduates were entitled to grants of land which had been promised them by Sir George Grey. After leaving Zonnebloem, their claims to this property became a burning issue.

Bishop Gray had originally put forward the case for the Kafir pupils under his care, asking that they receive compensation in the form of land. He had argued that the Government, in taking possession of the lands of the heathen were assuming the territory of the very children who were at Zonnebloem; and that in depriving them of their rightful heritage, they were at least indebted to a nominal retribution. (75) Sir George Grey had agreed with the principle of the moral obligation and had decided to honour it by allotting those pupils, who qualified, grants of land in the territory that had formerly been occupied by their fathers.

Before leaving the Colony in 1859, Sir George had informed Warden Glover of his intention to give a farm to each son of a British Kaffrarian chief and a smaller grant of land to each child of a councillor, educated at the Kafir College. This land

was to be held in trust for them until they returned home. (76) The Governor had directed Mr. Brownlee, the Secretary to Government in Kaffraria, to request Colonel Maclean, the Chief Commissioner of Kaffraria, to have the farms surveyed. (77) These two officials were appointed trustees for the management of the land. (78)

An order was issued by Sir George for the grant of four hundred acres each to Emma and Edmund (Gonya) Sandile, Arthur Toise, Edward (Dumisweni) and George Maqomo (Kona), Nathaniel (Kondile) Umhala, James (Dabeni) Dundas, Henry Duke of Wellington Tshatshu, and Herbert (Komani) Xoxo. A further order was issued requesting that grants of fifty acres each be surveyed for the sons of councillors. (79) Glover was instructed to communicate these intentions of the Government to the children under his charge; and this the Warden did. (80)

The Zonnebloem graduates, therefore, were well aware that they had been promised land and looked forward to taking possession of their property on their return home. On making inquiries, though, they discovered that the officials concerned had not carried out Sir George Grey's instructions to the full. Due to the press of work in Kaffraria in 1865, only a few farms had been surveyed for the children of chiefs, while none at all had been done for the councillors' sons, as ordered. (81)

The claimants felt justifiably aggrieved that the Government had let them down. They maintained that they were being denied rights to land to which they were entitled. Between 1865 and 1870, they severally approached Bishop Gray and asked him to intercede with the State on their behalf. The Bishop was in full support of their claims and took up their cause with his customary energy. He confronted Governor Wodehouse with a wealth of documentary evidence which indubitably proved the validity of Sir George's promises, and established the legality of the claimants' demands. Gray asked that Wodehouse should see justice done in the matter. (82)

The Farms of Emma and Edmund Sandile

The claims of Emma and Edmund Sandile were the first to receive attention. Their case differed somewhat from that of their College companions as their land had been granted them before they went to school at the Cape. Two farms each of four hundred

acres in extent had been surveyed in their name. These had then been leased by the Government, the revenue supposedly being used towards defraying the cost of the couple's maintenance at the Kafir College. (83)

Emma and Edmund, failing to obtain occupancy of their farms on their return home, tried instead to acquire the income derived from the lease of their land. But legitimate though their demand might be, they met with no success. Emma finally turned to Bishop Gray and begged him for help. The matter dragged on unresolved until 1870, when the Bishop, worn down by Emma's "continuous complaining", asked Wodehouse to arrange for a settlement. Gray suggested that the Governor should authorize the Bank at King William's Town to pay up the money owing and divide it equally between Emma and Edmund. He further recommended that if Edmund should decide to give up teaching and take up farming, when the lease of the farm expired in June 1870, he should be given the larger share to enable him to buy stock. (84)

The Claims of the Other Chiefs' Sons

Arthur Toise was the next to fight for his rights to the promised land. Returning from England in 1865, he fully expected to assume ownership of his farm, only to find that his land had never been allocated. He first asked the Bishop of Grahamstown to make investigations. It transpired that the authorities had tried to lay out Arthur's farm in his father's location, although this had not been Sir George's intention. Chief Toise had objected to any part of his territory being so appropriated and no survey had consequently been made. (85) Arthur was not able to secure any compensation and so he, too, took his grievances to Bishop Gray.

The Bishop investigated the whole matter thoroughly in 1870. He then discovered that despite repeated requests over the years from both himself and Mr. Brownlee, only three farms had been surveyed in addition to the Sandile grants. These were for Henry Duke Tshatshu, Herbert Xoxo and Edward Maqomo (Kona). (86) And even though these three had been allocated farms, the properties had been occupied by natives paying hut tax to the Government, and the chief's sons had received neither the land nor a single shilling of what was really their money. (87)

The issue was somewhat complicated by the fact that Kona's two sons had died in the interim. The chief, as their heir, had

applied for the farms to which the boys were entitled. Mr. Brownlee, one of the designated trustees, had supported Kona's claim arguing that it was no fault of his or his sons that the land had not been surveyed seven years since. (88)

During the course of his inquiries, Bishop Gray unearthed the further information that chiefs' sons other than those who had been at the Kafir College had received similar promises from Sir George Grey and had also never received their land. (89) It was a lamentable story of Government bungling. The Bishop was determined to see justice done.

The Settlement of the Claims

After collecting all the available evidence together, Bishop Gray presented Wodehouse with a list of claimants and asked that action should be taken to settle the dispute. The Governor responded at once by authorizing the Surveyor-General to make the belated grants to the chiefs' sons. These were duly handed over. But it was only after much badgering by the Bishop that the councillors' sons were finally awarded their grants of fifty acres each. (90)

The matter took a number of years to settle as applications continued to come in from ex-Kafir College pupils, pressing their claims for land. There was some difficulty in deciding their rights for a number of them had been sent back to Kaffraria after only a short stay at the College. Their qualifications had to be carefully checked for all depended on whether they had been repatriated for misconduct, thereby forfeiting their rights, or for reasons of ill health. (91)

Ten years later there **were** still some claims outstanding, Josiah Bennekazi being one of the unfortunate disputants. After Bishop Gray's death in 1872, the Old Zonns had had no one to champion their cause. In despair, Josiah had written to Sir George Grey in New Zealand to ask for his help, saying :

I must bring this to the notice of His Excellency
I didn't get a farm as all my fellow scholars having
mentioned that to the Cape government it was said
that I was forgotten and there are no farms. I thought
I would even get it in money or anything for I think
it to be my inheritance. Some of the boys sold their
farms for £200. (92)

It is highly unlikely that Josiah was eligible to receive any

compensation at that late stage, even if Sir George had wished to follow up his case.

6. Kid Gloves in Kaffraria : the African Augustinians as Catechists and Teachers

The Augustinians Come under Fire from the Bishop of Grahamstown

By 1869, thirteen out of the forty-five African Religious Teachers employed at the various mission stations in the Grahamstown diocese were Zonnebloem educated men. (93) Of these, four had received further training at St. Augustine's. But while Bishop Gray rejoiced that Zonnebloem was so evidently fulfilling its purpose. Bishop Cotterill, under whose direction the Kafir College graduates now fell, was not at all satisfied with their performance in the field. After completing a tour of the missions in his diocese at the end of 1869, Cotterill voiced his misgivings about the merits of their education, being particularly scathing about the group who had been to England. He compared them most unfavourably with the products of the Kafir Institution at Grahams-town.

Understandably there was considerable rivalry between the sister Anglican Kafir Institutions and in analyzing the Bishop of Grahamstown's criticism, allowance must be made for his biased opinion. Nonetheless, in his Report to the S.P.G., Cotterill sounded a warning about the Zonnebloem graduates' difficulties in settling down, that could not be ignored. He wrote :

The universal testimony of all our Missionaries is that none of our young Schoolmasters and Catechists are on the whole so satisfactory as those who have been educated at Grahamstown ... not even excepting those who have been to England. Of course the education which these received in England, was very imperfect and partial. We have yet to learn what would be the effect of a thorough English training. The only Kafir who has ever received such a training is a missionary in the Scotch Mission (Tiyo Soga).

But we find that to our Grahamstown youths it has been a great gain, that they have been from time to time brought into contact during their education with their heathen friends and relations and are not suddenly thrown back amidst all the temptations to heathenism after they have been for some years surrounded by none but Christian influences. The difference is like that between a public and private school education, and the results have been similar.
(94)

Bishop Cotterill's particular concern was the mode of living of

his African staff. He abhorred the life style of the Fingoes and Colonial Kafirs "who crowd their family into a miserable hut, without windows, or a door deserving the name, but which is merely like a magnified beehive with nothing but mats to sit or lie upon". (95) He believed that it was of great importance that his native teachers should set the example of a higher standard of living and that they should succeed in their attempting of the luxuries and the decorous comforts of civilization.

Those who have been in England, (Cotterill said) seem sometimes less able to understand this than others. They have seen, in England, a type of civilized life which they know is utterly unattainable in Kafirland; and they often fall back, in utter helplessness into the ordinary Kafir habits. (96)

Cotterill had given instructions to all his missionaries that those native teachers who had been educated in England and consequently received a higher salary, were expected to have a better kind of hut with some furniture in it. Otherwise their pay would be stopped in order to furnish such things for them. "There can be no progress in civilization", concluded the Bishop, "hardly (we might say) in morality and religion, in an ordinary Kafir hut". (97)

The Zonnebloem Graduates Shine at the Teachers' Conference at St. Mark's : 1870

Although there was no repetition of the Old Zonn Reunion, the native teachers working in the St. Mark's mission district met regularly together once a year at the central station to take part in the Annual Commemoration Celebrations and Teachers' Conference. The gathering, which took place in September 1870, provided the Zonnebloem graduates with an opportunity of coming into their own by being able to show off their intellectual prowess. Their contributions to the discussions were singled out for commendation by Archdeacon Merriman, who attended the Conference as guest of honour in the Bishop of Grahamstown's absence. The meeting was held in the capacious stone church. The Archdeacon was intrigued to see how the Rev. Waters, as chairman, kept a firm hand on the proceedings. The teachers were invited in turn to address their brethren, but their speeches were limited to ten minutes each. At the end of each allotted span of time, Mr. Waters would tinkle his little bell, whereupon the

speaker would meekly sit down no matter that he might be in the middle of an animated sentence.

Reporting on the Conference, Merriman remarked on the excellence of some of the Zonnebloem teachers' addresses, both as to content and delivery. He was particularly pleased to hear one of them speak on the theme of how Christianity produced unity among different tribes of men, Kafirs especially, who before were at enmity with each other.

"Beforetime", the young man had said, "the assegai was always red among us but now in Christ there was neither Gaika nor Slanki, Tambookie nor Galeka, we are all one in Christ Jesus". (98)

One of the Augustinians, the most fluent and vehement of them all, according to the Archdeacon, harangued vigorously on their duty to do much more than they were at present doing to support the Missions which the white man had planted amongst them. He exhorted his brethren to contribute sheep or bullocks to pay for their teachers' salaries. (99)

"The Young Men that have been made too much of in England"

Although Archdeacon Merriman was only too willing to give praise where it was due, he, like Bishop Cotterill, was deeply concerned by the indifferent reports of the Augustinians' progress. Apart from Stephen, who was doing well at the Keiskamma Hoek Mission, the others were only said to be doing fairly and there were even occasional complaints about them. (100)

Merriman maintained that the blame for the difficulties now being experienced by the English-trained teachers must be laid at the door of their thoughtless friends overseas who had encouraged them to have delusions of grandeur. Explaining how this had created re-entry problems for the African evangelists, he said :

We have no more disappointments than in the young men that have been made too much of by English people. On coming again to their native land, they are called on at once to step down from the rank of gentlemen to the lowest social grade. Every English mechanic thinks himself much superior to them, and earns far larger wages, for our ecclesiastical salaries are but small. And so these poor fellows being in a false position, it is no great wonder if extravagance, debt, idleness, and drink are sometimes the results, which it requires much of the grace of God, and usually some congeniality of circumstances, to make them rise superior to it. (101)

As an example of the wrong set of values which their indulgent English benefactors had encouraged in the African Augustinians, Merriman cited the finery in which both the black teachers and their wives had been decked out for the Conference. The clothes had become status symbols of the Augustinians' supposedly superior education, setting them apart from their brother catechists.

I could not help smiling, (wrote Merriman) to see one young Kafir friend, a recent student of St. Augustine's, coming out of his hut struggling in donning a new pair of black kid gloves, that he had evidently brought from England, and which he afterwards waved gracefully in action from beneath the surplice during his speech; while my friend the Missionary next me was wondering what made the young fellow's hands shine so, as the evening sun gleamed on them through the Chapel windows

Another young Catechist from St. Augustine's led his wife out of a beehive-shaped hut in a nicer silk dress than any of my daughters could muster for a gala occasion. This I should have thought dangerous for the Catechist's pocket, his salary being about £60 a year, but that I supposed some injudicious European friend has presented him with it; as indeed our Cape Town friends are sometimes quite as injudicious as English people in petting, much to their injury, those Kafir favourites that have been sent down to Cape Town for education, and whose position in their native land, these Cape Town ladies, living at a great distance from the frontier, have not learned truly to realize. (102)

The Archdeacon, in an effort to remedy some of the damage which this spoiling had done, spoke out on the need for the white missionary to establish a right relationship with his black subordinates from the start. It was his conviction that the successful development of the young men's careers depended largely on how well this was achieved. He believed that the European superintendent must set about this task by winning the native's confidence, and treating him with "that kind of degree of familiarity which does not breed contempt - a matter which requires some tact and judgment with Kafirs, and above all requires a large and loving heart". (103)

After the St. Mark's festivities were over, Merriman set off on horseback to visit some of the black catechists at their posts. At his first port of call, the Archdeacon could not help laughing at himself for finding the European-style hut of his host, for all its worthy tidiness and cleanliness, a cold and comfortable contrast to the red blanket Kafir's dwelling.

We could not sit on the floor, (he wrote) and light a fire in the middle, though it was a cold night, but remained perched on American chairs, reading some very nice books from the Kafir Catechist's library, by the light of a candle which we had brought with us from St. Mark's, the good man not indulging in such luxuries for himself in an ordinary way.(104)

Merriman was given the only bed, the rest of the party having to sleep on the floor. Josiah Bennekazi, his "friend of the kid gloves", was the Archdeacon's host the following night and was much complimented for his courtesy and hospitality. Even though the visitors arrived long after dark, Josiah was there to greet Merriman with a bucket of sour milk, the minute he dismounted from his horse, knowing that the clergyman was fond of this food.

The Good, The Bad and the Indifferent

Stephen Mnyakama seems to have gone from strength to strength from the start of his career. Working in the southern missions of Kaffraria, he was the only one of the African Augustinians to receive constant praise. By 1871 he was thought ready for greater responsibility and was promoted to the charge of Trinity Mission near the town of Fort Beaufort. (105) Ordained deacon shortly before the outbreak of the Ninth Kafir War in 1877, he stuck to his post and remained loyal to the Church throughout the hostilities. (106)

Nathaniel Umhala, on the other hand, was a continual source of anxiety to his friends. Although he began work with great enthusiasm, his conduct became increasingly erratic over the years, until he was eventually asked to leave the Church's service.

We have already seen how the Rev. Douglas Dodd was asked to keep an eye on his African colleagues from St. Augustine's, and made good use of the Teachers' Conference at St. Mark's in 1871 to catch up with their doings. In an earlier chapter, we have referred to Dodd's account of the activities of Arthur Toise and Josiah Bennekazi; (107) but Dodd also had news of Nathaniel, who was then working as Mr. Water's assistant at St. Mark's. In addition to being headmaster of the school, Nathaniel acted as precentor and assisted at the services. In his report to the Warden of the English Missionary College, Dodd wrote :

Nathaniel has a great idea of 'everything being done decently and in order', and bestows great attention

on the ceremonial parts of the service; his choir sing well, and the way in which they chant the psalms reflects great credit on the precentor. Nathaniel takes the English service as well as the Kafir, in Mr. Water's absence, and I must say he reads English admirably. I believe he is a good Christian, and performs his duties conscientiously he is the most enlightened Native we have on our Missions, but there is some defect which deters him from being an earnest Missionary to his brethren, and I am of the opinion that a Government appointment would perhaps be better for him than his present work. (108)

Nathaniel was very conscious of the responsibility of his position at the Mission. When Bishop Cotterill resigned the see of Grahams-town in 1871, (109) it was the African teacher who penned the Address to the retiring prelate on behalf of the native laity at St. Mark's. This epistle was later printed in "The Mission Field", being cited as a characteristic example of the style, though written in English, of a genuine native production. (110) Despite such impressive evidence to the contrary, Dodd's doubts concerning Nathaniel's vocation proved to be only too true. Not long afterwards he was banished from the Mission in disgrace, accused of gross misconduct. (111)

Nathaniel was not entirely foresaken by the Church, though, employment being found for him as a clerk in the Government service. For a time he worked well and there was every hope that he would redeem his character. (112) Following the outbreak of the Ninth Kafir War, however, his questionable associations with his rebel tribesmen landed him in further trouble. (113)

Arthur Toise was another of the Augustinians whose indifferent conduct caused his champions great concern. Douglas Dodd ultimately came to his friend's rescue in 1872, by arranging for Arthur to leave the lonely out-station among the heathen and join him at his mission at St. Alban's. Dodd hoped that once the Kafir catechist was again assured of constant support and encouragement, he would go forward in strength.

Arthur was given charge of the school, this being held in the Chapel-cum-schoolroom. His pupils, whose numbers fluctuated from fifty to seventy, were divided into five classes. As St. Alban's was a State-aided school, it was subject to Government supervision. Arthur merited only a lukewarm report from the School Inspector, following the official's visit in 1873. The discipline at the

school was said to be only fair, the general standard of work not high, and the arithmetic poor throughout. (114) Under Dodd's guidance, however, Arthur's work slowly improved and there were more hopeful reports of him in 1874. (115)

Unfortunately Dodd was transferred to Port Alfred a short while later, and, bereft of his mentor, Arthur soon lapsed and fell into disgrace. But unlike many of the other backsliders among his old College friends, Arthur did not "fall away into indifference and heathenism". (116) Although he relinquished his work as a teacher for a time, he managed to earn his living as a carpenter, a trade he had learnt at College. He took no part in the War and after leading an exemplary life for three years, he was given a job in 1868 as a teacher in one of the Government schools, much to Dodd's delight. (117)

7. "A Body of Faithful Teachers"

Reports on the Kafir Teachers' Progress

Although the small group of African Augustinians received greater publicity, there was also a sizeable band of Zonnebloem-educated Kafir teachers who gave many years of loyal service to the Church, with varying degrees of success. They kept school at the mission stations which had been planted throughout their homeland, so helping to realize Bishop Gray's goal for Zonnebloem that it would produce "a body of faithful teachers for Africa, drawn from their own country".

The Zonnebloem teachers won renown, in particular, for their musical expertise. Choirs were formed under their direction even in the most remote regions. Their industrial training also earned them repute, besides standing them in good stead. One young man served both as carpentry instructor and singing master at the Grahamstown Kafir Institution. The Rev. Mullins maintained that his choir was without doubt the best in town. But although the teacher was painstaking in his musical work, he was criticized for being rather slow and unpunctual in the carpenter's shop. (118)

Information about the run-of-the-mill Zonnebloem graduates is hard to come by because the missionary publications only took note of the celebrities' careers. What relevant data we have, has mostly been gleaned from the Government Inspector's Report for

1873, on the schools in the Eastern Districts and Transkeian Territory (formerly Kaffraria). Valuable though this record of the Kafir teachers' professional achievements is, it still portrays only half the picture of their development. And the picture has to remain incomplete for there are few facts available concerning their personal growth. The evidence is altogether insufficient to allow of a fair evaluation.

In the period under discussion, there were thirty-five Government-aided native schools in the Transkei, as well as a considerable number of minor schools supported by Missionary Societies and voluntary aid. According to the School Inspector many of the schools were "really good". It was his conviction that they were "tending in no small degree to the civilization of the natives, and were rendering efficient aid towards making them a peaceful and industrious people". (119) The usual subjects taught in these schools were reading, writing, arithmetic, and translations into Kafir, with geography an additional subject for the more advanced classes.

The School Inspector gave news of a number of Zonnebloem-trained teachers in his Report. Simeon Gawi, for one, was in charge of Itsojana (Zulu's) in the Transkei. His school was held in a large Kafir hut. Although he had eighty boys and girls on his books, half of them were away harvesting crops at the time of the Inspector's visit. Even so the school was said to be well managed and disciplined, and the work "for the most part pretty well done". (120) Herbert Xoxo's school at Cabe., also in the Transkei, was half the size of Simeon's. His pupils were not so far advanced, either, probably because of their very irregular attendance. Nonetheless, their work was said to be fairly good. (121)

Gilbert Mgxitama was the schoolmaster at Siggika, an out-station of Bolotwa Mission in the Queenstown district. He taught a small class, averaging eight boys and eight girls, using a hut lent by the local chief. The Inspector found it to be a very poor school, (122) an opinion shared by the priest-in-charge, the Rev. Patten. But the missionary yet optimistically hoped that some good was being done, though it might seem slow in development. Gilbert had the advantage over many of his colleagues in that he was supported by the natives in the neighbourhood. The chief, who had started the school, was a graduate of the Grahamstown Instit-

ution. He, with his Christian followers, was eager to build a proper school building which would also serve as a chapel, a development that promised well for the future. (123)

Harriet (Hannah) Mary Toney had the distinction of being the only female graduate from Zonnebloem to make teaching her career. She taught at St. George's Orphanage in Cape Town for nearly four years before returning to her country in 1872 to take charge of the Girls' School at St. Mark's. (124) When the Inspector visited the Mission school in 1873, he noted that Harriet was assisted by a staff of two and that she had sixty girls under her care, they being divided into five classes, three Kafir and two Hottentot. The Kafir schoolmistress was commended for the good discipline and organization in her school. The standard was reportedly high, too, and the work, "for the most part, well done". (125)

A Kafir Schoolmistress Writes about her Life and Work

The typical life of a Kafir teacher on a mission station is well depicted in a letter which Harriet wrote Miss Mackenzie in 1875, describing her work at St. Mark's. The editor of "The Net" printed the account in her paper as an encouragement to Zonnebloem's benefactors to continue with their subscriptions to the College. The letter reads as follows :

My dear Madam, - I now take my pen to write a few lines, as I have been thinking of doing so a long time. I often think of you, and I daresay you would like to hear about the school out here. I have sixty girls that attend nice and regularly. I used to have three girls to assist me, but one of them has left for Queenstown, where her father has undertaken the native school. My first class are now able to read in the third reading books, and in compound long division sums. They already know a little geography of this world, and they are more fond of it than I used to be. I teach them the map of Palestine, to make them understand what they are learning. I tell them it all in Kafir, and it makes it quite interesting to them. The Kafir has all come back to me quite natural. The second class read Peep of Day, and are in addition and subtraction sums. We have a nice large school-room. There is a boarding school for boys. Mr. Waters is thinking of opening one for the girls soon.... We have morning and evening prayers, like at St. George's Cathedral (Cape Town); only here it is chanted the same as Sunday There is a nice harmonium ... in the Church That is only needed in the English Service, as we do not require it in the native, for we manage better without it. Mr. Waters is so very kind to everyone; everyone loves him, both Red and Christian Kafirs.

I have a very nice little room, fitted up so very comfortable. I live very close to the Kie river; we get out water, also bathe there. It is very large in the rainy seasons; the boys catch eels there, the river fish. Oh it is so very dry out here; we have prayers offered up for rain. I hope we will get some soon, for the cattle and sheep, all that sort of thing, are dying for want of grass. The last prayer meeting we had, the Church was crowded with natives, and the head men on the station were allowed to give a short address in turns. Some of them were very nicely given. We are just at the end of one week's holiday. All the teachers from the out-stations have come for their Quarterly Meeting, to talk about their different work. Two of them are my Zonnebloem old friends. I wonder if I could give you a description of St. Mark's. I think this place is about the driest in Kafirland. We have the mountains all round, and it is built like an English village; it looks so pretty at a distance. There are three shops, a carpenter and shoemaker, blacksmith, tinsmith and traveller accomodation; so I think we are very well off. I must end. Good night.

Yours respectfully, Hannah Mary Toney. (126)

8. The Time of Testing - The Ninth Kafir War : 1877 - 1878

Whilst the Government authorities rejoiced at the advances in civilization made by the Africans through education, many of the chiefs felt threatened by the missionaries' growing influence over their people and resented the resultant shift in allegiance. Thompson states that by 1870, "significant groups of educated Christian Africans had rejected many of the traditional norms and customs and were rivalling the traditional political elites". (127)

Sooner or later there was bound to be confrontation within the black ranks. The time of testing for the African converts came with the outbreak of the Ninth Kafir War in 1877, when their new found faith was challenged by divided loyalties. We shall see how some of the Zonnebloem graduates responded to the conflicting calls of their countrymen and the Church.

The Outbreak of the Ninth Kafir War

The political situation in South Africa during the 1870's was one of continual pressure on the independent African chiefdoms. Whilst the British policy during the previous decade had been to withdraw from territorial expansion, the policy was now reversed and a number of territories, both black and white, were annexed. (128)

Those African chiefdoms which had no wish to be absorbed into the British Empire, did all in their power to resist the steady en-

croachment of the white man. But they were fighting a losing battle for they were being subjected to pressure from within as well as without. Not only were the white settlers massing on their boundaries, clamouring for the coveted land, but the agents of white expansion had also infiltrated their homelands. Although their motives differed, the European invaders all believed "that their interests would be served by the extension of white political activity over the African territories". (129)

The farmers wanted more land, the traders had business interests, the recruiting agents were after exploiting the cheap labour, the frontier officials were concerned with the defence of the Cape Colony, and the missionaries wished to spread the blessings of Christianity and civilization. All these forces of expansion had one common aim and object : "the subjection of the indigenous inhabitants to white control". (130)

Although there was no united resistance on the part of the Africans, the unrest among the various tribes throughout the country during the late seventies was symptomatic of the underlying turmoil. The Zulus, led by Cetshwayo, could muster the most powerful military force and posed the most serious threat to peace. However it was on the Eastern Frontier, where there had been no significant disturbances since the Cattle Killing, that fighting first broke out.

The competition for land in the Transkei and surrounding districts had escalated over the years, the struggle being as much between rival tribes as between black and white. Governor Wodehouse aggravated an already delicate situation when he granted the Fingoes, allies of the Government, a portion of the country confiscated from their enemies, the Gcalekas. According to the African historian, J.H. Saga, "placing these two tribes up against each other was simply 'asking for trouble'." (131)

What started off as a minor inter-tribal quarrel between the Fingoes and Gcalekas in 1877, soon developed into the Ninth Kafir War, the Gcalekas being joined by the Ngqikas for what was to be their last stand against the white man's enveloping might. (132)

The outbreak of war on the Eastern Frontier followed a period of twenty years of comparative peace and the Settlers, panic stricken in the crisis, were quick to "abuse all interested in elevating the Kafir tribes" and hold the Government and the missionaries to blame. (133) The missionaries defended this accusation by pointing

out that it was the Gcalekas, "who all along had wilfully, persistently, and avowedly withstood Christian influences, which were the very tribe to rise in arms against the Colony". (134) Seen from the Gcaleka standpoint, it was by very reason of the fact that they had resisted Christianity and civilization, that they were able to show a united front against the white intruders. Whereas the Ngqikas ranks were divided, while many rallied to the cause of black nationalism, there were many others who remained loyal to their new white rulers.

Stephen's Sad News about "the Murderous War"

Stepehn Mnyakama, by now in deacon's orders, was a Ngqika. He had to endure the agony of seeing his family split by the war. Whilst he stayed at his post at Trinity Mission, a faithful servant of the Church and the Government, the rest of his family sided with the rebel forces and suffered heavy losses in the fighting. In a letter to the Warden of St. Augustine's, dated July 1868, Stephen wrote of the tragic consequences of the conflict which had divided his people :

My friends in England should know and feel what troubles I am in. You have heard of the drought and the recent cruel and murderous war we have had. I have sad news; my poor old father, whose age was about 90 years, was shot dead while warming himself by the fire ... he could not see well. He saw there were some Government Volunteers and Fingoe levies coming to him, but he was unable to save his life ... they pitied him not and they killed him.

Poor mother, sisters-in-law, niece and 4 brothers are missing during the murderous war Only 2 brothers I am certain of, and they are sentenced to 5 years and 3 years to some convict station, of which at present I am ignorant of. I was a possessor of 5 herd of cattle with poor father, these were taken by the Government and sold ... I had not a farthing of the share One sister and her 2 children have managed to find me and now are staying with me. These I feed and clothe out of my small salary, besides my family and 2 children viz. a sister-in-law's girl and and a brother-in-law's boy, who came for education. I find food as well as clothing for them too.

.... I thank God that among all these troubles I have not shrunk away from serving Him. The 2 brothers were caught during the murderous war fighting against Government. One would say, Why did I not stop poor father and brothers from rebellion ? Yes, had I been near them I could have done some good, but I am miles and miles away from them. Further, I begged leave from my superiors, and none granted, so I obeyed and kept to my work.

My work is progressing steadily. My school being visited by the Inspector, he found it much improved since last year. During the war, I kept my mission work and school just as if there was no war. Had morning and evening service every day. My school was filled up with our School peoples' furniture for safety. Some of the station people turned out to be volunteers, others police and some were wagon drivers. I was almost left alone, except a few old men. Sometimes I was to keep watch of a night, though I am happy to say we were never visited by a single being during the whole war.

No Communion celebrated for 6 months because the visiting minister Mr. Turpin, could not come because of war; and besides the expenses for travelling by post were too great, as he is allowed only a pound for both coming and going back to Grahamstown. The last time he was here was in December, 1877.

I am happy to mention that another boy child is born to us : he is a nice little fellow, being 3 weeks old.

I beg to be remembered in your prayers and thank God for keeping me safe from the troubles of the late war". (135)

The Rebels

Merriman, the new Bishop of Grahamstown, was proud of the record of the converts connected with the Church missions in his diocese, for they all remained loyal during the war. (136) Not so a number of former Zonnebloem students, who were in Government service at the time of the outbreak of hostilities. Merriman recounted the sad story of one of them, a Kafir who had married a Fingo and was living near St. Matthew's. He had been imprudently beguiled into the rebel camp, but returned after a day or two and surrendered himself to the Fingoes, little dreaming of what was to follow. The Fingoes took him and put a thong round his neck, professing to take him off to the nearest magistrate, but one of them, while on the road, stepped behind, and shot the poor fellow dead. A dastardly act, said the Bishop. (137)

Edmund Sandile and Nathaniel Umhala, or Gonya and Kondile as they were known to their people, had left the Church's service and were working as teachers for the Government when war broke out. For these two high-ranking sons of once powerful and famous chiefs, the tribal loyalties proved too strong. They were both believed to have joined the rebel camp; but while Gonya was eventually found guilty of treason and banished to Robben Island, Nathaniel's complicity was never proven.

Nathaniel came under suspicion from the start, for having been in communication with the rebels. The Government offered him the choice of being transferred to Cape Town, where he would be out of the way of temptation, or of resigning. Nathaniel chose to resign, and returned to live among his people. It was rumoured that he had joined those in arms against the Government. He was taken prisoner in 1878, under "the most grave and suspicious circumstances", but was acquitted of sedition. (138) His loyalty, however, was thought to be, at best, doubtful. (139)

Edmund had been raised as Sandile's heir, having been adopted by Nopasi, the great wife, after she had failed to bear a son. But he never succeeded to the paramount chieftaincy, his education supposedly having spoiled his chances. According to Theal, his clan refused to acknowledge him as qualified to succeed to his father's dignity, "because he was never circumcised, having been educated at Zonnebloem in the Christian faith". (140)

Edmund had started work in his homeland as a teacher at St. Matthew's, but he had left after a time to become a clerk and interpreter in the magistrate's office at Middle Drift. When Sandile "raised the standard of rebellion" in 1877, Edmund, after much hesitation threw in his lot with his tribe. Father Puller, who met him in Cape Town eleven years later, recalled that the War was a hopeless enterprise from the first. "I fancy", he said, "that Edmund was quite aware of the fact, but he finally determined, and I should suppose rightly, to obey his father's summons. Old Sandilli, the father, was killed in battle and the son was caught". (141)

Edmund stood trial for rebellion at the same time as his brother, Matanzima. According to Theal, Edmund was too weak-minded and conceited to command the respect of Europeans, and compared his behaviour at his trial very unfavourably with that of his brother. Theal reported that whereas Edmund whined and begged for mercy, Matanzima - "a fine specimen of a crude barbarian" - stayed calm and firm with his head erect and not a muscle quivering. (142) Both sons of Sandile were convicted. They were sent to Robben Island with the other rebel chiefs, and remained in exile for eleven years. And so Edmund, despite his schooling at Zonnebloem, followed the same path as his uncle, Chief Maqomo; and suffered the same fate.

9. The Last News of the Teachers

Merriman's Report : 1879

During a tour of the Grahamstown and Free State dioceses in 1879, Merriman was able to glean up to date news of many of the Zonnebloem graduates, taking special note of the African Augustinians' doings. His findings were not altogether satisfactory, though, as shown in his report :

Some of them have fallen away sadly, having taken more than one wife, and returned to other heathen practices, to the forfeiture of all Christian privileges : some (of the Barolong tribe) are idle, careless and lukewarm; some, again are thoroughly steadfast, and are doing excellent work on our missions, and at distant kraals as native teachers.
(143)

Josiah Bennekazi Gives News of his Fellow Scholars in 1880

A letter written by Josiah Bennekazi to Sir George Grey in New Zealand in 1880, gives more specific information about some of the Zonnenloem graduates' careers. This is the last news we have of most of them. The war had ended two years earlier and Josiah, who had moved to Fingoland, had suffered much in the aftermath. Desperate for help, he was moved to appeal to his former patron for assistance. His letter to Sir George reads as follows :

Sir, I beg leave and to say, that it is only of late, that learnt of your address or else I would have written long before this.

Touching introductory of myself, I am one of those young men which you sent to Cape Town for education 1858. With Gonya who is Christianised as (Edmund Sandile) with some of the Basuto boys.

I am moved I feel it to be my bounden duty to return thanks to His Excellency the Governor for his great Kindness for Bringing me to the light I enjoy at Present. Enjoying it for your people.

Thinking His Excellency will be sorry as I am to hear these many failures of my fellow scholars. For some, through misconduct were sent away from Zonnebloem and had to return to the red clay which their father's used. Some died of Common deaths.

Some still attain unto what they were taught and are in Civil Services and some teaching and are enjoying the light of the gosiple and Civilization.

Emma Sandile is one of those who returned to red Clay. Edmund Sandile is married to one of those girls who were with us in Zonnebloem. Komani or Herbert Xoxo is a Teacher. But he never could enjoy

good health. Kondile or Nathaniel Male is in a lawyers office King William's Town. (Stephen or Mtutuko) is in Holy Orders near Fort Beaufort, at a Place called Trinity Mission. The rest I will fail to remark as they are many and are far apart from each other. As for girls only two that still value their good talent given them, that is Nomen-teshe Magomo and Noniko. (144)

Vast Changes took place since you left us, and we are unto this day, like unto the Children of Israel after the Death of their Kind Pharoah. My heart aches when I remember the time you Kept us when you used to give us goodly dinners and used to return to Zonnebloem each Time with 5 shillings each boy and all wishing for the morrow to buy sweets and marbles.

On the year 1877 my native race broke into war with the Colony. The Consequence is the death of Sandile killed in a Bush, and the Capture of all his sons, Edmund and all, who are in Robben Island unto this day.

I do mourn for his Excellency for I am sure I would not have been so poor if He was still with us. I have 3 Children which I am trying to bring up as I was brought with little money I get. Famine is great here and we are looking for help. Hoping to receive a favourable answer of the Governor, I beg leave to be yours

Josiah Bennekazi. (145)

It was in a postscript to this letter that Josiah complained about his never having received the grant of land promised him by Sir George. The old Kafir College pupil, who had also studied at St. Augustine's, felt most aggrieved that a Government oversight had cost him his "inheritance". (146)

The Fate of Edmund Sandile

Edmund Sandile, together with two of his brothers and two other rebel chiefs, were unexpectedly released from the convict station on Robben Island in September 1888. During their short stay in Cape Town before being repatriated home, they were much feted by their fellow expatriates who were resident in the city. The Christian Kafirs in Woodstock joined in the excitement, preparing a feast in the released chiefs' honour.

Father Puller, one of the Cowley brethren who had taken charge of the parish of St. Philip's, presided over the festivities at Woodstock. (147) He later reported that he had two conversations with Edmund and that he had been very favourably impressed with this son of Sandile whom the local Ngqikas considered to be their rightful Paramount Chief. Edmund had spoken most gratefully of

what was being done in connection with the Anglican mission to raise his countrymen. He had also spoken with much good feeling of the kind treatment which he had received during his imprisonment. He was said to have behaved very well in prison, making himself useful as a hospital orderly.

During the feast Father Puller made a speech of congratulations to the chiefs which included some advice to Edmund for the future. In his reply, Edmund urged the Kafirs present to go to school and put themselves under the influence of the missionary. The local Kafirs showed their loyalty to their chiefs by giving them gifts of money before their departure by train for "Kafir Land". One of them gave £3 which was all he possessed. Father Puller gave Edmund a Kafir prayer book for which he had asked. (148)

The strange fact is that during their talks together Edmund never once divulged any information to Father Puller about his Westernized upbringing. It was only after he had left that the priest discovered, much to his disappointment, that Edmund was a Christian - baptized by Bishop Gray in 1865 with Archdeacon Glover as his godfather. The chief's son had kept secret the story of his ten years' schooling at the Kafir College close by. He had made no mention of the fact that he had graduated as a catechist teacher nineteen years earlier. Pride probably prevented Edmund from revealing the enormity of his downfall and disgrace. In siding with his rebel countrymen, he had rejected everything for which Zonnebloem stood, more especially the loyalty to Church and Government which had been so carefully inculcated into the Kafir pupils during their education.

It was Father Puller's hope that the Church would get in touch with Edmund now that he had gone back to his own country. The difficulty was that the majority of Ngqikas were still heathen, while the greater number of those who had become Christians were Presbyterians, as a result of the work of Lovedale. (149)

It is possible that Edmund's pardon was precipitated by ill health, for a year later he was said to be very sick at Izeli. Nohetheless he, with three of his old schoolfriends - N.C. Umhala, H.E. Tsatsu (Tshatshu) and G.H. Nozwane - combined forces to send Charles Brownlee a letter of condolence following the death of his son in 1889. (150) Brownlee acknowledged their expressions of sympathy in the form of a poem, written in Xhosa,

in which he mentioned each of his native friends by name, together with a suitable sentiment. The poem was published in a local newspaper, "The Imvo". (151) These erstwhile teachers must then have been in their forties. There is no further mention of them either in any missionary publications or in any contemporary histories.

Julius George Mabozanaka Contacts the College in 1908

Julius George Mabozanaka (Naka) was the last of the Kafir students of this early period to contact his old College. In 1908, he wrote to the Warden of Zonnebloem, the Rev. Parkhurst, saying :

Reverend and dear Sir, I am one of those early scholars who Sir George Grey the Governor and Bishop Robert Gray established for them Kaffir or Zonnebloem College. Edmund G.G. Sandille was our paramount young Chief in our College. There is a rumour that your intention is to hold a Jubilee. if such a thing is to happen Please let me know as soon as you possible can. I am not sure if I will be able to attend the Jubilee but at all events if all is well; promis to write to distant Chieves. why I am uncertain about my attendance in the Jubilee depends upon having no means of supporting my in going, being short of traveling expenses. (152)

Julius George had remained a loyal servant of the Church. Forty years after leaving Zonnebloem he was still working as a teacher. He was then stationed at St. Cyprian's Mission, Cala, Kalanga. It seems probable from his letter that a number of his College contemporaries were still alive, but their fate remains unknown.

1. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
2. Report by Rev. Mullins, MF, 1.2.1870, 46.
3. Bishop Gray's unpublished Journal concerning his Visitation to the Archdeaconry of George, March - June 1869, MR.
4. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
5. Gray to Bullock, 10.12.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1649, USPGA.
6. Waters to S.P.G., 6.3.1866, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:2453, USPGA.
7. Gray to Bullock, 29.1.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1567, USPGA.
8. Ibid.
9. Glover to S.P.G., 6.12.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1653, USPGA.
10. Gray to Bullock, 10.12.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1649, USPGA.
11. TN, 1.11.1868, 165.
12. Report to the S.P.G. by the Warden, Rev. E. Glover, for the year ending 31.12.1868, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:249, USPGA and ZP.
13. Gray's Journal, April 1869, MR.
14. Entry no. 19, Zonnebloem Baptismal Register, 29.11.1863, ZP.
15. The readers of "The Net" were told that "Chief Umhalla was regarded as one of the ablest of those who were opposed to us during several Kafir Wars", TN, 1.11.1868, 165. It will be remembered that Bishop Gray Visited Umhala at his kraal in 1850 when he tried to persuade the chief to hand over one of his sons to be educated by the Bishop at Cape Town.
16. Entry for 18.4.1868, Zonnebloem Register, ZP. Nathaniel returned on 14.9.1868.
17. Report by Rev. W.E. Belson, Acting Warden of Zonnebloem, Annual Report of the S.P.G., 1867, 72 - S.P.G. Diciest of Records, 291.
18. SAOP, No. 108, 29.2.1868.
19. Entry for 20.8.1868, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
20. All 4 members of the second group became mission workers, at least for a time, while Stephen and Jonas were later admitted to Holy Orders.
21. SAOP, No. 108, 29.2.1868.
22. Chapter X, Section 3.
23. SAOP, No. 113, 1869.
24. Bishop Gray's Appeal, TN, 1.11.1868, 165.
25. SAOP, No. 113, 1869.
26. One other Zonnebloem student, H.K. Poswayo, was admitted to St. Augustine's, in 1906.
27. Gray to Bullock, 10.12.1867, S.P.G. Letter Book D-7:1649, USPGA.

28. SAOP, Extra Number, 15.10.1869. The New Building was used to receive Missionaries who were either retired or on furlough, for longer or shorter periods.
29. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
30. Entry for 21.1.1869, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
31. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
32. Ibid.
33. Entry for 2.2.1869, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
34. Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1869, LB10:242; "Kafir College, Capetown", *MF*, 1.3.1870, 74f; "Kafir College, Zonnebloem, Capetown", S.P.G. Digest of Records, 781f.
35. Entry for 3.2.1869, Zonnebloem Register, ZP; S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369; Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1869, LB10:242.
- 36.. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
37. Wodehouse to Glover, April 1869, ZP.
38. Victoria Sandile, who was betrothed to Umhlangazo, grandson of Faku.
39. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
40. Ibid.
41. Eastern Districts and Transkeian Territory - Report on Schools Inspected during the Quarter ending 30 June 1873, G2-'74, xxii.
42. Ibid.
43. J.G. Naka to Gray, 1869, quoted in Gray's Journal, April 1869, MR.
44. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
45. Gray to Wodehouse, 30.4.1870, LB10:330.
46. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
47. "Account of the work done at St. Matthew's by the Bishop of Grahamstown", 1862, S.P.G. Digest of Records, 302. The Rev. W. Greenstock took charge of St. Matthew's in Feb.1859 and remained there until 1870, when he was succeeded by the Rev. C. Taberer.
48. S. Mnyakama to Bailey, 24.6.1869, SAOP, No. 123, 30.10.1869, Letter no. 369.
49. S.P.G. Digest of Records, 302.
50. "St.,Matthew's College, Keiskama Hoek", CZ, August 1945, 12 no. 3:97ff.
51. Bishop Gray's "Instructions to Catechists", March 1849, LB1:105.

52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. "Grahamstown", Report by Rev. Greenstock, St. Matthew's, 30.9.1863, SPG, 1863-4, 78f.
55. "Catechists in Kaffraria", G. Callaway, Building for God in Africa (London : S.P.C.K., c.1936).
56. "Unpaid Native Catechists", Report by Rev. C. Taberer, MF, 2.6.1873, 174f.
57. J.G. Naka to Gray, 1869, quoted in Gray's Journal, April 1869, MR.
58. Ibid.
59. Bishop Gray's Rules, ZP.
60. Gray to Bullock, 17.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:379. See also MF, 1.3.1870, 75.
61. SHOP, No. 125, 14.2.1870.
62. "Conference of former students at Zonnebloem", 3-5 Nov. 1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:383, USPGA. **See** also "The Minutes of the Meeting", St. Mark's Mission, Transkei : Hamilton to Hodgson, 29.6.1972; "Conference of Old students", MF, 1.3.1870, 75f.
63. Eliel Saba left Zonnebloem in May 1867 and Henry Neville Umsitweni in Dec. 1867, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
64. Peter Masiza was ordained deacon at St. Mark's in 1873, aged about 40 years. He was ordained priest in the pro-Cathedral of Umtata 4 years later. He spent the greater part of his ministry in St. Mark's missionary parish. He preached in English and Kafir although he preferred to converse in his own language. He ministered to both black and white, and won the respect and affection of all. In 1896 he visited the Holy Land and England. He was elected Canon of Umtata Cathedral in 1899. In the same year he was given charge of the missionary parish of St. Ignatius. He resigned his canonry in 1905 because of ill health but the Bishop of St. John's appointed him honorary canon. He died on 3.12.1907. He was spoken of as a native saint. For further information **see** : Hamilton to Hodgson, 29.6.1972; "Peter Masiza", CCM, March Supplement 1908, Vol.17; "In Memorium - Petrus K.. Masiza", CCP, 26.12.1907, 4 no. 26; "St. John's Kaffraria", TN, 1.1771877, 42; CCP, 15.1.1904, 1 no. 2:25, 12.2.1904, 1 no. 6:88, 20.5.19 01 no.20:311, 26.4.1905, 2 no. 16:246; CZ, 1934, 1:41; Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld, 102, 127 et seq., 135ff.
65. Masiza describing his origins **said** : "By birth I am Umbo, commonly known as Fingoe, a **name** my progenitors called themselves with when they came from Em zinyati among the Kafirs, saying 'Siya fenguza', which means 'We are wanderers looking for employment'. Therefore there is not a drop of blood in my veins of a Kafir". - "Journal of a Native Clergyman in South Africa", Rev. P. Masiza, St. Mark's, MF, 1.10.1894, 43.
66. "Chapters on the History of the Church of England Missions to the Heathen in South Africa", CCDG, April 1885, 6 no.4:

- 117; "Grahamstown - Transkei Missions", MF, 1.3.1870, 69.
67. For full minutes of meeting see References previously quoted.
68. The unemployed Zonnebloem men included Archibald Maqomo, Weenen, Johnny (not baptized), Abner, Alfred, and Robert Nondyola. Bishop Gray told the Governor that no jobs had been found for them but they were living as Christians among their own people and conducting themselves well - Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
69. Gray to Bullock, 17.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37:379, USPGA.
70. Soga quoted in Chalmers, op.cit., 314.
71. Ibid., 288.
72. Noni Jabavu adds this footnote - "Is it argueable that a materially backward people can only triumph over dirt, disease, and illiteracy by temporarily infecting themselves with a sort of quasi-religious madness ?". She cites China as an example. - N. Jabavu, Drawn in Colour (London : Murray, 1960) 129f.
73. According to Hinchliff, Colenso "maintained that the Church ought to allow polygamists to be baptised. It seemed to him a sin against Christian charity to present the convert with a choice between foregoing baptism or putting away his extra wives". - Hinchliff, Colenso, 64. See also 81 - "He (Colenso) could logically maintain that the break with polygamy ought to come with the second generation of Christians".
74. "Polygamy and Monogamy", Report by A. Hastings, Christian Marriage in Africa (London : S.P.C.K., 1973).
 a form of marriage less satisfactory than monogamy and one which cannot do justice to the full spirit of Christian marriage, but in certain circumstances individual Christians can still put up with it, as they put up with dictatorial government, and much else. (73) (It) is in itself essentially a responsible, caring, legal, public, and enduring relationship, and it is accepted as such in the judgment of peoples in many parts of the world. It is marriage. (76) While polygamy as a system clashes with the full idea of Christian marriage, it is frequently impossible or undesirable in real life to opt out of situations where there is a clash of this kind. To do so will involve still greater evils. The situation needs to be put up with and christianized from within. A non-Christian has accepted lifelong obligations by plural marriage from which he is not entitled to withdraw In the view of this report a suitably disposed polygamist can in some circumstances be baptized, together with his wives and children, while fully continuing in his polygamous marriage. If this is done, they should also be admitted to communion. (77) The social pressures in Africa to-day to take a second wife are not overwhelming There should, nevertheless, be very real sympathy for Christians who at present, in conformity with the past custom of their people, decide with the willing agreement of the first wife to take a second in the circumstances of childlessness, the widowhood of a sister-in-law, and perhaps, the acceptance of an obviously handicapped girl. While it would be wrong to allow this in principle,

the Church's attitude to people in such cases should be very different from those indulging in irresponsible sexuality or social and economic aggrandizement. Indeed it might even be considered whether subsequently in situations where such a relationship has become fully established, could not, if they very sincerely desire it, be readmitted to communion, in much the way that in the Anglican communion at present, in places where divorce and remarriage are not allowed, individuals who have been remarried can still after a period be readmitted to communion. This should not be done without further thought and certainly not without the willing consent of the local Christian community and only within a context where the Church's teaching of monogamy is sincerely recognized". (78)

75. Gray to Newcastle, 3.12.1862, LB8:262.
76. These orders were given in a Despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, 31.10.1859, and were communicated to Warden Glover on 17.12.1859. See Gray to Wodehouse, 10.5.1865, LB9:238 and 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
77. Gray quoted from a letter, Brownlee to Maclean, 16.8.1860 - Gray to Wodehouse, 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
78. Brownlee to Wodehouse, 11.5.1867, GH8/48, CA.
79. Brownlee to Wodehouse, 11.5.1867, GH8/48, CA; Gray to Wodehouse, 10.5.1865, LB9:238, 16.4.1870, LB10:325, 30.4.1870, LB10:330.
80. Gray to Wodehouse, 10.5.1865, LB9:238 and 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
81. Gray to Wodehouse, 16.4.1870, LB10:325 and 30.4.1870, LB10:330.
82. Gray to Wodehouse, 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
83. Gray to Wodehouse, 10.5.1865, LB9:238 and 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
84. Gray to Wodehouse, 30.4.1870, LB10:330.
85. Brownlee to Bishop of Grahamstown, 17.1.1865, quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 10.5.1865, LB9:238.
86. Brownlee to Gray, 21.10.1865, quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 16.4.1870, LB10:325. Three other of Sandile's children - Bissett, Victoria and Sisaxa - were also supposed to receive farms alongside those of Emma and Edmund, and of the same extent viz. 400 acres.
87. Gray to Wodehouse, 16.4.1870, LB10:325.
88. Brownlee to Wodehouse, 11.5.1867, GH8/48, CA.
89. Gray to Wodehouse, 30.4.1870, LB10:330.
90. Ibid.
91. Colonial Secretary to Gray, 23.5.1872, ZP.
92. J.D. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GOAL. African Letters X.
93. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
94. Cotterill to Bullock, 14.12.1869, S.P.G. Letter Book D-37: 1055, USPGA.

95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. "Kafir Catechists", Report by Merriman, TN, 1.10.1870, 153.
99. Ibid.
100. Mullins to Warden, 7.8.1871, SAOP, No. 143, 24.11.1871, Letter no. 439.
101. TN, 1.10.1870, 154.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., 105.
105. Dodd to Warden, 3.10.1871, SAOP, No. 144, 12.12.1871, Letter no. 445.
106. Mnyakama to Warden, 22.7.1878, SAOP, No. 202, 20.10.1878, Letter no. 551.
- 107.. Chapter X, Section 3.
108. Dodd to Warden, 3.10.1871, SAOP, No. 144, 12.12.1871, Letter no. 445.
109. Bishop Cotterill left Grahamstown to become Coadjutor Bishop of Edinburgh - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 266.
110. Address to Bishop Cotterill written by N.C. Umhala, MF, 2.10.1871, 300. Appendix IX.
111. Dodd to Warden, 30.3.1878, SAOP, No. 200, 24.6.1878, Letter no. 245.
112. SAOP, No. 166, 16.10.1874.
113. Dodd to Warden, 30.3.1878, SAOP, No. 200, 24.6.1878, Letter no. 245.
114. Report on Schools in the Eastern Districts and Transkeian Territory, inspected during the Quarter ending 30.6.1873, by Mr. O.H. Hogarth, Deputy Inspector, G2-'74, xviii, No. 27. St. Alban's received L20 from the Government.
115. SAOP, No. 166, 16.10.1874.
116. Dodd to Warden, 30.3.1878, SAOP, No. 200, 24.6.1878, Letter no. 245.
117. Ibid.
118. "Kafir Institution, Grahamstown", Report by Mullins, 1869, MF, 1.2.1870, 45.
119. Report on Schools G2-'74, xxvi, No. 47. Whilst native education **was** making good progress in the Transkei, no provision whatsoever **was** made for the instruction of the children of European settlers such as traders and Government officials.
120. Report on Schools. G2-'74, xx, No. 31.
121. Ibid., xxii, No. 38.
122. Ibid., xxv, No. 43(b).

123. "A Glimpse of Mission Work in Grahamstown", Report by Patten, MF, 1.9.1873, 37.
124. Espin to Colonial Secretary, 2.9.1872, ZP.
125. Report on Schools, G2-'74, xxvii, No. 51.
126. H.M. Toney to A. Mackenzie, 1875, "Native African Teachers", TN, 1.8.1875.
127. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:246.
128. Ibid., 248f. Transvaal was annexed in 1877.
129. Ibid., 251.
130. Ibid.
131. J.H. Saga, The Ama-Xhosa, 116.
132. For further information about the Ninth Kafir War (called Ngcayecibi) see : Egerton, op.cit., 435; Meintjies, op.cit., ch.13; J.H. Saga, The Ama-Xhosa, 116 et seq., and The South Eastern Bantu, 254 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:156ff; Walker, op.cit., 369ff; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:258f.
133. Dodd to Warden, 30.3.1868, SAOP, No. 200, 24.6.1868, Letter no. 245.
134. Ibid.
135. Mnyakama to Warden, 22.7.1878, SAOP, No. 200, 20.10.1878, Letter no. 351.
136. "The Gaika Exodus", Merriman, TN, 1.12.1878, 180f.
137. Report by Merriman, TN, 1.11.1878, 165.
138. Dodd to Warden, 30.3.1868, SAOP, No. 200, 24.6.1868, Letter no. 245.
139. Merriman, TN, 1.2.1878, 181.
140. Theal, History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872, 8:210.
141. Reminiscences by Fr. Puller, 12.9.1888, Cowley St. John Parish Magazine, Sept. 1888.
142. Mantanzima was the son of Sandile's second wife in rank. Theal, History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884, 1:87.
143. Report by Merriman, 1869, BM, Aug. 1869, No. 45, 10.
144. Noniko was Harriet Mary Toney.
145. J. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1880, GCAL. African Letters X.
146. Chapter XIII, Section 5.
147. Cowley Fathers : Society of St. John the Evangelist. Father Benson, the founder of the Society at Oxford, sent Father Puller to the Cape in 1883 to organize a special Mission to the Moslems. But he and Father Sheppard, who later joined him, concentrated on working among the African and Coloured people of Woodstock, more especially in the parish of St. Philip's. For further details, see Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 97f.
148. Fr. Puller, 12.9.1888, Cowley St. John Parish Magazine, Sept. 1888.

149. Ibid.
150. Umhala, Tsatsu, Nozwane and Sandile to Brownlee, 18.9. 1889, Brownlee, op.cit., 15f.
151. "Thanks" - Translation of Xhosa poem by C. Brownlee, Brownlee, op.cit., 79f.
152. J.G. Mabozanaka to Parkhurst, 1908, ZP.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER XIV

THE CAREERS OF A CONTRASTING GROUP OF GRADUATES

1. "The Terrible Trial" of the Basuto

The Anglican Converts are Cut Off from the Ministrations of their Church

While Anglican Missions were extended into every part of South Africa during the 1860's, Basutoland was left out in the cold. Despite Moshesh's repeated requests to Bishop Gray to send him English missionaries, and the good intentions of the Church, men and money were not forthcoming to make this move possible. It was the French missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church and more especially the Paris Evangelical Society, who were responsible for the pioneer evangelical work among the Basuto. The fact that Paris was doing the work of London was a continual reproach to the English Church, particularly after this African territory was annexed by Britain in 1868.

The Anglicans sole effort to evangelize the Basuto nation during this period, was to educate a few sons of the leading chiefs at the Kafir Institutions at Cape Town and Grahamstown. (1) But on their return home these Basuto converts, unlike their Kafir counterparts, had to make do with minimal support from their Church in a largely heathen environment. Although Basutoland was incorporated into the see of Bloemfontein in 1863, visits from Anglican clergy were few and far between. And, notwithstanding the efforts of the French missions, hardly one-twentieth of the population were Christians by the time the Anglicans belatedly entered the field in 1877. (2)

The Rev. John Widdicombe, one of the pioneer Anglican missionaries in Basutoland, described "the terrible trial" to which the Zonnebloem-educated chiefs' sons were subjected before the coming of their Church into the country :

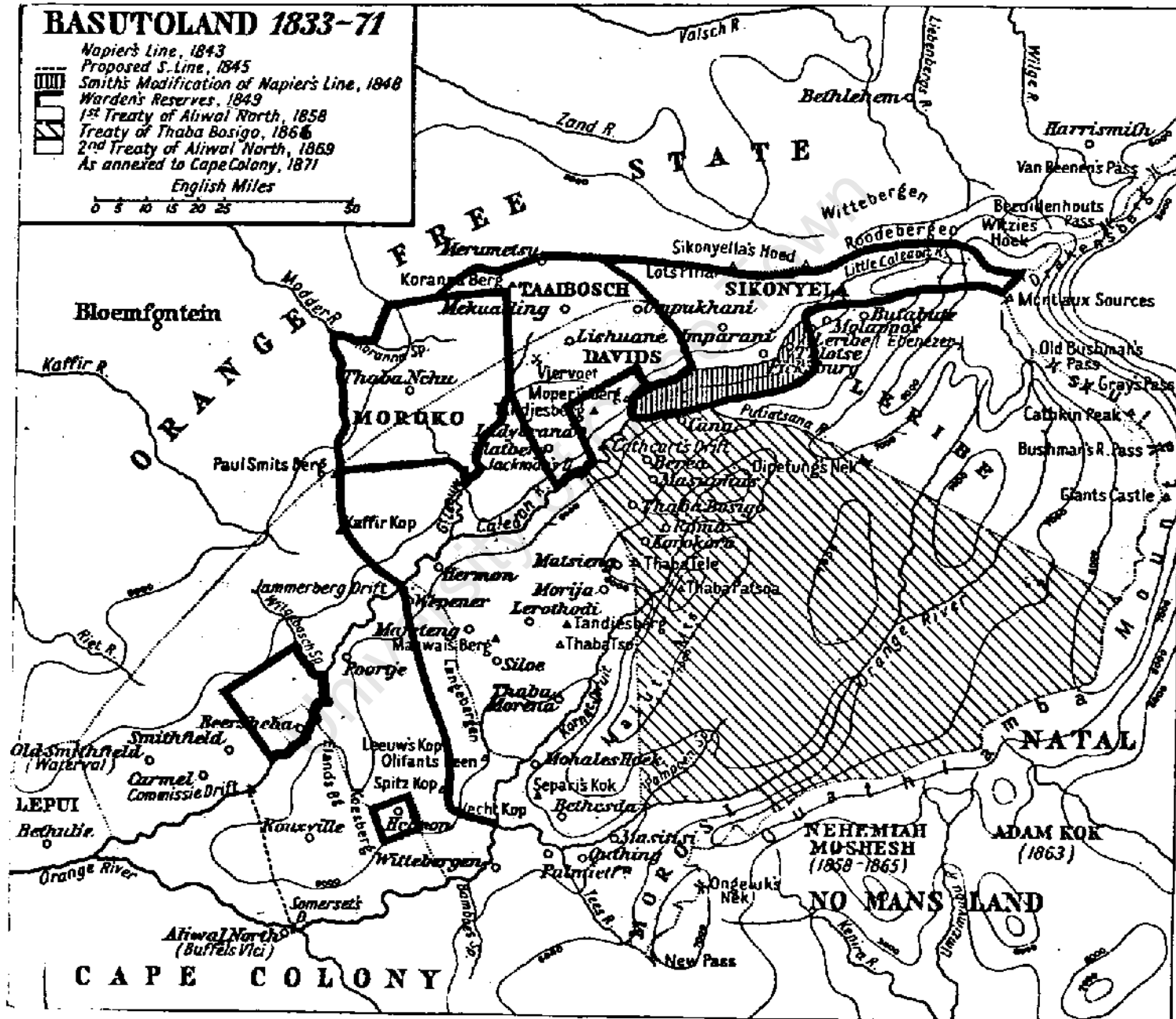
After having received a careful Christian training at school, these lads have been sent back to their homes to act as a leavening influence among their heathen relations, cut off, as they have necessarily been, from the ministrations of the Church, the seductions of heathenism have proved too powerful for most of them, and many have been driven, out of sheer anxiety to save their souls, to join the French Protestant Mission, and thus, have been lost to the Church, or, sad to say, have lapsed altogether into heathenism. (3)

BASUTOLAND 1833-71

Napier's Line, 1843
 Proposed S. Line, 1845
 Smith's Modification of Napier's Line, 1848
 Warden's Reserves, 1849
 1st Treaty of Aliwal North, 1858
 Treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 1866
 2nd Treaty of Aliwal North, 1869
 As annexed to Cape Colony, 1871

English Miles

0 5 10 15 20 25 30



George Tlali and Tsekelo Moshesh's Involvement in their Country's Affairs

George Tlali and Tsekelo Moshesh were among the former pupils of the Kafir College who strayed from the Anglican fold. George, who took many wives, was excommunicated. (4) But while the Church grieved at their failure to set a Christian example to their people, it was these selfsame sons of the Basuto ruler who were to play a leading part in shaping their country's destiny by very reason of the education which they had received at the Anglican Institution at the Cape.

The 1860's were a critical period in Basuto history. At successive stages, the Free State, Britain, Natal and the Cape, all laid claim to taking over control of the African territory. (5) During this crucial time, when negotiations between the contesting white parties and Basutoland were a deciding factor in determining the country's future, there were few Basuto who were able to read and write let alone understand a language other than their own. (6) And so it was that the four sons of Moshesh - George Tlali, Tsekelo, Nehemiah and Masupha (David) - who had attended school in the Cape Colony, were an invaluable aid to their father as diplomatic advisers and emissaries. But despite the advantages of their education, Theal maintained that none of them could touch Moshesh for intellect and ability. (7)

Even though George was censured by the Church for his lapse into heathen practices, his unswerving loyalty to Britain over the years did credit to his training at the Kafir College. According to his son, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, "the truly Imperial education" which had been given him by Sir George Grey at the Cape, had shown him "in every way, the power and justice of the British". (8) On his return to Basutoland he was given a position of considerable authority and trust as his father's secretary and diplomatic representative. (9) When war broke out between the Basuto and the Boers in 1865, George's pro-British sentiments came to the fore and he was said to be responsible for advising Moshesh to seek the help of the British. (10)

After three months of fighting, the Free State offered Moshesh terms of surrender. These the Basuto chief refused to accept. Instead, he sent a letter to Wodehouse asking for British protection. George was entrusted with this secret mission. Riding

through the mountains so as to evade detection by the enemy patrols, he managed to deliver the letter safely to Aliwal North.

(11) Britain, however, was not yet ready to reverse her imperial policy and acquire a new colony. Three years passed before Wodehouse finally acceded to Moshesh's repeated appeals to save him and his people from being "swallowed up" by the Boers, and annex Basutoland. (12)

Tsekelo, who had had the identical schooling to George, did not share his brother's high regard for the British tradition. Intelligent as he was, he used the skills acquired through his education to further his political ambitions. He became deeply involved in the intrigues which at that time kept his country in a continual state of conflict, both internally and externally, and shifted his loyalties with every change in the wind. Because of his devious politicking, Tsekelo is described by the Basuto historian, Tylden, as "a disreputable son of Moshesh", (13) While Atmore states that he was "one of the first members of the Sotho establishment to evince a restless ambition partially divorced both from his own society and from the alternative offered by the missionaries". (14) The same ambition, in fact, which had driven him as a boy to pester the missionaries into teaching him more. (15)

Like George, Tsekelo became one of his father's personal aides. But his double-dealing soon earned him a bad reputation. In addition, he was apparently "something of a playboy", (16) and it was not long before his womanizing landed him in hot water. Early in 1861 he had perforce to flee Basutoland in fear of his life, after having fallen out with his eldest brother, Letsie, over a widow's favours. Tsekelo, writing to Sir George Grey from his hide-out over the border in the Wittebergen Reserve (Herschel), claimed that Letsie had threatened to kill him because he always took the part of the English. He had had to escape as he believed that Moshesh was too afraid of Letsie to protect him. Tsekelo asked his former patron for protection and for some work. As evidence of his good faith, he passed on secret intelligence about the illegal gun-running activities between black and white in Basutoland, as well as information about the chiefs' schemes to fight the English and steal cattle. Tsekelo maintained that this was all going on with Moshesh's connivance. (17)

Joseph Orpen, however, had a different story to tell Sir George.

He reported that Tsekelo had had to leave the country because of his own ill-conduct. Furthermore, he had taken with him a party of followers and hundreds of horses and cattle. Orpen warned that Tsekelo was not to be trusted. Not only had he had a bad influence on his father, but he would also be more than ready to injure Moshesh in any way. (18) Be that as it may, Moshesh wrote to the Colonial authorities begging them to protect his errant son from harm. During his many months of exile, Tsekelo suffered much privation. When he eventually returned home, he was welcomed back like the legendary prodigal son, a feast being held in his honour. (19)

Tsekelo was frequently used as an emissary by his father, sometimes with regrettable results. After paying an official visit to Bloemfontein in February 1865, Tsekelo incurred the Free State farmers' wrath by driving off some of their horses on his return home. Forty horses were later recaptured by the Boers from his mountain stronghold. (20)

During the war, Tsekelo tried unsuccessfully to follow in the footsteps of his half-brother Molapo, and make a separate peace with the Free State. With the take-over of Basutoland by the British in 1868, Tsekelo's scope for political meddling was greatly enhanced. From this time on he took an ever-increasing lead in his country's diplomatic dealings with the different parties involved in the negotiations, and succeeded in stirring up trouble between them. According to Atmore, Tsekelo was initially used by Moshesh and Molapo to make contact with the authorities in Natal, and plead for annexation by that colony. Once Wodehouse moved to annex Basutoland to Britain, though, and took charge of Basuto affairs, "Tsekelo performed a 'volte face' of the kind that was to become typical of his sinuous diplomacy". (21)

A "Pitso" or national assembly was held at the foot of Thaba Bosiu in April 1868, to allow Wodehouse to announce the British Government's terms to the Basutos. (22) George and Tsekelo were prominent participants in the proceedings. (23) After Moshesh had formally surrendered his country to the Queen of England, both he and Letsie, encouraged by Tsekelo, requested that either the High Commissioner or the Cape should rule Basutoland rather than Natal. (24) This was a slap in the face for the Natal delegates who had come to the gathering with high expectations.

(25)

The land problem was seen as the main obstacle in the way of reaching a satisfactory agreement between Basutoland and the Free State. The boundaries, which had been moved a number of times in recent years, were the main bone of contention. Atmore maintains that it was at this stage that Tsekelo and his brothers first raised the demand "Basutoland for the Basutos". (26)

Tsekelo's Role as an Agitator

There was considerable delay before the parties concerned could agree on the delineation of the new boundary. It was only after protracted negotiations that the Free State finally agreed to the award of the land west of the Caledon, proposed by Wodehouse at Aliwal North in February 1869. The Boer gain was the Basuto loss, and the chiefs strenuously objected to ceding what had formerly been their tribal land. Their plotting and intrigues prolonged the settlement by another year. (27)

Tsekelo was one of the prime movers among the Basuto agitators who attempted to have the Ceded Territory restored to their country. (28) Once again, support was forthcoming from Natal, this colony being anxious to reassert its claim to administer Basutoland. Despite the fact that Moshesh predicted that a petition to the Queen would fail and insisted that Tsekelo should not be party to it, the chief's son was chosen as the Basuto delegate to accompany Buchanan, a Natal lawyer and newspaper editor, and Daumas, a French Protestant missionary resident in Natal, to England to elicit support for the Basutos' rights in the contested land claims. Their cause was enthusiastically taken up by the philanthropic movement, which included the missionary societies both in Britain and France. Although the Basuto deputation secured a strong public following, they were unable to sway the Government. The colonial authorities stood firmly behind Wodehouse and upheld his arrangements for the settlement. While in England, Tsekelo was afforded much acclaim, but in South Africa he was castigated by the colonists for his political activities. (29)

The Aliwal North convention was ultimately ratified in March 1870, a week after the death of Moshesh. The chief had long since ceased to wield much authority, but his sons had stayed loyal to their father, even in his old age. Letsie, who had acted as Regent and succeeded to the title of paramount chief, had neither Moshesh's personality nor his prowess. (30) Without white overrule, the

dissident chiefs would most probably soon have broken away. Instead, the never-ending struggle for power had now to be contained within the country. The new administrators inherited an uneasy peace in Basutoland.

At this critical point, Wodehouse retired as Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape. (31) Before his departure, in May 1870, he drew up a series of Regulations for the government of the Basuto. Even though these were accepted by the chiefs, with every protestation of loyalty, they were to be the cause of intense dissatisfaction. As the unrest in Basutoland gathered momentum, political agitators were held to blame. Theal alleges that the most dangerous of these "were the petty chiefs who had been partly educated in the Cape Colony, and who were filled with extravagant ideas of their own importance, but who were really incompetent to fill any position of trust". (32)

Depending on the standpoint, these so-called agitators could equally well have been described as the champions of their countrymen's cause. They were the educated spokesmen entrusted by their illiterate brethren to fight for their national rights in the face of alien government opposition. Annexation by no means automatically guaranteed that the Basutos would identify themselves with the views of their British masters. Many of them settled down uneasily under the unfamiliar yoke.

Even though Tsekelo's mission overseas was unsuccessful, he returned home fortified with promises of backing by a number of prominent Englishmen and soon began to foment further trouble among the chiefs. The authorities regarded his activities with the gravest suspicion. In an attempt to control a situation that was rapidly getting out of hand, Bowker, the High Commissioner's agent who had his headquarters in the new administrative capital of Maseru, was given authority to summarily expel or imprison agitators such as Tsekelo. (33) But this move merely succeeded in driving the intriguing underground.

Apart from their dissatisfaction over the land question, the chiefs were even more disturbed by the way in which Wodehouse's Regulations curtailed their powers. Their tribal rights were given little recognition. They were to become little more than tax collectors and census framers, their judicial authority being given to the white magistrates. Tsekelo and George Tlali joined

the ranks of those who were most vociferous in their complaints. They pleaded that the magistrates should only function in an advisory capacity and that the chiefs should retain the administration of their tribesmen's affairs. (34) But when Sir Henry Barkly, the new High Commissioner, visited Basutoland soon after assuming office early in 1871, the dissident chiefs put up a loyal front and agreed to accept the rules of government. (35)

The British Government ultimately decided to annex Basutoland to the Cape. Tsekelo and George Tlali were among those chiefs who formally agreed to the union. (36) With the advantages of their "Imperial education" theirs could have been a significant contribution to the development of their country under British rule. Bowker, however, was unwilling to use their services as he did not consider them trustworthy. In fact he complained that he was unable to obtain a single reliable black interpreter although there were by then more than three thousand Basuto who could read their own language. (37) No matter that the administration lacked confidence in them, George Tlali and Tsekelo still continued to be spokesmen for their people. They both regularly took part in the annual gathering of chiefs, a kind of Parliament held in conference with the magistrates at Maseru. (38)

The Anglicans Make a Belated Entry into Basutoland

The war had put paid to all missionary activity in Basutoland. Following the establishment of law and order, the French Protestant missionaries resumed work with renewed vigour, their efforts now being concentrated on improving the educational facilities in the country. (39) But even as their schools and missions flourished, so also did a new movement flower within their fold which threatened to lead to a breakaway by some of their black members. The agitation began at the station at Hermon, where one hundred and fifty Basuto converts rejected their missionary's control and resolved to make their own church regulations. This attempt by Africans to develop an indigenous Church, independent of European control, was one of the first stirrings of what was later to become known as the Ethiopian movement. The rebel converts were eventually persuaded to rejoin the parent body but the blacks' desire for religious independence was only temporarily deferred. (40)

Once Basutoland became part of the British Empire, the Anglicans renewed their efforts to see their Church established there. Apart from the call to evangelize the heathen, there was now a growing number of their own flock who were in need of ministration. With the advent of British rule, a body of white colonists had entered the country and put down roots. (41) Many of the traders, shopkeepers, policemen, magistrates and other officials, had brought their families with them. All were in need of pastoral care. Besides which the Church felt deeply concerned about the fate of the chiefs' sons whom she had educated at Zonnebloem and had then been forced to abandon on their return home. Bishop West Jones, who succeeded Bishop Gray as Metropolitan in 1874, made an urgent appeal for provision to be made for these neglected and sorely tried Anglican Basutos, so many of whom, unable to withstand the temptations of tribal social customs had lapsed into polygamous unions. (42) The Church had work aplenty, but the diocese of Bloemfontein had neither the necessary funds nor the manpower with which to enter this field.

Meanwhile the difficulty of finding men to man the remote and isolated posts in the Free State had inspired the bishop to plan a missionary brotherhood. The newly established Society of St. Augustine got off the ground in 1867 when Canon Beckett, its superior, and six brethren arrived from England. (43) The missionary community were first stationed at Thaba 'Nchu because the farm which the bishop had bought for them at Modderpoort lay in the much disputed "Conquered Territory". This land, which had recently been ceded to the Free State, had been re-occupied by the Basuto during the war. (44) The Brotherhood were only able to take possession of their property in 1869. They then made their first home in a large cave on the farm.

The brethren had stayed at Zonnebloem on their way through Cape Town, and, anxious about the lot of the past pupils of the College, who were living in Basutoland, made strenuous efforts to contact them. (45) One former student, a lapsed Christian, interrupted a journey in order to visit the community while they were still at Thaba 'Nchu. When questioned about his backsliding, this chief's son pleaded that he had taken two wives just to please his father. He got short shrift from Canon Beckett, however, and after being admonished the young man retired much crestfallen, if not repentent.

Without support from their Church for so many years, it is hardly surprising that so few Anglican Basuto converts had managed to stay the course. Apollos Moperi was one of the exceptions. The brethren rejoiced when he visited them at their new headquarters at Modderpoort, for this Zonnebloem old boy had taken only one wife and had remained a Christian despite endless trials and tribulations. Apollos was the son of Chief Moperi. Before the war his tribe had occupied the very land on which the Brotherhood were now living. His people had been forced to leave their home in the "Conquered Territory". Carrying their corn and herding their small flocks of sheep and goats, they had crossed the Caledon river in search of new pastures. After suffering much privation on their long trek, they had ultimately settled at Harrismith. The faithful Apollos had now come to ask the Brotherhood to establish a mission among his people. (46)

An itinerating chaplain was eventually appointed in 1875 to care for the scattered congregation of the English Church in Basutoland. Because of the long distances which he had to cover, he could only hold infrequent services at the outlying kraals and villages. The S.P.G. finally came to the rescue the following year by providing funds for the founding of a Mission in the new British colony.

The first Anglican station was established in the northernmost part of Basutoland on land granted the Church at Thlotse Heights in the Leribe district. (47) This was in the tribal territory of Chief Molapo. Jonathan, the chief's eldest son had recently returned home after completing a year's schooling at Zonnebloem. He could read and write, speak a little English, and was pro-British. He welcomed the coming of the Anglican missionaries to his country. (48) But no matter that the chief's son and heir gave the mission his support, his fellow tribesmen were not easily persuaded to give up their superstitions and customs. The Rev. Widdicombe reported that the greatest resistance came from the women. He related how one of them had told a Christian friend that she was not a mealie, to be wetted first and bruised afterwards. She was comparing conversion to the customary preparation of maize prior to cooking. She likened the "wetting" to Baptism, while the bruising in a mortar was compared with the discipline of the Cross. (49)

George Tlali Fights for the Government in the War of the Guns

The Basuto troubles were not yet over. The pioneer Anglican Mission had barely got under way when its work was brought to a halt by the outbreak of war in 1880. (50) "The Basutoland Rebellion", more usually known as "The War of the Guns", was, according to Theal, "the most formidable attempt ever made by the natives in South Africa to throw off European supremacy". (51)

The Rebellion was triggered off by the authorities' attempts to enforce disarmament. Sir Bartle Frere, who had taken over from Sir Henry Barkly as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape, (52) was not unnaturally alarmed at the spread of fire-arms among Africans. After the Ninth Kafir War, he decided that the only solution to the perpetual problem of maintaining peaceful co-existence between the Cape Colony and the tribes under its control, was for the colonial Africans to give up their arms. This move had the full support of the Cape Premier, Mr. Gordon Sprigg. The Cape Parliament was duly persuaded to pass the "Peace Preservation Act" in 1878. (53)

The Basuto chief, Moorosi (Morosi), was the first to react against the ruling, and rebel. After defying the local magistrate, he took refuge in his mountain stronghold. The Government decided to make an example of him, but it took the colonial forces six months to subdue this lone uprising.

Letsie tried to organize resistance by peaceful means, petitioning the Queen to intercede on the Basutos' behalf. But to no avail, and April 1880 was fixed as the deadline for disarmament. At the same time Sprigg heaped coal on the fire by doubling the hut tax, in an attempt to raise funds to cover the cost of government military action against Moorosi. This was the last straw as far as most of the Basuto were concerned.

Jeremiah and George Tlali were among the few chiefs who agreed to the Government's demands, directing their followers to hand in their guns. (54) The majority of the chiefs, however, refused to disarm, in flagrant defiance of white authority. Whereas Britain had taken over the government of a subdued nation, the Basuto had in the interim recovered their strength, the chiefs, their self-confidence. Feelings already ran high among them for they resented the many new regulations which had reduced their

authority. In a bid to regain their former power, the rebel chiefs managed to forget their disputes and jealousies, and presented a comparatively united front against the Government.

The war was a sorry spectacle, the mixed colonial forces proving unequal to the guerilla tactics of the rebel chiefs. George Tlali and Jonathan both sided with the Government, fighting as "Loyalists". According to George's son, his father "did not forget what the British had done for his country. He felt that he could not turn against them, so he refused to join the rest of his countrymen and helped the British". (55) George led the Loyalists in the Maseru area. With his band of Basuto police, he helped in the defence of the capital. (56) Jonathan was put in charge of a force of mounted Basuto troops and gave valiant service in the field. (57)

After nearly eight months of action, both sides agreed to accept the arbitration of the newly arrived High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson. In his award, announced in April 1881, he dealt lightly with the rebels. Total disarmament was replaced by a new ruling which required the Basuto to register and license their guns. The authorities, however, had no way of enforcing this law and it was lightly regarded. No territory was confiscated and the payment of fines of cattle, as compensation to the traders and Loyalists for their losses, was of little consequence. Although the Basuto had been unable to drive the whites from their country, they had nevertheless shown their strength, and theirs was the psychological victory. It was palpably clear that the colonial forces were far too small to keep control in Basutoland. Years of anarchy followed as a consequence. (58)

The Cape Government was unable to restore order and the responsibility for the administration of Basutoland was eventually transferred back to the Imperial Government in 1884. The unhappy marriage of colonies had lasted fourteen years. Following their "divorce", the African territory became a British Dependency. (59)

George Tlali Pleads the Cause of the Loyal Chiefs after the War

A tragic result of the Gun War was the plight of the loyal chiefs. Not only had they lost all their land and their possessions, but they had also become alienated from their fellow countrymen who had fought on the rebel side. The terms of the Governor's award,

and more particularly the state of affairs in the country which prevented the award from being enforced, had placed the loyal chiefs in an unenviable position. They understandably felt very bitter about the price which they had had to pay for their allegiance, maintaining that the Government had broken all its promises and had left them in the lurch. George Tlali, acting as their spokesman at a Conference called by the authorities at Maseru in August 1881, gave voice to their deep resentment. (60)

In his speech, George recounted how at the call of the Queen, he, with the other loyal chiefs, their headmen and their followers, had given up their guns, had left all their property behind them, and had gone to Maseru, where they had been promised Government protection. But when they had arrived at Maseru, they had found that the Government, instead of being able to protect them, expected to be protected by them. They had had to fight for their lives and for the lives of the white men against their own brethren and against men of their own race and tribe. - "And now what could they think of a peace by which the rebels obtained all they chose to ask for, whereas the loyals lost everything they were possessed of ?" (61)

The rebel chiefs had gained the victory and were flushed with pride. They had beaten the Queen's troops and no longer feared the strength of the British Government. The award meant nothing for the authorities had not the courage to insist upon the terms being carried out.

It was like this, (said George). The Basuto had refused to obey the Queen, the Queen had taken a little switch and threatened to beat the rebellious children, but the children had turned round, taken up big sticks, and thrashed their mother, and then the mother had said 'It is all right now, you can keep your big sticks
(62)

George marvelled that the white men did not feel the shame and dishonour of being beaten by rebels. He did not wish the tribe to be destroyed, but he believed that the Basuto nation's salvation depended on the rebels being so punished that they would see and feel that the Queen was stronger than the chiefs. Instead of which, the Government had given in to the rebels. Furthermore, it had abandoned the loyalists to their mercy. No matter that Tsekelo, in his speech, had talked of friendship and peace with the rebels, the Basuto people generally would never forgive the

loyalists for their part in the fighting. The Government could not guarantee them protection and they would never be able to live peaceably or safely in their homeland.

George Leads his Clan Away from Basutoland

Considering George's sentiments, it is hardly surprising that he did not wish to remain in Basutoland after the war. He caused the Governor's Agent, Orpen, many a headache, refusing even to be re-settled in the district of Quthing in the south. He finally agreed to accept an offer of land in East Griqualand, and led his clan over the border to their new home in the district of Matatiele in 1882. Because "the Good Queen" had seen fit to compensate him for the loss which he had incurred in helping her people, George named his new location Queen's Mercy - the name which it holds to this day. (63)

Queen's Mercy was situated near St. Paul's station, an outpost of the Matatiele Mission in the Diocese of St. John's. Even though George was excommunicate from the Church on account of his many wives, he had asked that he should be granted land close to the mission so that his family could be brought within the power of the training, the civilizing, the religious, and the educational influences of the place. (64)

George's Family Keep Up the Zonnebloem Tradition

George paid a memorable visit to Zonnebloem in 1901. He was one of a party of African chiefs who had come to Cape Town to celebrate the Royal Visit to South Africa of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Warden of Zonnebloem, the Rev. Parkhurst, (65) invited a number of the chiefs to the College, including Chief George Moshesh. This eminent old boy made a speech in which he gave some interesting reminiscences of his student days, forty-four years past. He then introduced his two sons, Joseph and Daniel, whom he wished to have admitted to the College, saying that "Zonnebloem was a good pot out of which many good mealies had come, and in order to help keep the pot full he had brought two more mealies". (66) The young men, aged eighteen and sixteen respectively, were much abashed at the interested attention which their father's remarks focussed on them. (67) It is recorded that at the time of the Zonnebloem Jubilee in 1908, George, who was still resident at Queen's Mercy, was the oldest living Old Zonn.

The Zonnebloem tradition was continued to the second generation for George's son and heir, Jeremiah, sent his eldest son to the College in January 1916. (68) Whereas George Tlali had been one of the first pupils to enter the Kafir College, his grandson, also named George, had the distinction of being one of the last Africans to study there. After spending four and a half years at Zonnebloem, he was sent to Johannesburg for training in Administration. He then worked at the Vogelstruisbult Gold Mine in Springs as Chief Induna for the Sesuto (Sesotho) speaking people. This George took over the Chieftainship in Matatiele after the death of his father in 1952. Nine years later he was in turn succeeded on his death by his eldest son Jeremiah. When the Transkei got self-government in 1963, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh was elected Minister of the Interior. He has held this post up to the present day. (69)

The Career of Alexander Maama, Son of Letsie

It must not be forgotten that Alexander Ramatasi Maama, son of Letsie, had entered Zonnebloem in 1868. He spent nearly four years at the College, returning to Basutoland at the beginning of 1872. (70) By then his father had succeeded Moshesh as Paramount Chief and he ranked high in the Basuto hierarchy. Information concerning his subsequent career has been obtained from his son Azarias Theko Maama Letsie. (71) This biographical evidence shows clearly that because of his education Maama was singled out by successive Paramount Chiefs to render important service to his country.

Maama's ward, now called Pope, was not far from the Roman Catholic mission at Roma. (72) Although the chief's son was baptized at Zonnebloem, it appears that in the absence of the Anglican Church he soon became converted to Catholicism. His family was brought up in this faith too.

A few years after his return home, Maama earned the reputation of being a prophet. The story goes that in 1879, he predicted the fate that would befall his father's country after Letsie I had obeyed the Governor's command to assist the Cape troops in fighting Moorosi at his "Strong Natural Fortress". Maama was loathe to lend his aid for he foresaw that no sooner had the colonial forces defeated Moorosi than the Cape would claim war against the Basuto - a prediction that proved all too true.

During the years of unrest in Basutoland, this "Ambitious young chief" saw his share of action in the field. Following the peaceful settlement of the country by the British administration, Maama was ordered by his father to go to the Witwatersrand to supervise the Basuto miners on the goldfields at Germiston. No sooner had he taken up duty than the miners went on strike, claiming that they were being underpaid for their hard labour contrary to the agreements laid down in their contract. Maama was persuaded by the Basuto strikers to be their "Mouth Piece". The mine management refused to grant the workers the increase for which they had asked and Maama was arrested by the Transvaal Government, accused of being an agitator. He only spent one night in custody, though, for a young British prison warder helped him and a headman to escape. A European friend spirited them away by car, and after driving through the night they reached the safety of their home in Basutoland.

In 1896 an outbreak of the "Cattle Plague", more commonly known as rinderpest, swept through South Africa killing off cattle by the thousand. Because of his skill as an interpreter, Maama was elected to assist a team of European specialists in vaccinating the surviving animals in Basutoland. By means of this inoculation campaign and a system of isolation, the remnants of the herds were saved.

Lerotholi became Paramount Chief on the death of his father in 1891. Although there was said to be much jealousy between Lerotholi and his younger half brother, (73) he nonetheless chose Maama as his adviser in all matters of tribal dispute. This included deciding the seniority in each clan, and the demarcation of boundaries between chiefs as well as headmen. The most famous dispute which continued over many years was that between Molapo's two sons, Jonathan and Joel, in the respective districts of Leribe and Butha Buthe. After much bloodshed, Maama was called upon by Lerotholi and the Resident Commissioner (74) to lead the arbitration delegation. There was a revival of the same dispute in 1920. Maama was again called upon to arbitrate, his experience in the matter being an invaluable aid in arriving at a satisfactory settlement. This time there was little bloodshed.

During the late 1890's, Maama was himself involved in a dispute with his half brother Bereng Letsie I. (75) the controversy con-

cerned the cattle posts and pasturage at Makhalanang (Little Cornet Spruit). Lerotholi sent his most trusted messenger, Mahe, supposedly as an arbitrator. But as he was accompanied by five hundred mounted Basuto who were "armed to the teeth", and was not identified by a white flag as a "Man of Peace", it was suspected that this was a clever ruse of Lerotholi's to aid his brother Bereng by sending him additional forces in the guise of mediators. In the skirmish that followed, Mahe was killed. Maama was held to blame because he had been present at the clash while Bereng had not. The Resident Commissioner, Sir Godfrey Lagden, (76) imposed a stiff fine of two thousand cattle, to be fulfilled within three days, and also confiscated two hundred square miles of Maama's tribal territory. Sir Godfrey maintained that Maama had become too powerful : he owned an immense area of land and had a huge following, and so he decided that "the best Remedy was to cut the points of the Bull which gores others". (77)

After Lerotholi's death in 1905, Maama continued to act as adviser to his two nephews who reigned successively as Paramount Chief - Letsie II from 1905 to 1913, and his brother Griffith who succeeded him. (78) In 1919, the twenty-two Principal chiefs of Basutoland, with Griffith at their head and accompanied by the Resident Commissioner, (79) went to England "to Exalt His Majesty George V for his Victory over the Germans in Europe and Africa". Maama took a leading part in the proceedings for besides being the oldest of all the Principal chiefs, he was also the most fluent in English.

Maama's son recalls that his father is still remembered by his family and followers for his fondness for quoting English poetry. He was often heard reciting "The Assyrians came down like a wolf on the fold", in particular. His people called him an African Englishman. The Zonnebloem tradition was carried on in Maama's family too. In 1916 he sent three of his sons - Julius, Edmund and Azarias Theko - to the College for a year's study. Their cousins, . Elias, Stephen and George Moshesh, from Matatiele were fellow students. (80)

2. Chiefs' Feud and Church Conflict in the Barolong Country Moroka's Anglican Sons Promote their Church in Thaba 'Nchu

In contrast to their Basuto College companions, the two Anglican sons of Moroka had the continued support of the Church on their

return home, and were thus enabled to resist the temptations of heathen custom to which so many of their Basuto counterparts soon succumbed. Through their friendship with the missionary, George Mitchell, Samuel and George were able to take up the threads of tribal life while still retaining contact with the Western world. Furthermore, Mitchell's constant vigilance ensured that they kept to the Church's straight and narrow way. Both chief's sons maintained an active interest in the work of St. Augustine's station, and over the years were instrumental in persuading many of their followers to join the Anglican Church.

Hezekiah, a member of the Barolong tribe who left Zonnebloem in 1865, joined the staff of St. Augustine's station on his return to Thaba 'Nchu. (81) Four years later Bishop Gray was pleased to inform Wodehouse that he was most satisfied with the Barolong graduates' conduct as Christians among their own people. (82)

The coming of the brethren of the Society of St. Augustine greatly extended the Anglican outreach in the Barolong territory. At the same time, the work of the mission was much facilitated by the acquisition of a hand operated printing press. After concentrating on spelling primers and prayer books for a start, the missionaries could soon boast of a prolific output of Serolong translations.

The Anglican mission at Thaba 'Nchu grew apace. Ten years after the founding of the station, the converts numbered three hundred, of which one hundred were communicants. (83) The Wesleyans, however, resented this steady encroachment in what had long been their sole province and there was considerable friction between the competing societies. Chief Moroka, dismayed by the dissension between the two groups of Christians, gave this as his reason for remaining a heathen, though he continued to support the Wesleyans. Samuel and George were anxious for their father to be baptized. But, as Moroka explained to the visiting historian, James Anthony Froude, in 1874 :

I say to them, Christians here, (pointing to the Wesleyan station) and Christians there, (pointing to the Anglican monks). Christians there won't speak to Christians here. When one of them has converted the other, it will be time to come to me.
(84)

Nonetheless Moroka had only one wife at the time of his death,

having allowed the other wives to become Christians. He was eventually baptized by the Wesleyan minister the morning before he died. (85)

The alienation between the Anglicans and the Wesleyans was aggravated still further by the dispute over the succession to the chieftainship. Sadly, the intrusion by the Church bodies into Barolong politics caused a cleavage in the tribe, for the rival factions in the dispute took sides according to their religious affiliation. The resultant conflict between the supporters of the two missions very nearly led to civil war, the climax being the annexation of the Barolong territory by the Free State, which spelled doom to the chieftdom.

Anglican Support for Samuel in the Disputed Succession

The Anglicans championed Samuel's claim to the chieftainship while the Wesleyans supported Tsepinare, (86) even though he was a heathen. Samuel believed himself to be the legal heir for he was the sole surviving son of Ma-Tod, the "right hand" wife of Moroka. Tsepinare, on the other hand, was an adopted son, being the grandson of Chief Tawana of the Tshidi clan. He had, however, been accepted by the tribe as Regent during the closing years of Moroka's life. In addition, the old chief had actually nominated him as successor on at least one occasion at the Tribal Assembly; but this had never been officially settled. (87) When Moroka died in April 1880 without publicly naming his heir, the disputed succession was at once the cause of strife.

Tsepinare took the reigns of power into his hands, claiming the chieftainship as the natural consequence of the Regency in which Moroka had placed him. But Samuel had the support of a large and influential party, and his followers clamoured for his rights. Months of wrangling followed. Tsepinare made a conciliatory move to the Anglican faction by presenting their mission with the gift of a farm and money for a boarding school. (88) Samuel was not reconciled though. He claimed that Tsepinare had not afforded the tribe the opportunity for naming the new chief as required by tribal law. Matters were brought to a head at the beginning of June when a meeting which had been convened by Samuel's supporters, was forcibly dispersed by Tsepinare's henchmen. (89) News of the fracas called forth a remonstrance on the part of

President Brand of the Free State. The Boer Republic surrounded the Barolong territory on all sides, and the Free State administrator had been watching the struggle for power in his country's midst with growing concern. There had always been peace between the neighbouring states. Moroka had been a trusted ally of the Boers, and had sent a force of mounted tribesmen to aid them in their first war against the Basuto. During his long rule, the Barolong chief had retained strict control over his people. There had been none of the usual friction, marked by cattle stealing forays, which was the norm in other parts of South Africa where black and white lived cheek by jowl. Brand feared the consequences of the present Barolong political upheaval and offered to mediate between the disputing parties.

Samuel and Tsepinare ultimately consented to submit their respective cases to a formal court of arbitration presided over by Brand. The Free State President, after due consideration of the evidence before him, decided in favour of Tsepinare. At the same time he pleaded that they should let bygones be bygones, and that a conciliatory policy should be pursued towards the losing side.

(90)

When the result of the arbitration was known, Samuel and his people decided to leave the country and seek a settlement elsewhere in the interior. Their removal was delayed, however, and in the interim the relations between the opposing factions deteriorated fast, both sides complaining of provocation. Tsepinare, who had enlisted a number of white men on his side, determined on taking a firm stand. Samuel's most prominent followers were ordered to leave the country within a given time. When they failed to comply, Tsepinare sent his forces to arrest them in the outlying villages. Fighting took place and Samuel's men, taken by surprise, were unable to offer much resistance. At least a dozen of them were killed in the encounters and the rest were soon put to flight. Samuel and his adherents took refuge in the Free State. On President Brand's insistence, Tsepinare sent them their oxen, wagons and other possessions but he published an edict forbidding their return.

Because of his long standing friendship with Samuel, Mitchell was regarded by Tsepinare and his followers with the utmost suspicion. The Anglican missionary had maintained a keen interest

in Samuel's welfare ever since their student days together at Canterbury, which was nigh on twenty years; and Mitchell was known to have sympathized with his friend in his struggle to gain the chieftainship. Their friendship was considered by Tsepinare's advisers as being nothing short of active partizanship. Only hours after Samuel had been driven from Thaba 'Nchu, Mitchell was served with an expulsion order.

The missionary was charged with having instigated Samuel's supposed resistance to President Brand's award. Mitchell publicly denied this accusation and asked that his recent conduct should be investigated so that he could have the opportunity of proving his innocence. He claimed that his interference had been confined to the occasional restraint of hasty and unwise activities. But Tsepinare refused to relent. Mitchell was given forty-eight hours to quit the place, and he joined the brethren at Modderpoort.

Mitchell's expulsion from the station, without being given the chance of publicly clearing his name, was a severe setback to the Anglican mission. Despite the Bishop of Bloemfontein's protests, Tsepinare adamantly refused to allow the missionary to return. The chief, however, disclaimed all hostility towards the Church itself, maintaining that his action against Mitchell was purely a personal matter. He asked for a replacement, to take charge of St. Augustine's station. (91) When the Anglicans resumed work at Thaba 'Nchu, Tsepinare was as good as his word, showing the missionaries much kindness and going out of his way to give them aid. (92)

Assassination, Anarchy and Annexation

Following his banishment from his country, Samuel made several attempts to challenge the justice of President Brand's arbitration. He appealed in turn to the leading authorities in South Africa and England, asking them to recognize the validity of his claim to the chieftainship and to come to his assistance. When the Volksraad in the Free State rejected his first appeal, he went to Cape Town to seek the sympathy of the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch. But no help was forthcoming from this quarter either, and so Samuel went to England to make a final plea to the British Government. Once again he met with no success. Samuel had to resign himself to exile. On his return to South Africa, he took his people to live in Basutoland. (93)

Meanwhile Tsepinare had proved to be an able and considerate leader who showed a desire for his peoples' advancement in civilization. He soon established diplomatic relations with President Brand, and a Treaty of *Amity* was signed between the Barolong and the Free State on August 5, 1883. Tsepinare's position, however, was insecure from the start. A considerable number of tribesmen had followed Samuel into exile and the allegiance of many of the remainder was questionable. Although things seemed peaceful on the surface, there was conspiracy underfoot and a plot was hatched to overthrow Tsepinare. The showdown came on July 10, 1884, when Samuel and his band of supporters made a surprise attack at day-break on the Paramount Chief's kraal. After escaping from his burning hut, Tsepinare put up a desperate fight for his life. But he was finally killed. (94)

The assassination of Tsepinare did little to resolve the feud over the succession, though, for the majority of the Barolong people refused to accept Samuel as the new Paramount Chief. It is interesting to speculate as to whether his Western cultural background and Christian beliefs might have been partly responsible for this opposition. Be that as it may, the political crisis in the Barolong territory posed a serious threat to the safety of the Free State. The Boers feared that if the present anarchy should develop into civil war, the Basuto would most probably intervene. The Barolong country was not far from the Basuto border and the Boers believed that the restless Basuto chiefs, reluctant British subjects that they were, would seize the opportunity to occupy Thaba 'Nchu, so reclaiming land that had once belonged to Moshesh. (95) This would then give them a central base from which to raid the Free State.

And so when the Barolong people approached President Brand for help in subduing Samuel, the Free State administrator responded with alacrity. An armed commando promptly surrounded Thaba 'Nchu, and the chiefdom was proclaimed Free State territory by the President on the same day. (96) The argument used to justify this drastic step was that annexation was the only solution, there being no Barolong government capable of keeping law and order. One lone dissenting voice in the Volksraad tried to protest against the Free State's unfair treatment of her African allies, but found no support. The Boers were delighted with this unexpected

gain of much coveted land. (97)

The greater part of the Barolong territory, which totalled 400,000 morgen in extent, was parcelled out to white farmers. The tribesmen were assigned a miserly 24,289 morgen for their Reserve. (98) The new district of the Free State was named Moroka. A resident Landdrost took over the administration, supplanting the Chief's authority. (99)

The tragic consequence of Samuel's bid for the Barolong chieftainship was that his country lost its independence, his people, most of their land as well as the freedom to live their own way of life. As a result of annexation, the Barolong entered a new phase in their history :

Their tribal life received a stunning blow and check, partly from the new restraints of a dull foreign yoke, partly from a latent struggle of divided loyalties to the new and old regime, and partly from the universal fear, hatred and suspicion that necessarily subsisted between the sympathizers of Tsepinare's cause and the followers of Samuel. (100)

The interests of the Anglican mission to the Barolong were inextricably interwoven with Samuel's political manoeuvrings. Nonetheless the Church managed to weather the storm. Once order had been established under the new government, Thaba 'Nchu became the centre of a rapidly expanding mission field. (101)

Samuel's Contact with the Anglican Church during his Exile

With the take over of their country by the Free State, Samuel and his party had no choice but to surrender. They were taken to Bloemfontein to stand trial for the murder of Tsepinare but were eventually discharged by the Courts on the ground of want of jurisdiction, Thaba 'Nchu having been an independent territory at the time of the assassination. (102) Ordered to leave the Free State, Samuel first took his people to Kimberley. They finally settled in Basutoland, however, at Khunoana. (103)

The exiled band of Barolong Anglicans were visited by the Rev. Bevan in 1886. The priest reported that the outlaws had suffered very severe losses as the price of their loyalty to Samuel. They were still very restless, too, and full of political schemes. Bevan likened them to the Cavaliers who had followed King James II into exile. They had been without a priest for five years and

had not kept up with their Church services, the majority having gone over to the Wesleyans and Independents among whom they now lived. Despite their difficulties, though, hardly one of them had lapsed into heathenism. Bevan found that since they had fallen away from Anglican teaching and practices through force of circumstances, they were quite willing to be brought back into their old ways, and he remained with them for three months. (104)

At some time during the late 1880's, Samuel moved his people to Kolo, a tract of country lying between the Kolo mountains and the Caledon River. (105) The Bishop of the Free State visited them there in 1893 and was given a rousing reception. Samuel organized an escort of eighty horsemen to accompany the Bishop's carriage to the village. The road was lined with cheering tribesmen all along the way. But the Barolong were still very unsettled. They had put down no roots in Basutoland, and had neither chapel nor school. (106) A Morolong, who had been a Reader at Thaba 'Nchu, took the services regularly but they only had infrequent visits from a mission schoolmaster. (107)

For all Samuel's loyal Anglican fervour, he was at that time outside the Church having been excommunicated after taking a second wife. Without his friend Mitchell to guide him, the chief had finally given in to pressure from his tribesmen. When, in 1895, he nearly died of dysentery, his illness apparently stirred up some feelings of remorse, if not repentance, within him and he announced his intention of putting the second woman away. As she was a Christian and wished to be freed, the deed was soon accomplished. (108)

Georges becomes a Penitent

George had been allowed to remain at Thaba 'Nchu as he had not been involved in the political dramas. But even though he had stayed within reach of the Anglican Church, he had also taken a second wife, a heathen, and had therefore had to forfeit all Christian privileges. George, like his brother Samuel, was troubled by his conscience. After the death of his first lawful wife, he confessed that he had been brought to his senses and had seen his sin and danger. When his second wife was baptized a short while later, he asked if he might be received back into the Church. He was publicly admitted as a penitent the day his wife was confirmed. (109)

Penitence as prescribed by the Church was a demeaning discipline for a chief to have to undergo. A public example was made of George's disgrace. He had to take his place in the back pews of the Church with the other penitents and leave after the sermon. He was not allowed to be present at Communion, having been suspended from this sacrament because of his sin. The priest had to be satisfied with the fruits of his repentance before he could be readmitted as a Christian, and he was only given public absolution after the communicants in the congregation had given their approval. (110)

Illness proved to be a salutary warning to the two Barolong chiefs to repent of their wrongdoing : the polygamous union prohibited by the Church. With the approach of death, they both became conscience stricken about their failure to live according to the Christian rule which they had learnt at College, thirty-five years past. After due repentance, Samuel and George were welcomed back into the Anglican fold. But the story of their never-ending struggle to be assimilated into conflicting cultures at one and the same time, reveals the many tensions to which the Zonnebloem educated sons of chiefs were continually exposed while trying to make their careers among their own people. They were constantly torn between the demands of the new way of life and the old, between the expectations of the Western world and the pull of tribal custom, between the mores of Christianity and the traditional heathen practices. Their efforts to keep a foot in both camps were bound to fail for neither side would ever be satisfied with half measures. Furthermore, the conflict in Samuel's personality was reflected in the conflict which he precipitated in his homeland, both between his countrymen and between the Churches working there. The end of the Barolong chieftainship was the inevitable conclusion.

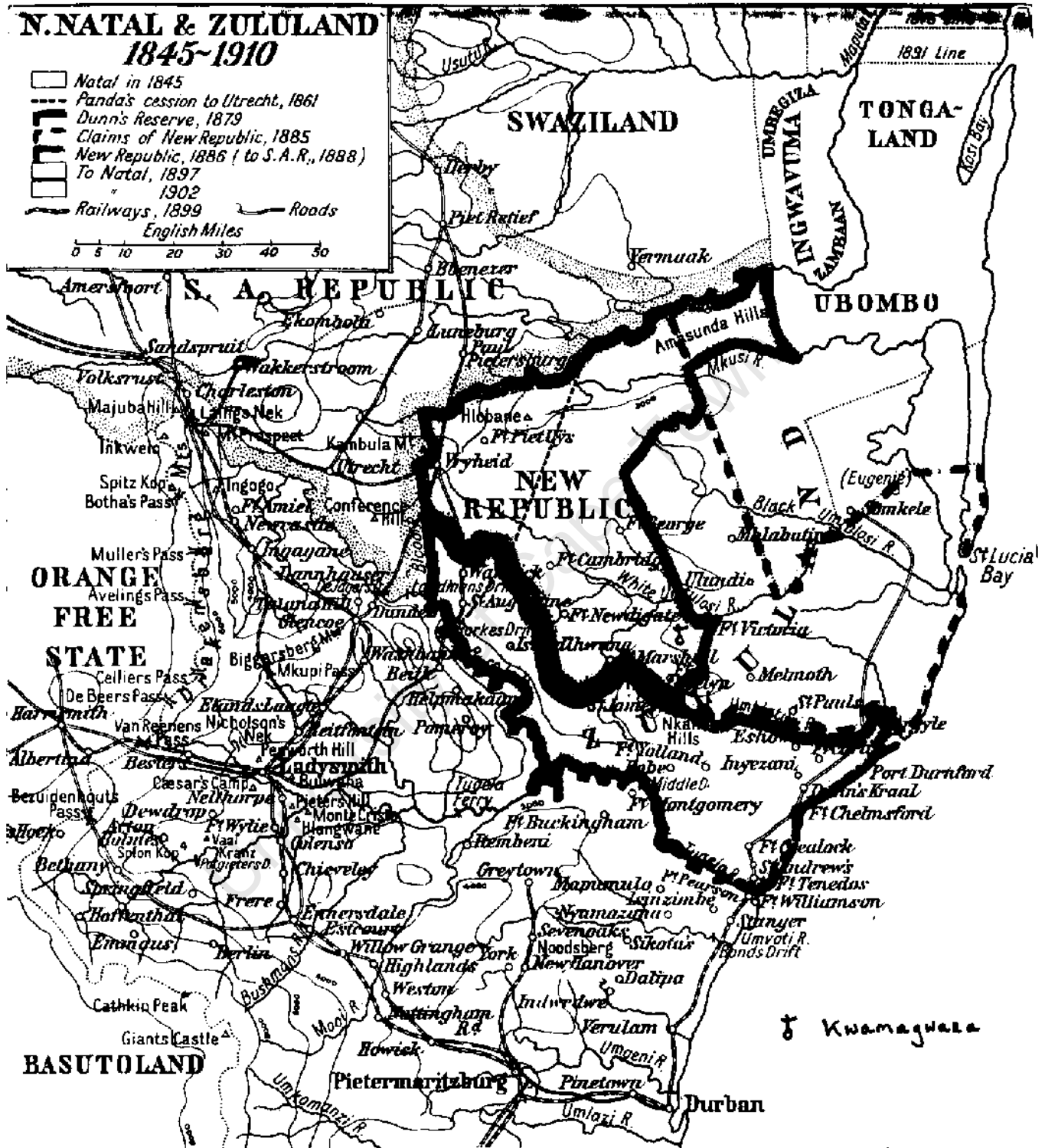
3. The Trio from Zululand Return to the Mission Field

The trio from Zululand left Zonnebloem at the end of 1870, having spent four years at the College. Their return to the mission at Kwamagwaza was eagerly awaited by their sponsors. Since infancy their education had been planned to prepare them for the pioneer black ministry in Zululand; and their English benefactors, who had financed their many years of training, were hopeful that they would soon be found fitting to be ordained for the diaconate.(111)

N. NATAL & ZULULAND 1845-1910

- Natal in 1845
- Panda's cession to Utrecht, 1861
- Dunn's Reserve, 1879
- Claims of New Republic, 1885
- New Republic, 1886 (to S.A.R., 1888)
- To Natal, 1897
- " 1902
- Railways, 1899
- Roads

English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50



But their careers in the service of the Church were something of a disappointment as they never realized the high expectations that had been held out for them. Even though they worked faithfully for many years in the mission field as catechists and teachers, not one of them was considered to be suitable material for the ministry. It is difficult to pinpoint their shortcomings. There was never any serious criticism of their conduct, as was the case with so many of the Kafir teachers. Yet they failed to achieve the goal for which they had been groomed. Their apparent inadequacy gives rise to speculation as to whether the type of education which they had received was in fact a suitable preparation for the work for which they were needed.

The hopes of the Zululand mission as regards its proteges were frustrated from the start for Billy Fea, the half-caste orphan, was the only one of the three to settle at the station which had promoted their further education. Hali Abraham had barely begun work at Kwamagwaza when he was summoned by his father to join his family in Griqualand East, while Charlie Heber never even returned to Zululand.

On leaving Zonnebloem, the trio had set sail for Durban in the mailboat. The Rev. Thurston Button, a St. Augustine's graduate who was on his way to the Natal mission field fresh from College, was made responsible for their safe passage to their homeland. (112) It seems that Button made such a forceful impression on Charlie, that the young Zulu deserted his foster brothers at the end of the sea voyage in order to accompany his new found friend to Dr. Callaway's mission at Springvale in Southern Natal. (113) Charlie remained in this region for the rest of his life.

Billy Fea

By the time Billy returned to Kwamagwaza, the see of Zululand had at last been founded by the Mackenzie Memorial Fund and the mission station had become the headquarters of the newly consecrated bishop, Dr. T.E. Wilkinson. (114) Billy was a welcome addition to the staff and soon earned the Bishop's high regard. Besides being trained as a catechist teacher, his years at Zonnebloem had turned him into a good English scholar. He helped with the schoolwork and was also employed in translating standard textbooks into Zulu. (115) While at College, Billy had learnt to play the harmonium by ear, and was able to accompany the singing

at services. An English lady on the mission staff complained, however, that although he played competently enough he was dreadfully slow. (116)

Before long Billy became the Rev. Robertson's most trusted assistant on the station. The missionary, who described his foster son as being "a gentle fellow ... and thoroughly good", put him in charge of the small shop that was started in 1874. Billy's shop sold second hand clothes sent by friends in England, the idea being that those Zulus who earnt money should learn the value of their wages instead of relying on receiving hand-outs, begged from the mission. (117)

Billy seemed all set for an auspicious career in the Church when he shortly came under consideration as a candidate for ordination. The Bishop was anxious to ordain the most promising of his young black workers as deacons, and, after suitable preparation, send them out to man out-stations planted at strategic points in the diocese. But the scheme failed to materialize. Even if Billy and his companions had been thought ready for ordination, there were no white clergy available to superintend their activities, an essential part of the plan. Adverse circumstances, however, cannot be held entirely responsible for **Billy's** failure to gain promotion. Though Robertson was his most ardent supporter, the missionary had expressed strong doubts about his ward's suitability for Holy Orders. (118)

The last news we have of **Billy** is of his marriage plans in 1876. Robertson reported that his young assistant had gone to Natal before the wedding in order to buy the necessary pots and dishes with which to set up house, as well as some finery. The missionary was delighted with the match for the bride, Mabel, was a product of the mission. (119) Unfortunately Robertson made no further mention of **Billy's** doings after this time and his subsequent career, like the majority of his Zonnebloem contemporaries, remains unknown.

It is perhaps hardly surprising that **Billy's** activities did not again merit publicity for missionary operations in Zululand gradually ground to a halt during the late 1870's. It was a critical period in the history of the independent African kingdom, the continuing unrest ultimately erupting into war. Furthermore, this time of strife coincided with an interval of five

years in which the missionary bishopric was without episcopal guidance. Dr. Wilkinson resigned his see in 1875 and his successor, Dr. Douglas Mackenzie, was not appointed until 1880. (120) Robertson was the first to be offered the bishopric, but declined to accept. He agreed instead to act as Vicar-General during the interregnum. Despite his valiant efforts to keep the Mission going, the veteran missionary was eventually forced to abandon the work in Zululand.

The annexation of the Transvaal by Britain in 1877 closed the circle of British territory surrounding Zululand. As a result, the Zulu king felt threatened on all sides and became progressively more antagonistic towards the white men living in his peoples' midst, who were supposedly usurping his power. Cetshwayo's ever-increasing hostility towards the missionaries, and his systematic persecution of the Christian Zulus, led Robertson at last to evacuate Anglican converts from the country, the refugees seeking safety in Natal. Nonetheless, many Christians lost their lives at the hands of their heathen countrymen.

The Europeans in the neighbouring colonies watched the massing of the Zulu army on their borders with growing anxiety. The defiant stand of this African nation was seen as a threat to civilization in South Africa. The British authorities in Natal, persuaded of an impending crisis, brought matters to a head by making unreasonable demands on Cetshwayo, so engineering an excuse for the Imperial forces to invade Zululand in January 1879. But the Zulu impis were at first victorious, the warriors "washing their spears" in the white men's blood at the battle of Isandhlwana and again at Rorke's Drift. Only after seven months fighting were the Zulu forces finally defeated at Ulundi, the king's kraal. (121)

Most of the mission stations in Zululand were destroyed during the War, Kwamagwaza being burnt to the ground. It was three years before the country was sufficiently settled for the missionaries and Zulu refugees to return, resume work and rebuild their stations. The peace was shortlived, though, and their labours were again disrupted by the outbreak of civil war in 1884. Whatever Billy's fate might have been during these political upheavals, it is unlikely that he would have managed to escape persecution as a Christian.

reality, a better half !" (141)

In 1877, Charlie was promoted to the charge of an out-station about ten miles from Clydesdale. (142) Off-shoots of the mother station, like those of his and Hall's, formed the very life blood of the mission. Button maintained that, where possible, the Church should reach out to the heathen in their kraals rather than encourage the formation of detribalized Christian communities by removing the converts from their home environment.

The Government gladly helped to subsidize the kraal schools, for they were the spearhead of civilization. A grant of £20 a year was allowed to each out-station. The Church still had to give her share, though, and sums of £10 to £15 a year for each school were not so easily found. The colonial Anglican community was hard put to it to raise the money needed for established work and had no extra funds with which to further expansion. The local tribesmen were too poor to offer any financial assistance. They helped, instead, with their hands and were responsible for erecting the necessary buildings. The station at Clydesdale was, therefore, entirely dependent on support from overseas for the financing of its continually expanding network of operations.

Because the story of Charlie's and Hali's upbringing was so well known to the missionary public in Britain, further publicity concerning their careers played an important part in encouraging sympathizers to take a personal interest in the mission at which they were based, and so dip into their pockets to support its work. At the same time, Button had to ensure that the young black evangelists, celebrities though they might be, were worthy of their hire. Their schools, together with those of the other field staff were kept under constant surveillance.

Although Charlie apparently never showed sufficient ability to merit ordination, he was commended for the diligence with which he ran his out-station. A hut, lent by the local headman, served as home for the teacher and his family as well as school and chapel. Children from the surrounding kraals attended the school five days a week, while Sundays were given over to services and catechumen classes for both young and old.(143) But Charlie's work, begun with such zeal, had barely got underway when a series of uprisings among the native population in Independent Kaffraria brought all missionary activity in the diocese to a standstill.

Before the civil war, Zululand had been carved up into thirteen small kingdoms and placed under separate chiefs. Large grants of land were allotted to white farmers, while white magistrates took over the country's administration, supplanting the chiefs' authority. Civilization had ultimately triumphed in the last independent African stronghold in South Africa. (122)

Hali Abraham

Although Hali returned to Zululand after leaving Zonnebloem, he did not stay there long for his family soon recalled him to Griqualand East. His father sent for him because his mother was pining to see her eldest son after eleven years of separation. Boy and Mary Abraham were then living near Clydesdale mission, a day's journey from the mother station at Springvale, and Boy promised that Hali should be placed under Dr. Callaway's care. (123)

Robertson was loathe to part with his adopted Zulu son. In the short time that Hali had worked at Kwamagwaza, he had impressed his superiors with his general intelligence and his future at the mission had seemed full of promise. There was a very real fear that his lengthy training might go to waste if he were to remain under his father's roof. Boy, once the pillar of the Umlazi mission, had since "strayed" and left the Church. Nonetheless, Robertson could not deny Hali's parents their rights and he had to let the young man go, albeit reluctantly. (124)

As feared, Boy failed to honour his undertaking to hand Hali over to Dr. Callaway. Fortunately it was not long before he was "rescued" from his "not very nice father" by the Rev. Thurston Button. (125) This missionary, who had befriended the trio from Zululand on their sea voyage home from College, had been placed in charge of the newly established station at Clydesdale, the first Anglican mission to be founded among the Griqua. (126) Button was struggling to get the place on its feet without the aid of any trained black helpers and was delighted when Hali was persuaded to assist him with the school.

Hali, now known by his proper Christian name of Harry, joined the staff at Clydesdale in 1872. His salary of £25 a year was raised by his faithful benefactors in England, in response to an appeal in "The Net" for subscriptions towards his upkeep. (127) The

mission had been granted land for a settlement and Hali was provided with his own hut in the embryo village.

Griqua families were soon attracted to the station and as the Christian community grew apace, so did the school flourish. Clydesdale served a mixed population, though, and the school was attended by European and Zulu children as well as Griquas. According to Button, white, half-caste, and black pupils, all worked well together. (128)

In 1873, the mission at Clydesdale was incorporated into the diocese of Independent Kaffraria (later called St. John's), which was founded by the Scotch Episcopal Church as their missionary contribution to the heathen in South Africa. Dr. Callaway was consecrated the first Bishop. The S.P.G. consented to place their missionaries under his direction on condition that he always remained a member of the College of Bishops in South Africa. The Griqua mission was soon second only to St. Mark's in importance in the Diocese. (129)

The Annual Report on Clydesdale mission of 1874 provides further news of Hali's progress. Button reported that his schoolmaster now had the supervision of more than seventy pupils. Hali was said to be "thoroughly in earnest ... willing, and wishing to do his duty". (130) It was hoped that with more experience he would turn out well. In addition to his teaching duties, he also acted as a Lay Reader. The services were held in Zulu, Dutch, and English. Hali was responsible for taking the Zulu services in Button's absence. (131)

Of particular interest is the letter of condolence which Hali wrote at this time to his foster father at Kwamagwaza. Robertson, whose wife had recently died, commented on this letter to a friend in England, saying : "It does not do much credit to my teaching how to spell English, but in the time of my distress I had few letters that cheered me half so much". (132) The editor of "The Net", however, thought it only right to correct the spelling before publishing the epistle in her paper :

Clydesdale Station - My dear Sir, I write you these few lines hoping that they will find you in good health. I have been very healthy ever since I left you. I am very sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. Robertson. I was very sorry indeed, but we must bear in mind the words of our Blessed Lord and Saviour, 'Blessed are those who die in the Lord';

and please, dear Sir, you must bear in mind the words of Job, who said, 'The Lord gave, the Lord taketh, Blessed by the name of the Lord'. I am helping Mr. Button to teach the children in School. I have not got much to say unto you, Sir, just yet, but I think of writing a little more next time. I am anxious to hear from you first. Please give my love to Billy, and to all, and tell him to write to me. (133)

Hali was then preparing to get married. His bride-to-be, who was a heathen, was intent on becoming a Christian. Button reported that she was a nice girl and would make Hali a good wife when properly taught. But for some or other reason the wedding did not take place.

Hali left Clydesdale in 1877 to start a Church school on his father's farm. Boy Abraham provided the hut, local children were enrolled as pupils, and with the help of money collected by friends in England, the out-station was soon established and functioning under the watchful eye of Button. (134)

Hali's activities during the following eight years are not recorded. When we next have news of him he had moved to Zululand. His reason for leaving Griqualand can only be a matter for conjecture. It is possible that he had left the Clydesdale mission in disgrace. Again, he might have felt homesick for his childhood haunt, and felt free to return there after the death of his father. At any rate we know that he went to live at Kwamagwaza in 1885, finding shelter in a derelict house, one of the few that had not been destroyed by the Zulus during the War. The station had been left in ruins because the Anglicans, short of manpower and uncertain of their reception by the tribesmen in the area, had decided not to resume work there. (135)

At this stage the political situation in Zululand was more confused than ever. After the Zulu War, the subdivision of the country into small kingdoms had led to fierce competition for power between the different chiefs. The civil war that broke out in 1884 had been an inevitable development. During the ensuing conflict, Dinizulu, Cetshwayo's eldest son, had received strong backing from the Afrikaner farmers who had recently settled in the country. When the Boers ultimately succeeded in declaring Dinizulu, Paramount Chief, they were rewarded with a large cession of land. This they proclaimed the "New Republic". By the time Hali returned to Zululand, the Boers had moved into power

and had taken over the administration of much of the country.
(136)

Hali obtained a job as interpreter to Mr. Wilhelm, a German who was acting as Border Commissioner for the Boer authorities. (137) Although he was no longer working for the Church, Hali soon established contact with the Anglican mission at Isandhlwana. Before long he was reported to have become engaged to marry a heathen girl at the station. She was under the care of the missionary's wife and was said to be trying hard to learn civilized ways of living; but her mentor was in despair for she had as yet made little headway. (138)

Kwamagwaza was reoccupied by Bishop Mackenzie and one African helper in March 1886. Hampered by slender resources, this skeleton staff could do little to revive the station and the mission remained a ghost of the bustling community which Hali had known as a child. Shortly afterwards, Kwamagwaza was visited by a Boer Commando. When they left a fortnight later, Hali was carried off with them as a prisoner. He was accused of having driven cattle into the Boer Reserve. (139) The Boers were known to have scant sympathy for "school Kafirs" and there was much concern as to Hali's probable fate. His story comes to an end at this crucial point for there were no further reports about him in the missionary magazines. And so we are left in suspense as to what became of him. Because of the increasing unrest in Zululand, Britain finally had no choice but to annex the country in 1887.

Charles Mackenzie Heber

Charlie, the third member of the Zululand team, made his career as a catechist teacher in Griqualand East. But before being sent out to the missionary frontline, he first completed a probationary period of training under the supervision of Dr. Callaway at Springvale. (140) On being posted to Clydesdale, Charlie's salary, like that of Bali's, was provided by sponsors in England. Seeing that Charlie was her godson, Anne Mackenzie took a special interest in his progress and was delighted when she was able to inform the readers of "The Net" in 1876 that he was getting on wonderfully well. Button had reported that the young Zulu regularly took the morning prayers, was steady in his work, and manly and straightforward in his behaviour. He was said to have greatly improved since getting married, his wife "being in

War became the order of the day as African and Griqua tribesmen in turn rose in rebellion against the Government, in one last bid to stem the tide of white encroachment in their homelands. The Gcaleka War of 1877-8 was straightway followed by the Pondomisi Rebellion in 1878. The Griquas, infected by the general restlessness, also rose in arms in 1878. (144) And as the rebels went on a countrywide rampage, missions and out-stations were singled out as targets for plundering and destruction. Inevitably the Christian natives became the victims of their heathen country-mens' hatred.

Kokstad was the focal point of the fighting in the Griqua Rising and the missionaries and their families, who had taken refuge in the laager at the town, had to endure a long siege. Button's account of the action was one of masterly understatement. He made no mention of the danger to their lives, merely bewailing the fact that the uproar was very disturbing to the Church's work. (145)

Charlie was highly commended for his bravery. Even though his small station lay in the direct path of the advancing rebel forces, he stayed at his post, remaining faithful to his flock. After only a short time in the field he had drawn together a small band of Christians from the surrounding district. Although the headman was still a heathen, some of his family were numbered among the converts. (146) Charlie continued with his work throughout the disturbances, no matter that he had no schoolbooks for the first year at least. The last report we have of him was written by Button in 1878, and reads as follows : "Charlie Heber has much to discourage him but still much also to encourage; he is working on manfully. One thing ... is the respect the people bear him". (147)

Drought, disease, and famine, followed hard on the succession of rebellions. Fighting flared up once again in 1880, when the Basuto settlers in Griqualand East rose in sympathy with their countrymen in Basutoland, in their battle to resist disarmament. This uprising triggered off yet another Griqua Rebellion. (148) It is no wonder that with the continuing unrest there was no further news of Charlie in the missionary publications. Besides which, a large body of black workers had entered the mission field by the 1880's, and the accounts of the lone struggles of the Zonnebloem graduates from Zululand no longer had the unique

value which had originally made them newsworthy.

4. The Careers of the Clementson Brothers in the Cape Diocese

Thomas and William obtain Third Class Certificates in Literature and Science

The Clementson brothers were the first, and only, white students to graduate from Zonnebloem as catechists and teachers during the early period in the College's history. They also had the distinction of being the first Zonnebloem students to sit a public examination.

Following the establishment of a board of public examiners in 1858, certificates were awarded in three classes, the examination being written in either law and jurisprudence or literature and science. The tests were modelled on the written papers of the University of London, the intention being to prepare the way for the establishment of a colonial university. It was hoped that the board's first class certificate would be accepted as the equivalent of a degree: whilst, without at least a second class pass, a man would be debarred from practice in certain professions and incompetent to hold certain posts in the civil service. (149)

The Clementson brothers both passed the Preliminary Government Examination in 1867, Thomas in June and William in September. (150) Thomas left Zonnebloem in August of that year, to take charge of the mission school at Hopefield. (151) Nonetheless he continued with his studies and sat the Third Class examination in Literature and Science together with William in January 1869. The candidates for this certificate were required to write papers in three departments - Language, Literature and History; Mathematics; and Physical Science.

The Literature syllabus was divided into three parts. First came the section on the English language, its grammatical structure and history as well as the history of England. The second section, on the Greek and Latin languages, included a study of works chosen from selected authors, and relevant history and geography. The study of a modern language comprised the third part of the syllabus, the choice lying between French, Dutch and German.

The Mathematics syllabus was also divided into three parts - Arithmetic, Elementary Algebra, and Plane Geometry. The section on Geometry was limited to the first four books of Euclid. The

Physical Science paper only counted for ten percent of the total aggregate of marks. The students had the choice of being tested on the outlines of either Physical Geography, Geology, Botany or Chemistry. (152)

Bishop Gray was delighted when both William and Thomas gained Third Class passes. He saw this achievement as additional proof of Zonnebloem's high standard of education. (153) Six other College students obtained this qualification between 1870 and 1874, before the Matriculation certificate was instituted in its stead. (154)

The Clementson Brothers take charge of Mission Schools in the Cape Diocese

The Clementson brothers were the pioneer products of an educational policy that has been followed at Zonnebloem to this day. They were the vanguard of a legion of Old Zonns who have been employed as catechists and teachers in the Cape diocese over the last hundred years.

On leaving College in February 1869, William was given the charge of a mission school in the region of Durban (Durbanville), twelve miles from Cape Town on the main road to the interior. The school was a pitiful affair, being housed in a ramshackle wattle-and-daub building. But even though the twenty-two pupils were crowded together in uncomfortable quarters for their classes, their new teacher soon had them organized into a regular routine of study.

Only a month after taking up his post, William received an official visit from Bishop Gray. This was the Metropolitan's first port of call on his way to George for a Visitation. After testing the pupils' knowledge, the Bishop noted in his Journal that they could read fairly well in English and understood the elementary truths of the Christian faith.

Besides keeping school, William was also expected to visit the local Coloured folk in their homes. His flock were a poor people, living in miserable "pondokkies" amongst the shifting sand dunes and scrub bush of the surrounding Cape Flats. Even so, William managed to get a night school going, with nine adults in attendance. (155)

Thomas worked under much the same conditions as his brother, at his post at Hopefield. His mission school was visited by Bishop

Gray in September 1871, during the Metropolitan's week long tour of inspection of the Malmesbury parish, en route to Namaqualand. On this occasion Gray was accompanied by Archdeacon Glover, Thomas' former College principal. The two clergymen first called on Thomas Clementson, senior, at Hoetjies Bay, before proceeding to Hopefield to see the veteran catechist's son. The journey inland was arduous in the extreme. Once the banks of the Berg River were left behind, the going was hard through heavy sand. Moreover the weather had turned very hot. The travellers had to walk much of the way to save the horses. Yet despite the fact that the Bishop was exhausted on his arrival at Hopefield, he still went on to carry out a full evening's programme. A Confirmation service was held in the school chapel, the sermon being delivered by Gray in Dutch.

Bishop Gray was much pleased with the promising progress of Thomas' labours. Fresh from College four years back, this Zonnebloem graduate had had to start work at Hopefield almost from scratch. His two chapel wardens, now his trusted helpers, had been heathens at the time of his arrival. Thomas told the Bishop that the Cathedral authorities might well envy him his wardens. So seriously did they take their duties, that they thought nothing of mounting their horses and riding a distance of twelve miles and back to give outlying parishioners notice of special services. Gray, reporting on his visit in his Journal, wrote : "May the work, by GOD's blessing, prove as deep and steadfast as it has been wide and rapid". (156)

But Gray's wish was not to be fulfilled. Thomas left Hopefield soon afterwards and it was some years before he was replaced. In the absence of a catechist, the work of the Church went back quickly at this out-station. When Bishop West Jones (Gray's successor) visited Hopefield in 1875, he gave a depressing account of the desolation which now prevailed - "the school-chapel cold, untidy and in wretched repair. It made me shudder to go into it, or walk round it; so evidently neglected and poverty stricken are its fabrics and furniture". (157) The congregation pleaded for the re-appointment of a catechist to their chapelry. Poor as they were, they promised to contribute towards his stipend.

Thomas' Career Outside the Church

It is thought that Thomas gave up his job as a catechist as a

result of a difference of opinion with Bishop Gray. Even though he never resumed work under the Church's aegis, he continued to earn his living as a teacher for a number of years. Thomas was a gifted scholar and was said to be even more brilliant than his younger brother. Unlike William, however, he did not pursue an academic career. He chose rather to use his gifts as a linguist and poet to make journalism his career, and eventually became an editor.

Thomas joined the Durham Light Infantry during the Anglo-Boer War. He was later seconded to the Imperial Light Horse. After being wounded in battle, he lost his life in the troop train disaster at Norval's Pont when the bridge over the Orange River was blown up by the Boers. Thomas, who had married Louisa Ward in 1873 (at St. Mary's, Papendorp), was survived by his wife and two sons, Thomas and Henry Lawson Clementson. (158)

William Lawson's Early Career in the Church

William remained at the mission school on the Cape Flats for just over a year. In April 1870 he was transferred to the Archdeaconry of George and spent the greater part of the next three years in the parish of St. Matthew, Riversdale. (159) After working as a catechist for a further year in the parish of St. George, Mossel Bay, (160) he was admitted to the diaconate on December 20, 1874. The Ordination, which took place in St. George's Cathedral, had a special significance for it was the first to be held by Bishop West Jones. In addition, it marked a milestone in the Clementson family history for William was the fifth generation of his family to enter the ministry. (161)

During his years as a catechist, William somehow found time to continue with his studies. A Second Class Certificate in Literature and Science in 1872, (162) was followed by a B.A. degree from the University of the Cape of Good Hope two years later. (163) William was in all probability prepared for the examinations by the Diocesan College, as was the case with successive Zonnebloem students who graduated from the Teacher Training Institution from this time on. The University, which came into being in 1873, functioned purely as an examining body and did no teaching whatsoever. Although the University laid down all the syllabuses, the teaching remained in the hands of the Colleges. (164)

Following his ordination to the diaconate, William was promoted

to the position of Mission Curate at Mossel Bay. He did not stay long in this job as he was posted to Bredasdorp, in the parish of Caledon, in 1875. (165) In October of that year he married Mary Jane Parker, the daughter of the wealthy owner of the historic farm Tijgerberg at Durban (Durbanville). (166)

Despite family and Church commitments, William pressed on with his academic career, and, incidentally, scored more firsts as an Old Zonn. When he received the M.A. degree in 1876, he, with one other, were the second students to have this title conferred on them by the University of the Cape of Good Hope. (167) William was ordained to the priesthood the following year. The Ordination, which took place on April 8, was held once again in St. George's Cathedral with Bishop West Jones officiating. (168)

After six years as Curate at Bredasdorp, William left South Africa in 1881 for a two year spell in England. (169) His first year was spent working as School Missioner in the parish of St. Mark, Battersea. From there he went as Curate to the parish of St. Saviour, Denmark Park. Both posts were in the diocese of Southwark. (170) Besides gaining wider experience in the ministry, it seems probable that Clementson used this period overseas to further his studies, as was the case with a number of subsequent visits.

While in England, William Clementson was offered the spiritual charge of St. Mark's parish, Cape Town. Several clergymen in England had already been approached by Bishop West Jones through his Commissary, and had declined the offer. Clementson, however, pronounced himself willing to return and work in the Cape diocese, and was duly appointed. (171) He was licensed as Priest-in-Charge of St. Mark's on June 29, 1883. (172)

Thirty-Six Years as Parish Priest at St. Mark's, District Six

Mission work was commenced by the Cathedral clergy in the neighbourhood of St. Mark's about 1862. The Military Chaplain was the first clergyman to hold regular services there. After some years, services were held in a house in William Street. The room used for the purpose was furnished with benches, and did duty as a school on week days. The "Kanaladorp Mission", as it was originally called, subsequently became known as the "William Street Mission". (173) A movement to build a School Chapel in William Street was set afoot by the congregation in March 1865. The building, dedicated to St. Mark the Evangelist, was opened for

public service seven months later. (174)

In 1867, Cape Town was divided into six municipal areas. Kanala-dorp (Kanaldorp) was designated Number 6 District, hence the name District Six. When Clementson took over the charge of St. Mark's in 1883, the parochial district was still part of the Cathedral parish. The following year, the Cowley Fathers decided, with the sanction of the Archbishop, to commence work in what is now St. Philip's parish. Portions of the two parishes of Papendorp (Woodstock) and St. Mark's, were made over to their mission, including the area known as Dry Dock. (175)

Although St. Mark's district was a poor area, Clementson's flock were zealous in their fund-raising efforts with commendable results. No sooner had a parsonage been purchased in Constitution Street in 1884, (176) than the parishioners set to work to collect money for a new church. The foundation stone of St. Mark's Church, in Upper Caledon Street, was laid during Queen Victoria's Jubilee year. (177) The Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, (178) who performed the ceremony on March 12, 1877, expressed the hope that the Jubilee Memorial Church would be completed before the end of the year. But this wish was not realized for the nave roof fell in while the building was still under construction. A survey disclosed that the pillars on which the roof rested were defective, and so extensive structural alterations had to be made to strengthen the roof and its supports. The completed building had massive granite pillars with strong abutments of stone and cement, as well as reinforcing in the roof. (179)

The last services were held in the old church on Easter Day, April 1, 1888. The new church was consecrated one week later. (180) On July 21, 1889, the Rev. Clementson was instituted as the first Rector of St. Mark's. The district was now made into a separate and independent parish. (181) It had the unenviable reputation of being one of the worst slum parishes.

Clementson's parochial duties included the oversight of the usual Church activities such as the choir, Sunday school, day school, Church Lad's Brigade, King's Messengers, English Church Men's Society, and Mother's Union. He also started a Boys' Recreation Room, and separate Girls' and Mens' Communicants' Guilds. In addition, he was made responsible for the religious ministrations at the Porter Reformatory and Inebriates Gaol.

This led to his appointment as Chaplain to the City Prison in 1894. (182) As a result of his father's early training, Clementson was completely bilingual, and throughout his ministry at St. Mark's, he held Dutch services every Sunday afternoon. He also served at intervals in his home parish of St. Andrew, Hoetjies Bay, both during his father's lifetime and subsequent to his death in 1894. (183)

While Rector at St. Mark's, Clementson maintained close ties with his old College up the hill. Successive Wardens of Zonnebloem regularly took part in the life of the parish. The Rev. O.C. Hine, a master at the College, acted as Assistant Curate at St. Mark's from 1908 to 1910. When pressure of studies forced Hine to resign from this appointment, he still continued to assist in the parish whenever possible, even after he became Warden of Zonnebloem in 1931. (184)

Mrs. Clementson took an active part in the work of the parish right from the start. The St. Mark's Parish Magazine, which was begun in January 1884, was one of her particular responsibilities and she kept it going for thirty-four years. (185) The St. Mark's Clothing Club was another of her undertakings and she organized a band of District Visitors to help her with the extensive work involved. (186) Besides being president of the Mother's Union, Mrs. Clementson helped organize the Sunday school, a girls' class in religious instruction and the parish needlework group. She was an indefatigable worker when it came to fund-raising. Whether it be rummage sales, bazaars, mission boxes or collecting cards, she was the guiding spirit behind each enterprise. (187)

The Clementsons had six months long leave in England in 1898, and again in 1902. (188) The second visit is of particular importance as far as Zonnebloem's history is concerned for it saw the crowning of William Clementson's academic career. He received the B.D. degree from the University of Durham, his father's old university. His time at Durham was very fleeting for in those days a man had only to fulfil two conditions to take the B.D. degree. Firstly, he had to be in priest's orders; and, secondly, he had to be a graduate of four years' standing. There were no residence requirements for this sort of candidate and according to the University records, Clementson was unattached. (189)

On their return home in 1902, the Clementsons moved into a new

rectory in Roeland Street, which had been bought by the parish. (190) In addition to his regular round of parochial duties, the Rector of St. Mark's was called upon to sit on various Diocesan and Provincial bodies. In particular, he was for some years Honorary Secretary of the Church Provincial Council on Education. (191)

The Clementsons had only one child, a daughter, who was born in May 1891. (192) After leaving school, Margaret Mary studied music at the Royal College of Music in London. Her first marriage, which took place in June 1913, was to H.W. Comerford, the son of one of her father's parishioners. (193) But she was shortly bereaved. Her second husband, whom she married in April 1917, was the well-known South African artist, Gwelo Goodman. (194)

October 1918 will long be remembered in Cape Town as the month of the Influenza Epidemic. St. Mark's, being a slum parish, was particularly badly hit. The Rector, writing in the Parish Magazine at the time, gave a graphic description of the suffering all around him :

Within a few days the face of Capetown was changed. Our streets were almost empty - there was hardly a house free from sickness. The number of deaths has been appalling. It was impossible, in many cases, to obtain help for the sick; whole families were stricken down. It was with the greatest difficulty that the dead were buried. The scenes at the cemeteries will never be forgotten. Wagons were seen in all parts collecting the dead. (195)

Mrs. Clementson, who had been in poor health for many years, died on March 14, 1919. (196) The Rector, who was then sixty-seven years old, decided that it was now time for him to make way for a younger man and handed in his resignation. Clementson had been at St. Mark's for thirty-six years and was much beloved by his parishioners. They tried to persuade him to reconsider his decision and offered to make an effort to obtain funds towards the stipend of an Assistant Curate; but he would not be swayed. (197) His letter of farewell to his flock appeared in the Parish Magazine in June 1919. (198)

Chaplain on Robben Island : 1919 - 1927

Clementson had no thought of retirement, though. After leaving St. Mark's, he took on the job of Chaplain to the Lepers on Robben Island. (199) Three years later he was given the parochial

charge of the whole island. This included the staff and convicts, as well as the lepers. Frances Clarke, whom Clementson married in 1921, was an invaluable helpmate. She had served as Lady Worker at St. Mark's during the Rector's last two years in the parish, and had wide experience in social work. (200)

Robben Island had become a leper colony in 1893. (201) According to Clementson, the male lepers were segregated from their female counterparts by a double fence, and both sexes were separated from the rest of the village by a boundary line, patrolled day and night by the local police force. The lepers entered the settlement by a gate which they named the "Gate of Tears", because once inside they would never return through the gate. The Coloured and African patients were accommodated in long wards while the Europeans were housed in self-contained cottages on their own.

On the whole the lepers were very religious for their faith was their last hope. The male patients worshipped in their own church, "The Church of the Good Shepherd", and all attended the Sunday service. Those that were legless were taken on flat trolleys and laid on cushions and mattresses at the front of the church. (202) An All Saints Sister, who had the care of some of the effected children, later recalled how the Chaplain had tried to teach the lepers, and how his patience with their slowness and dullness had been something wonderful to see. (203)

During his eight years' ministry on the island, Clementson maintained the custom at Christmas of holding the annual Robben Island Show. The lepers were given cash prizes for knitting, dress-making, needlework, carving, poultry and eggs. A general selection of goods bought in Cape Town were displayed for sale as in a real shop under the direction of a Jewish patient. Parties of entertainers were brought from the mainland to add to the festivities. The members of staff and the local residents did their bit by getting up concerts and other entertainments to raise funds for the lepers. (204)

There were about ninety convicts in the penal settlement on Robben Island. The majority were Coloured, all were serving long sentences, many having been convicted of murder. Employment was found for them on the island whether it be working on the roads, in fields and gardens, or as carpenters and plumbers. Church attendance on Sundays was compulsory, the convicts being marched

to the village church under guard. The prison congregation sang with much vigour and always ended the service with the hymn "Fight the good fight". Clementson visited the convicts every Saturday afternoon. After several years, seven were confirmed. (205)

The greater part of Clementson's ministry was spent in the Cape diocese. In recognition of his many years of dedicated service to the Church, he was made an honorary Canon of St. George's Cathedral in 1922. (206) Five years later, failing health forced him to give up work. His leave-taking from the island was a most moving occasion. The lepers were allowed to leave their compound in order to bid the minister and his wife farewell. They lined the jetty and sang hymns as the Clementsons made their way to the little vessel that was to carry them over the sea to Cape Town. The Canon's last act before his departure was to give the lepers the Church's blessing. (207)

Clementson loved the people whom he had served over the years, and was in turn much loved by them. His passing on April 21, 1927, was mourned by one and all. His funeral was attended by representatives of every denomination - "from the Malay priest and the Greek Archimandrite to the Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Chief Rabbi". (208) To the men of St. Mark's fell the honour of keeping vigil and bearing the body to the grave. A large Oberammergau crucifix was installed in St. Mark's by the people of his old parish, while his widow gave a stall in St. George's Cathedral, in his memory. (209)

In an obituary in the "St. Mark's Record", Sidney Levis, Arch-deacon of the Cape, related how William Clementson, at the age of fourteen years, had at his Confirmation in 1866 confided to his mother his intention of dedicating his life to the service of Christ in the ministry of His Church. (210) The career of this young man, who had entered Zonnebloem the following year, was certainly a striking contrast to those of his black contemporaries at the College. With the exception of Stephen Mnyakama, the African graduates failed to achieve the Church's high expectations of them. William Clementson, on the other hand, went from strength to strength. In addition to his distinguished academic career, he served the Church faithfully for fifty-eight years. Bishop Gray would have been much gratified by this Zonnebloem graduate's impressive record.

1. Widdicombe to S.P.G., 1877, MF, 2.7.1877, 264.
2. According to Widdicombe, the Basuto population numbered 127,000 in 1877 - "The Heathen in Basutoland", TN, 1.3. 1877, 43.
3. Ibid., 44.
4. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 551.
5. After Britain had annexed Basutoland in 1868, to prevent further intervention by the Free State, Wodehouse had then to decide whether the country should stay under his personal control as High Commissioner or whether it should be joined to the Cape or Natal. For a discussion on the subject, see "The Passing of Sotho Independence, 1865-70", A. Atmore - L. Thompson (ed.), African Societies in Southern Africa (London : Heinemann, 1969) 282 et seq.
6. Tylden, op.cit., 99 and 111.
7. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:320.
8. "Basutos are Against Incorporation", Interview with Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos in the Union and uncle of Paramount Chief Griffiths of Basutoland, Cape Times, 6.7.1937.
9. Tylden, op.cit., 99 and 111.
10. Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, Cape Times, 6.7.1937. The Second Basuto War, called "The Great War" by the Boers and "The War of the Noise of the Cannon" by the Basutos, broke out in May 1865 - Becker, op.cit., 247 et seq.; Tylden, op.cit., 93. For Tlali's (Tladi part in the fighting - Becker, op.cit., 252ff.
11. Moshesh wrote : "I am giving myself and my country up to Her Majesty's Government under certain conditions which we may agree on between your Excellency and me", quoted in Tylden, op.cit., 99.
12. Tylden, op.cit., 107; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:288 et seq.; Walker, op.cit., 323.
13. Tylden, op.cit., 104.
14. Atmore, African Societies, 294.
15. Chapter V, Section 2.
16. Atmore, African Societies, 294:.
17. Tsekelo Moshesh to Grey, 3.3.1861, GH23/28, CA.
18. Orpen refers to a visit by George and Tsekelo, when, acting on behalf of Moshesh, they asked how he could obtain a cannon through the Government - J.M. Orpen to Grey, 20.5. 1861, GC.
19. Becker, op.cit., 235f.
20. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:124.
21. Atmore, African Societies, 292ff.
22. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:296 et seq.; Tylden, op.cit., 108.
23. There were nearly 3000 armed Basutos assembled for the occasion. They kept up a continuous firing and war-dance

- until, at a signal from Tsekelo, they sat down to listen to the speeches. After Moshesh had addressed the gathering at some length, it was George who persuaded his aged father to sit down and allow Wodehouse a chance to speak - BM, May 1868, 1 no.2:2f, Becker, op.cit., 267.
24. Mosesh told Wodehouse : "The country is dead, we are all dead, take us and do what you like with us". Tylden, op.cit., 108.
 25. Atmore, African Societies, 294.
 26. Ibid., 295.
 27. Ibid., 296.
 28. The disputed territory was originally ceded to the Free State by the Treaty of Thaba Bosiu in 1866.
 29. Atmore, African Societies, 297f; Becker, op.cit., 270; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:309 et seq.; Tylden, op.cit., 109.
 30. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:320; Tylden, op.cit., 112.
 31. Wodehouse's departure from the Cape was little mourned by the populace. An address by Bishop Gray, delivered on behalf of himself and the Anglican Church was apparently the single token of public respect - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 5:109. Wodehouse took up his next appointment, as Governor of Bombay, on 2.5.1872. He retired from this post, and public life, 5 years later at the age of 66.
 32. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:322.
 33. Maseru - The Place of the Red Sandstone, Tylden, op.cit., 111.
 34. Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:323ff;
 35. Ibid., 326ff.
 36. Ibid., 329. The High Commissioner retained the duty of legislating for Basutoland.
 37. Ibid., 4:335.
 38. Report by Bishop Webb, TN, 1.4.1876, 62.
 39. Ellenberger, op.cit., 189 et seq.; Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:335 et seq.
 40. A similar quest for independent Church development had been begun among the Wesleyan Africans in Natal in 1866. But the "Unzondelelo", as it was called, was accepted by the parent body and regularized as the "Wesleyan Native Home Mission" in 1878 - Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 4:340. For further information on "The Ethiopian Movement" see Du Plessis, op.cit., 301f and 453 et seq.
 41. Basutoland was divided into 4 magisterial districts - Berea, Leribe, Kornet Spruit and Thaba Bosiu.
 42. Bishop Webb and the Basutoland Mission, 1877, MF, 2.7.1877, 263; Report by Canon Beckett, TN, 1.11.1874, 172f ; Report on Mission in North Basutoland, Rev. J. Widdicombe, MF, 2.7.1877, 264; "Basutoland", S.P.G. Digest of Records, 324ff; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 458.
 43. "Canon Beckett on the Brotherhood", BM, May 1868, 1 no.2:2; Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 141f; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit.,

- 401 et seq.
44. Report by Merriman, BM, Jan.1870, 1 no.9:12f; Walker, op.cit., 321 et seq.
 45. BM, 1869, 1:4f.
 46. Report by Merriman, BM, Jan. 1870, 1 no.9:13.
 47. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 458.
 48. Jonathan was the son of Molapo's "Big wife" - P. Hadley (ed.), Doctor to Basuto, Boer and Briton, 1877-1906, Memoirs of Dr. Henry Taylor (Cape Town : Philip, 1972) 46. See also Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 463; J. Widdicombe, Fourteen Years in Basutoland (London, 1891) 163f.
 49. J. Widdicombe, In the Lesuto, quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 465.
 50. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 467f; S.P.G. Digest of Records, 326f.
 51. Theal quoted in Tylden, op.cit., 145.
 52. Frere assumed office in March 1877.
 53. The War of the Guns : Ellenberger, op.cit., 210 et seq.; Tylden, op.cit., ch. 8 and 9; Walker, op.cit., 371f and 382 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:267ff.
 54. The guns sent in were duly ticketed with the name of the owner, and thus Jonathan and his people got the name "Ma-tiketoa". They in turn nicknamed the others the "Ma-bellete" or "the rebels" - Dr. Taylor's Memoirs, 57.
 55. Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, Cape Times, 6.7.1937.
 56. Tylden, op.cit., 150.
 57. Ibid., 146.
 58. Tylden, op.cit., 169f; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:269.
 59. "The position of Basutoland was defined as a Dependency, a Native Territory under the direct control of the Imperial Government, in which tribal organisation remains and the chiefs are allowed to exercise authority" - Asquith and Roche, 1889, quoted in Tylden, op.cit., 186. Seeing that it was a British Dependency, Basuto and was not included in the Union of South Africa.
 60. George's speech was printed in the "Eastern Star", a Cape colonial newspaper. It is quoted verbatim by Tylden, op.cit., 173 et seq. (The speech was translated by Mr. Charles Maitn, a junior official).
 61. Ibid., 173.
 62. Ibid., 175.
 63. Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, Cape Times, 6.7.1937.
 64. "Matatiele, Kaffraria", Report on the Mission by Rev.T.W. Green, MF, 1887, 47; see also Report by Bishop Watkin Williams of St. John's, on his visit to George at Queen's Mercy in 1902, quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 551.
 65. Parkhurst was Warden from 1900 to 1916.
 66. Parkhurst's Report of the Native Chiefs visit to the

College on 18.8.1901, SPG, 1902.

67. Entries no. 71 and 72, 23.8.1901, Zonnebloem Admission Register, 1892 - 1949. Joseph was placed in Form 5 and Daniel in Form 3. Daniel left on 31.3.1905, and Joseph on 25.10.1906.
68. Entry no. 501, Jan. 1916, Zonnebloem Admission Register, 1892 - 1949. George was placed in Form 5. He left in June 1920.
69. Biographical details concerning George Moshesh supplied by his son, The Hon. Chief J.D. Moshesh, see J.D. Moshesh to Hodgson, 11.1.1973.
70. Ramatasi Maama, son of Letsie, entered Zonnebloem on 16.5.1868 and left on 4.1.1872, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
71. Except where otherwise stated, all information in this section has been taken from the biographical notes about Maama written by his son, Chief Azarias Theko Maama Letsie, in consultation with the elders of his clan, see Theko Maama to Hodgson, Feb. 1973.
72. The first Roman Catholic mission station in Basutoland was established in 1862 in the vicinity of Thaba Bosiu. The natives called it "Motsi va Ma-Jesu" - "the village of the Mother of Jesus" - but the Protestants called it Roma, which name it has retained - Du Plessis, op.cit., 371.
73. Tylden, op.cit., 195.
74. Sir Herbert Sloley was Resident Commissioner from 1902-1916.
75. Bereng Letsie I was a full brother of Lerotholi while Maama was a half brother.
76. Sir Godfrey Lagden was Resident Commissioner from 1893-1902.
77. The confiscated land stretched from Qeme to Koro-koro. Maama's descendants consider that this was a most unfair judgment and that Sir Godfrey did not investigate the matter sufficiently thoroughly.
78. Letsie II died in 1913 without any male progeny. Griffith was his younger brother by the same mother. He was Paramount Chief from 1913 - 1939. According to Chief Theko Maama, of all Letsie I's sons, "Maama seems to have had the Genius and favour of other chiefs". He cites an instance where Maama acted as mediator between Griffith and Jonathan, so preventing military action being taken.
79. Sir Edward Garraway was Resident Commissioner from 1918-1924.
80. A. Theko Maama to Hodgson, Sept. 1972 and 2.11.1972. Theko Maama maintains that he was at Zonnebloem from 1915 to 1917, but according to the Register he was admitted on 31.1.1916 and left in December of that year. See no. 505, Zonnebloem Admission Register, 1892 - 1949. Stephen and Elias were the sons of Simon Moshesh.
81. Entry for 1865, Zonnebloem Register, ZP.
82. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
83. BM, April 1876, 2 no. 32:32f; SPG, 1875, 61 and 1876, 59; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 4177,
84. Quoted in Du Plessis, op.cit., 357f.

85. Moroka, who ruled for about 50 years, was thought to be 85 years old when he died.
86. Tsepinare : Tsipinare, Sepinare.
87. BQ, Oct. 1884, No. 66:148ff; see also Cory, op.cit., 6:7\$2f; Mears, o .cit., 33f; Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, ff; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:442f.
88. SPG, 1882, 52.
89. Report by Canon Crisp, BQ, Jan. 1881, No. 51:23f.
90. BQ, Oct. 1884, No. 66:148ff; Mears, op.cit., 34; SPG, 1882, 77; Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 2:2 ==
91. BQ, Jan. 1881, No. 51:24f.
92. BQ, Oct. 1884, No. 66:150.
93. BQ, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7; Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 2:226.
94. Mears, op.cit., 34; BQ, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7f.
95. Tylden, op.cit., 194f.
96. 12.7.1884.
97. BBC, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7; Mears, op.cit., 34f.
98. The Native Trust has in recent years added 80,000 morgen to the Reserve, Mears, op.cit., 34.
99. 22, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7; Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 2:236.
100. Quoted in Mears, op.cit., 34.
101. Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 164; S.P.G. Digest of Records, 353.
102. Discharged in Nov. 1884 - BQ, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7, Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 2:226.
103. BQ, Jan. 1885, No. 67:7.
104. Report by Rev. W.H. Bevan, 1886, MF, 1886, 31:45.
105. BQ, 15.1.1889, No. 83:27.
106. BQ, 15.7.1893, No. 101:126f.
107. Kola later became an important outstation in the Basuto-land mission network, BS, Oct. 1895, No. 110:104f.
108. Ibid.
109. , July 1895, No. 109:105.
110. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld, 169 et seq.
111. Macrorie to Gray, 19.12.1870, Macrorie's Letters to Gray: 1869 - 1871, IIB and III 8, MR.
112. Ibid.
113. Dr. Callaway went to Natal as a missionary doctor in 1854 and worked for a time under Bishop Colenso. He broke away in 1858 to start his own mission beyond the Umkomaas River, naming it Springvale. After the disconnection of Colenso from the S.P.G., Springvale became the most im-

- portant mission in Natal. Offshoots were planted at Highflats in 1864 and Clydesdale, Griqualand East, in 1871. For further details : Benham (Ed.), Henry Callaway M.D., D.D. First Bishop for Kaffraria (London : Macmillan, 1896); Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 46ff and 99; Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 139 and 163f; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 357 et seq.; S.P.G. Digest of Records, 311 et seq. and 332 et seq.
114. Dr. Wilkinson was consecrated Bishop of Zululand in Westminster Abbey on St. Mark's Day, 1870. For further information on the Mackenzie Memorial Fund : Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 165; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 659ff; S.P.G. Digest of Records, 339; Tucker, op.cit., 146ff.
 115. "Kwamagwaza", TN, 1.5.1874, 9:47.
 116. "Kwamagwaza", TN, 1.12.1875, 10:23 and 1.5.1876, 11:31.
 117. "News from Kwamagwaza", TN, 1.12.1874, 9:188.
 118. Ibid.
 119. TN, 1.10.1876, 11:87.
 120. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 679ff.
 121. The Zulu War : Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 147f and 165f; D.R. Morris, The Washing of the Spears (London : Cape, 1966) Part 2; Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 1:305; Walker, op.cit., 373ff; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:261 et seq.
 122. According to Theal : "The question was simply whether civilization or barbarism was to prevail in the country", Theal, History of S.A. from 1873 to 1884, 1:305.
 123. TN, 1.6.1872, 7:92f.
 124. "The Clydesdale Mission", TN, 1.3.1874, 9:47.
 125. "Native African Teachers", TN, 1.8.1875, 10:122 et seq.
 126. Clydesdale Mission : Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, 99; G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld, 90 et seq.; Benham, Henry Callaway, ch. 12; Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 163; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 364; S.P.G. Digest of Records, 311f and 333.
 127. TN, 1.7.1873, 8:101; TN, 1.12.1874, 9:188f; TN 1.8.1875, 10:121.
 128. "Spring Vale and its Off-Shoots", TN, 1.7.1873, 8:101; MF, 1.1.1875, 14.
 129. Benham, Henry Callaway, ch. 15; Hinchliff, Anglican Church, 163f; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 364f and 534ff; "Cape Colony - Kaffraria", S.P.G. Digest of Records, 342f.
 130. "Clydesdale Mission, Kaffraria", MF, 1.1.1875, 14.
 131. "News from Kwamagwaza", TN, 1.12.1874, 9:189.
 132. Ibid., 188.
 133. Ibid., 189.
 134. TN, 1.12.1874, 9:189; TN, 1.8.1875, 10:121.
 135. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 668f.

136. Walker, op.cit., 401 et seq.; Wilson and Thompson, **22**.
cit., 2:265f.
137. TN, 1.5.1885, 66.
138. TN, 1.2.1886, 17.
139. TN, 1.1.1886, 82.
140. TN, 1.12.1874, 9:188.
141. TN, 1.12.1877, 12:185.
142. "The Clydesdale Mission", TN, 1.11.1876, 11:163.
143. "St. John's, Kaffraria", TN, 1.12.1877, 12:185.
144. Pondomisi and Griqua Rebellions : Benham, Henry Callaway,
338f; G. Callaway, op.cit., ch.6; Lewis and Edwards, **op"**
cit., 539; Walker, op.cit., 371.
145. "Kaffraria", report by Button, TN, 1.8.1878, 13:123.
146. TN, 1.12.1878, 13:162.
147. TN, 1.8.1878, 13:124.
148. Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 2:269.
149. Hattersley, Social History of S.A., 171.
150. Report of the Board of Public Examiners in Literature and
Science, 1867 - 1868, G.15-'68, 48. The Preliminary
examination was confined to the following subjects : 1. A
grammatical knowledge of the English language; 2. A
practical knowledge of arithmetic, including proportion,
vulgar and decimal fractions; 3. Descriptive geography,
embracing the form, size, and motion of the earth : its
natural and artificial divisions; 4. The outlines of
English history.
151. Bishop Gray's Visitation Journal, 10.9.1871, MF, 1.4.1872,
17:113.
152. Report of the Board of Public Examiners in Literature and
Science, 1867 - 1868, G.15-'68, 49.
153. Gray to Woodruffe, 6.2.1869, L810:242.
154. List of Zonnebloem students who obtained Third Class
certificates in Literature and Science, 1869 - 1874, ZP.
155. "Bishop Gray's Visitation to the Archdeaconry of George,
March to June 1869", CZ, Feb. 1956, 23 no. 1:3.
156. Bishop Gray's Visitation Journal, Namaqualand, 10.9.1871,
MF, 1.4.1872, 17:113.
157. Wood, op.cit., 94f.
158. Biographical notes on Thomas Clementson provided by his
granddaughter, Mrs. M Houghton, January 1975.
159. W.L. Clementson licensed catechist in the diocese of Cape
Town, 27.4.1870 - Licences : Clergy, Chapels, Readers,
Catechists, BA, and Clementson File, MR.
160. W.L. Clementson started work at Mossel Bay on 20.12.1874,
Clementson File, MR.
161. Clementson File, MR; Wood, 68.

162. University Calendar, 1875, University of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town : Juta, 1875)
163. South African Provincial Church Directory, 1905, 191.
164. In 1873, the University Incorporation Act was passed by which an examining university, the University of the Cape of Good Hope, was brought into being. It was modelled on the University of London of that day, and had its own royal charter (granted in 1877), its own chancellor, vice-chancellor, council and convocation. This institution conducted examinations for degrees in Arts, Law, Divinity, Agriculture, certain Law Certificates, Civil Engineering, Music and so on. It controlled the Junior Certificate and Matriculation examinations, Civil Service Law examinations, the Teachers' Professional Certificate and entry to the Public Service - Behr and Macmillan, op.cit., 230.
165. Clementson File, MR
166. The marriage took place on 12.10.1875 at All Saints, Durban - Marriage Register, All Saints, Durbanville.
167. R. Sheard was the first to receive the MA degree, in 1874. H.J. Neethling was the other student to receive the degree in 1876 - University Calendar, 1876, University of the Cape of Good Hope.
168. Clementson File, MR.
169. On 16.8.1881, Clementson was given permission to exercise his office as priest and officiate in any Church or Chapel within the Province of Canterbury for 2 years, Ibid.
170. Church Directory, 1905, 191; Clementson File, MR; University of Durham Records, see Norris to Hodgson, 24.10.1973.
171. Minutes of a Special Meeting held at St. Mark's School room, called at the request of the Bishop of the Diocese, 23.5.1883 - Church Officer's Book : April 1870 - Sept. 11. 1884, St. Mark's Church.
172. Clementson File, MR
173. "Early Chronicles of S. Mark's", SMR, March 1929, 13 no.3: 4.
174. When the congregation had succeeded in collecting £100, Bishop Gray contributed an equal amount to the building fund. He laid the foundation stone on 13.6.1865. The building was opened on 5.10.1865. The cost was upwards of £940, the last instalment of which was paid off in Oct. 1866, Ibid.
175. SMR, April 1929, 13 no. 4:4.
176. Minutes, March 1884, Church Officer's Book; April 1870 - Sept. 11, 1884, St. Mark's Church.
177. SMR, April 1929, 13 no. 4:5.
178. Sir Hercules Robinson was Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape from 22.1.1881 to 1.5.1889 - Walker, op.cit., xx.
179. SMR, June 1929, 13 no. 6:4f.

180. SMR, July 1929, 13 no. 7:4.
181. SMR, Aug. 1929, 13 no. 8:5.
182. Church Directory, 1905, 191; Clementson File, MR.
183. "In Memoriam - Thomas Clementson", M. Houghton.
184. See reports in SMPM, 1908 - 1917, and SMR, 1918 - 1931.
185. "Early Chronicles of S. Mark's", SMR, April 1929, 13 no. 4:4; SMR, Jan. 1918, 1 no. 1:2.
186. This was given up in 1913 after functioning for 29 years. SMPM, Jan. 1913.
187. See reports in SMPM, 1884 - 1917, and SMR, 1918 - 1919.
188. SMR, April 1931, 15 no. 4:4.
189. University of Durham Records, Norris to Hodgson, 24.10.1973.
190. No. 68, Roeland Street. SMR, Aug. 1929, 13 no. 8:4.
191. SMPM, Oct. 1911.
192. SMR, April 1931, 15 no. 3:4.
193. SMPM, July 1913.
194. SMPM, March - April 1917; J. Newton Thompson, Gwelo Goodman : South African Artist (London : Timmins, 1951) 43.
195. "The Epidemic", SMR, Oct. 1918, 1 no. 10:2.
196. SMR, April 1919, 2 no. 4:3. A Font was erected at St. Mark's in her memory.
197. SMR, April 1919, 2 no. 4:3 and May 1919, 2 no. 5:2.
198. "To the Parishioners of S. Mark's, Capetown" - In his farewell letter to his parishioners, Clementson prayed that God's blessing might be upon all those whom he had baptized, prepared for Confirmation and first Communion, married, and ministered to in any way. He asked that all his fellow workers at St. Mark's would continue to be faithful and steadfast, and rally round the new Rector at once. He ended by saying : "Give yourselves to God; walk in His ways. Pray : come often with devout preparation to His altar : have peace among yourselves. 'Brethren, we commend you to God and to the word of His grace". SMR, June 1919, 2 no. 6:2.
199. Church Directory, 1926, 84; S. de Villiers, Robben Island: Out of Reach, Out of Mind (Cape Town : Struik, 1971)104; University of Durham Records.
200. SMPM, June 1917; SMR, May 1919, 2 no. 5:2f; SMR, July 1931, 15:4.
201. The Leprosy Repression Act was put into force in 1892. 452 patients were admitted to Robben Island from various districts of the Cape Colony during 1893 - The Cape of Good Hope, Report on the General Infirmary, Robben Island, for the year 1893, 81.
202. Private letter of the Rev. and Mrs. W.L. Clementson, and Mrs. Clementson's Memoirs, in the possession of Miss Elsa Witt.

- 203. All Saints Sister to Mrs. Clementson, 3.5.1927, Clementson File, MR.
- 204. De Villiers, op.cit., 104.
- 205. Testimony of Miss Witt, Feb. 1975.
- 206. Church Directory, 1926, 84.
- 207. De Villiers, op.cit., 104.
- 208. Newton Thompson, op.cit., 43.
- 209. Alois Lang, the Oberammergau wood-carver who took the part of Christ in the Passion Plays of 1930 and 1934, carved the figure of Christ. It was brought to South Africa free of charge by the Union Castle Company - Newton Thompson, op.cit., 43. Bishop Williams blessed the crucifix at St. Mark's on 15.3.1931 - SMR, April 1931.
- 210. "In Memoriam - William Lawson Clementson", S. Levis, SMR, May 1927, 2 no. 5:4.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

1. ZONNEBLOEM AT THE CROSSROADS - BISHOP GRAY'S REAPPRAISAL OF THE COLLEGE'S ROLE IN EDUCATION : 1869

Although we have followed the careers of the Zonnebloem graduates into the 1870's and beyond, and seen the conflicts of tradition which were soon to cast further credibility on the training offered to the sons of African chiefs at the Kafir College, we must now return to 1869 and assess Zonnebloem's role in education through the eyes of contemporaries, more particularly Bishop Gray, for whom these events still lay in the future. At the end of the 1860's, Zonnebloem stood at the crossroads. At this crucial point, Bishop Gray had to decide whether the College should continue or be abandoned.

The Factors which Precipitated the Crisis

A number of factors were instrumental in precipitating a crisis at this particular juncture. Firstly, with the enrolment down to eighteen, few of whom were Kafirs, it had become apparent that the original objects for which the College had been founded, were no longer sufficient justification for its continuance in Cape Town.

When the Institution had been established in 1858, education on the Eastern Frontier had still been in its infancy and the handful of Anglican schools had been struggling to get going. In the ensuing twelve years, the system of mission schools had become so extended that an Elementary school in Cape Town, designed primarily for the sons and daughters of Kafir chiefs and councillors, was no longer needed. Neither was an Industrial Institution nor a College of greater pretensions, such as the Grahamstown Kafir Institution, situated at a distance from the Africans' homelands, a practicable or desirable proposition. (1)

In contrast to Zonnebloem, the Grahamstown Kafir Institution was fulfilling a real need in training African teachers. The students were drawn from the surrounding area and returned to work in mission schools near their homes. So great was the demand for entrance to the Institution at this time, that the applicants had to sit a competitive entrance examination. Furthermore, the students' parents were, in most instances, expected to contribute

according to their means towards the financing of their sons' schooling. (2) Zonnebloem, even though it offered free education, could not compete with a College that was more readily available to the Kafirs, and situated in a more congenial climate.

The Cape Town climate was the second factor which precipitated the crisis concerning the Kafir College's future. Because of the African students' susceptibility to consumption, it seemed that their removal to the capital for their schooling was a risk to their health. There were grave doubts in many quarters as to whether the Church was justified in endangering the Africans' health by encouraging them to come to Zonnebloem.

Government criticism was a third factor. Following on the inquiry into the recent deaths of four students, there was the distinct possibility that the Government might intervene and force the College to close down. This, in spite of the fact that considerable improvements had been carried out with regard to sanitary arrangements and the students' living conditions. As a result of the adverse report submitted by the Superintendent-General of Education, questions had been raised in Parliament. Consequently, there was great uncertainty as to whether Zonnebloem would continue to be allocated State aid. (3)

These then were the main points of contention which Bishop Gray had to take into account with regard to Zonnebloem's future. After collecting all the necessary evidence, he then had to weigh up the pros and cons of continuing the College. His first consideration was whether such an Institution as Zonnebloem was still needed or desirable. Secondly, if it were, whether it could fulfil any additional role in education. Gray was fortunate in that he was able to share the decision with his fellow bishops. The Synod of Bishops met most opportunely in January 1869.

The Bishops of the Province decide on Zonnebloem's Future Role

After giving the matter due consideration, it was the bishops' unanimous verdict that Zonnebloem should be maintained for the education of natives. (4) In addition, however, they recommended that its objects should be extended to include training of a more specialized nature. Their recommendations read as follows :

1. That it should offer an education to the children of tribes from all parts of South and South East Africa. Extending, as British influence is throughout

Africa, and desirous as the Native Tribes seem increasingly to become, to be brought into contact with the British Government, and with civilization, the Bishops of the Province would deeply regret if opportunities ceased to be offered, through such an Institution, to Chiefs or others desirous to avail themselves of the Education which it has hitherto afforded.

2. But, in addition to the above department, they are of opinion that a more complete English and Theological Education than is provided by the Mission Institutions of the several Dioceses, might be given there to candidates for Holy Orders and others. (5)

According to the new policy, the principal part of Zonnebloem's work would henceforth be the finishing education of the most promising pupils from the various mission schools in the Province, which might enable them to pass both the Government examinations and the examinations for the office of catechist or of the ministry. The pupils would enter the College in their teens, and would not remain there for more than three or four years. (6)

Bishop Gray was more than satisfied with the bishops' recommendations. He was pleased that while Zonnebloem would in future attract students of a different calibre, it would not be closing its doors to children from the heathen tribes. He believed that the objects for which the College had **been** founded, still held true : that its role in educating natives was still calculated to be of inestimable value to the advancement of civilization in South Africa. (7) In other words, the new educational policy would allow Zonnebloem to continue serving the purposes of both Church and Government.

This was a vital point in negotiating for the Government's continued support of Zonnebloem. The Church could not hope to finance such a work unaided. Unless it received State aid, it would go under. The difficulty was that while Zonnebloem was moving away from its role as an Industrial Institution, it was its functioning as such that qualified it for subsidization. Its future, therefore, hinged on Wodehouse's sense of its importance. Much depended on Bishop Gray's presentation of its case. In his statement to the Governor, written in February 1869, Gray made a point of emphasizing the political usefulness of the College while playing down its religious role.

Bishop Gray presents Zonnebloem's case to the Governor

Bishop Gray began his report to the Governor by reviewing the

work of the College up to that time. In considering the facts at his disposal, Gray expressed his complete satisfaction with the progress of the pupils at the school, and of the further development of those students who had already left. He argued that Zonnebloem could not be judged by standards applicable to the usual type of school, where pupils with a grounding in elementary education were selected for higher training either according to good conduct or aptitude in learning, because no selection had been attempted with the first group of fifty Kafir College pupils. Their willingness to leave home and accompany Sir George Grey to Cape Town had been their only qualification for admission. They were, for the most part, raw Kafirs, of different ages, with no previous schooling, unable to understand English, the medium of their instruction, and from a tradition that had social customs and beliefs alien to Western culture. Indeed, Bishop Gray expressed himself gratified that despite these difficulties, the majority had turned out so well and were as much credit to the Institution. He continued•:

It is but due to these young people to say that as a whole their conduct has been excellent and their progress in learning considerable. I do not believe that any School in England, of the same size and with pupils of the same age, could exhibit a smaller catalogue of offences during the same period. I think that I have known of nearly every fault worth naming and I confess that I have often been struck with the small number of them, considering all circumstances.
(8)

In reviewing the students' progress on their return home, Bishop Gray openly admitted that a few of the unpromising boys, who had been sent away from time to time, had probably gone back to heathenism. But as for those who had completed their schooling, he was proud of the fact that as many as thirteen were labouring as Religious teachers, mainly in the diocese of Grahamstown; and that at least another ten, who were not employed in any spiritual capacity, were nonetheless conducting themselves well as Christians among their own people.

A factor which had frustrated the work of the College considerably, was the difficulty which had been encountered in finding suitable employment for the graduates. The Church had failed to provide posts for a number of promising students. Not only had they been prevented from putting the fruits of their training into

practice, but they had been abandoned in the midst of their heathen countrymen to make their own way as best as they could. This was a severe test for the immature Christians. Besides which, it made the assessment of their capabilities and accomplishments an impossibility.

After completing his review of the College's work, Bishop Gray then went on to present evidence which lent support to his contention that Zonnebloem still had an important part to play in serving the purpose of Government. He argued that even though the College no longer served the Kafirs' interests, it was valued by many heathen chiefs situated at strategic points throughout the country, all of which were potential trouble-spots.

Gray cited the enthusiasm for Zonnebloem which Wodehouse had himself recently witnessed while on a visit to the newly acquired British colony of Basutoland. Powerful chiefs had praised the College's work. Moshesh had "repeatedly expressed the sense of its importance". (9) Letsie, the heir to the paramountcy, had insisted, against all advice, on the Governor's taking his son down with him to Cape Town so that he might attend the College. This interest was not confined to the Basuto chiefs. Chief Umnini of Natal had three sons at the College. Edward, son of Chief Mahura, who lived north of Hope Town, was also a student there.

In addition, Bishop Gray hoped to tap new fields. A brief look at the map will show just how broad was the scope of his vision. He had already offered to receive children of Namaqua chiefs, as well as of the Damaras - the tribe who had lately been troublesome on the Northern Frontier. He was also eager to include the Ovampos in Zonnebloem's outreach. The Bishop had long been interested in the evangelization of this tribe living beyond the north west border of the Colony. Although the Finnish missionaries had established a mission there, they were not in a position to offer superior educational facilities. The Kafir College, by accepting the sons of Ovampo chiefs, could provide the opening for the Church to enter this area.

Gray believed that with Britain's revised policy of annexing territories and the acquiring of new colonies, the type of education offered by Zonnebloem could well be a significant element in securing the loyalty of the new British subjects. In

setting out his argument before the Governor, he reiterated sentiments that he had expressed at the time of the College's founding : "In no way can we more effectively influence these many Tribes with whom, in the course of God's Providence we are being brought day by day into closer intercourse, than by the education of their children". (10)

The Bishop maintained that he had a strong case for the continuation of Government backing to Zonnebloem because he was now in a position to substantiate his claims concerning the College's potential political and religious influence. As he told Wodehouse :

If I may judge from my Kafir boys, they return to their own people, largely imbued with English feeling, - with a great respect for our Government; and with a conviction that both it, and the Church, sincerely desire to benefit their race, and to raise them out of their degradation. (11)

Having established to his satisfaction that "some Institution of kindred objects with that of Zonnebloem" was desirable, Bishop Gray then turned to consider whether the Kafir College should remain in its present position, or whether it should be removed elsewhere.

Dr. Dale and Dr. Landsberg, the Government officials representing Education and Health respectively, had criticized Zonnebloem's situation. They had complained in particular about the violent winds that prevailed there during the Summer months. But the Bishop refused to accept their views as being conclusive and asked Dr. Abercrombie, the school doctor of many years' standing, to give his candid opinion. Gray held that the students' doctor had the best opportunity to assess the situation and was best qualified to judge the issue. (12) Abercrombie subsequently stated that it was his conviction that the South East winds were not sufficient ground for removal of the College.

In actual fact, removal could not be lightly contemplated for there were "other grave reasons" for keeping the College where it was : financial reasons. (13) The crux of the matter was that the property had been purchased at a very high price, an inflated price as it turned out ten years later. This extravagant transaction had been carried out, so Bishop Gray told Wodehouse, "not only with the concurrence, but by the urgent advice of Sir G. Grey". (14) If the Church were to sell the property at the

present time, they would be likely to suffer a substantial financial loss. A clause in the trust deed allowed the Government to claim back their contribution of £2500 if Zonnebloem was sold. With the prevailing low prices in the property market resulting from the depression, the place was not likely to fetch more than £3000, half the amount paid for it.

Even if another place could be purchased with the remaining money, there was no guarantee that the pupils would escape the danger of contracting consumption if moved to another situation. All the authorities agreed that the native races were peculiarly susceptible to this disease. The high instance of deaths was not limited to the Kafir pupils at the College. Dr. Abercrombie had told Gray that the disease was greatly reducing the coloured population in Cape Town. The Bishop decided, therefore, that the College must remain where it was. (15)

The last question Bishop Gray had to consider, was what could be done to render the Institution more efficient and examine whether any alterations were required in the Building or Management or system of Education.

As far as education was concerned, Gray was quite satisfied that it could not be improved in efficiency. With regard to management, steps were then afoot to find a replacement for Glover. It was hoped that a new Warden would shortly be appointed. As for the accommodation, alterations had already been carried out to improve the domestic arrangements in accordance with the Government representatives' recommendations. Gray conceded that additional buildings were urgently needed. But he pointed out to Wodehouse that although plans had been prepared many years since, the hall and extra bedrooms had never been built because they had never had sufficient funds. He was even prepared to erect the new buildings at the present time, using money promised in England; but the College's expansion scheme must be held in abeyance while there remained any doubt as to its permanent establishment.

Bishop Gray believed that in presenting Zonnebloem's case to the Governor, he had refuted the authorities' complaints, exonerated the Church from culpability, and proved the College's worth. He had delivered a strong argument for the continuation of the College. Furthermore, his plans for its future had the full backing of the Church. All now depended on whether the Government would

continue to honour their share of the responsibility for Zonnebloem and allow it to carry on functioning as a State-aided Institution. In concluding his letter to Wodehouse, Gray asked the Governor to clarify the situation so that the Church might know where they stood. The Bishop wrote :

Were there any guarantee that the Government grant would be continued at the rate hitherto paid (viz. £4000 a year, or a fixed allowance for each pupil) on the ground that a Colony situated like this ought to be prepared to offer education to Natives, bordering upon, as well as within, our dominion I should still be inclined to make every effort to render the buildings of such an Institution worthy both of the Government which supported it, and of the Church. On the Frontier large sums were given by Sir G. Grey towards the erection of buildings for Native Institutions. The time has passed for making such grants. But having myself spent more than £4000 on this property, which owing to the depreciation of all property, would not realize that sum, if put to sale, I feel that I am entitled to ask that, if the Government, from whatever reason, is not able or willing to fulfil the expectations which were held out to me when I embarked in the undertaking, I may at least be released from any conditions to which I only assented in the belief that the Government would share with me the cost of maintaining the Institution.

(16)

Zonnebloem's New Educational Policy

Bishop Gray's fears for Zonnebloem's future happily proved unfounded. The Government grant was continued as before. Whether Wodehouse was prompted to make this decision because of political considerations, having been won over by the force of Gray's argument, or whether he felt bound to honour the Government's commitment to the Church in this common venture, is beside the point. The fact remains is that once Zonnebloem was assured that State aid would be kept up, the College could be launched on what would hopefully be a more viable course. And so it was that Zonnebloem was able to accept the challenge of changing circumstances and enter the 1870's with a new policy in education.

Bishop Gray was fired with renewed enthusiasm as a result. In an attempt to expand the scope of Zonnebloem's work, he reconsidered ways and means of grafting a Provincial Theological College onto the Institution. But lack of funds once more put paid to this plan. (17) The Bishop also contemplated connecting a Brotherhood to the Kafir College. His plan was that the brothers could be put

in charge of mission work among the Mohammedans as well as being made responsible for education in Cape Town. He wrote to Father Benson in Oxford suggesting that the Society of St. John the Evangelist might feel called to do this work. (18) No members of the community were then available. The call, however, was not forgotten. The Cowley Fathers eventually opened a branch house in District Six, fifteen years later. But although the Brotherhood was established close by to Zonnebloem, it remained independent of the Institution. (19)

No matter that these more idealistic plans of Bishop Gray's did not materialize, for other significant developments took place at Zonnebloem during the new decade. As a result of the dual nature of the new educational policy, Zonnebloem moved towards becoming first and foremost a Diocesan Institution, receiving recognition as the main training centre for Coloured and white catechists and teachers. While it still served as a school for the sons of African chiefs, its Provincial function was of secondary importance. (20)

Further policy changes during the 1870's were instrumental in altering Zonnebloem's scope even more. In 1872, it was decided that students would in future be expected to pay fees where possible. They would also be required to provide their own clothes. But the most radical departure from the old order took place in 1873, when day boys were admitted for the first time and Zonnebloem was no longer exclusively a boarding school. (21)

During the many years of its existence, Zonnebloem has reached successive crossroads. Following the change in direction in the 1870's, the College ran smoothly along its new course for the next thirty years. Then in 1900 a falling off in numbers necessitated another reappraisal of its educational policy. Once again, a change in direction ensured that Zonnebloem obtained a new lease of life. There have been further adjustments at successive stages during the twentieth century, too. But as each critical point has been reached, Zonnebloem has adapted to the altered circumstances and survived.

2. Evaluation

Church and Society are concerned with people. This history of an educational institution is about people - black, brown and white people. It is about the pupils - the sons and daughters of

African chiefs and councillors - and the dedicated church workers who were their teachers at the Kafir College and who, through education, tried to bring about the cultural and religious conversion of their charges.

Comparatively little has been written about the history of the Anglican Church in South Africa. What few books there are deal mainly with the leaders of the Church - the bishops and outstanding pioneer missionary priests. Glimpses into the lives of ordinary people giving witness to their Christian commitment are incidental to these biographies. In this history of Zonnebloem, however, not only do we have a description of an experiment in education, but we also have a study of Church and Society which gives us a picture of the every day life of Christians drawn from different traditions, and of the life of the Church in contrasting communities throughout the country.

The first twelve years in the history of Zonnebloem form a clearly defined entity. 1870 marks the natural limit of the period for it is the point at which the first order came to an end and a new order began to evolve.

By the end of the 1860's most of those who had been involved in the first era at the Kafir College had left the scene. Of those who had guided the lives of the students, Edward Glover had by then relinquished his position as Warden, Louisa Glover and Sophy Gray were dead, Sir George Grey was governing New Zealand, and Sir Philip Wodehouse had returned to England. Only Bishop Gray and Dr. Dale were still at hand to direct the College's development in the new decade; and the Bishop was not destined to be on the scene much longer for he died in 1872.

As for the students, by 1870 the majority of the early intake had either returned to their fathers' kraals or taken up work in the mission field. But no matter what their occupation might be, they each and every one had to make the difficult readjustment to life in tribal society.

While comparing the careers of the respective students, we have seen how they were tried on many fronts. We have evidence of their response to a wide spectrum of situations. Their different experiences make possible some evaluation of the effects of their education and so determine whether they had been suitably equipped

to carry out the tasks to which their training was directed. It must be remembered, though, that there are large gaps in the available evidence. Furthermore, such evidence as we have was set down by contemporary observers and account must be taken in particular of the bias of the Victorian churchworkers' viewpoint. An assessment by present day standards would differ markedly in certain instances from that of a century ago.

Take for example the change in the Church's attitude towards polygamy, the transgression that condemned so many of the Zonnebloem students to a sentence of excommunication. To-day we would probably allow greater latitude and there is a more empathetic attitude towards this still unresolved problem. What to our forefathers was a complete lapse, could be to us a matter for sympathetic understanding needing constructive attempts at reconciliation. But we have hindsight and can consider the question more rationally against the background of world thought. Whereas the majority of Victorian missionaries believed that this was one of the standards of morality set down by Church and Society that must be rigidly adhered to. They insisted that the Church's disciples must maintain a code of conduct which conformed with their interpretation of Christ's teaching. Only by being a living example of the values of the Christian faith could they impress the heathen. The same principle is no less true to-day save only that the values have shifted, hopefully from letter to spirit. The wonder is that any of the converts of a century ago survived the Church's stringent test.

Important as the Church's involvement in the work of Zonnebloem was, full cognizance must also be taken of the Government's stake in this venture. Politics must of necessity play an important part in the history of the College. The series of events we have described which were peculiar to Zonnebloem and its pupils cannot be separated from the main stream of events in the country. We have tried, therefore, to weave the threads of the Zonnebloem students' histories into the fabric of contemporary South African history.

The period under discussion was a critical time in the country's history. It was a time when control over the numerous separate political units was continually shifting. Conflict was the order of the day as black and white competed for land, the blacks

making their last stand on numerous fronts against white encroachment.

When the Africans were finally overwhelmed by the Europeans' superior fighting power, they were forced to try and make the giant stride from the kraal to nineteenth century colonial society. As Bishop Callaway put it, people who had inherited "centuries of savagedom and superstition" were all at once expected to conform to alien standards of behaviour, the "inherited results of centuries of culture and religious influence". (22) They were expected to accept the Christian truths, which appeared to them as a religious system of a foreign society with which they could not identify.

The Kafir College students were supposedly given the advantages of an education which assisted them in bridging the gap in one generation. Their training was designed to place the educated sons and daughters of the chiefs and councillors in the vanguard of the reconstruction of African society. As the instrument of Government they were to lead their people in the peaceful revolution the purpose of which was to change a comparatively primitive society into a more technically advanced and rationally ordered one.

At the same time, the Zonnebloem students were expected to be disciples of the Church. Their lives were to be a witness to Christ's message. Through their preaching and teaching they were to take the Word of God to their countrymen, in their own language and in an idiom they could understand. They were to represent Christianity as a religion of the world belonging as much to the African as to the European.

This was the ideal as envisaged by the founders. The reality was a somewhat different story. In trying to assess the successes and failures we have purposefully not lifted the College graduates' careers out of their context. We have isolated and evaluated the experiences of individual students by freezing the history at specific points so as to ensure that their conduct was assessed in relation to the situation in which they found themselves at successive junctures. This is a necessary safeguard as it would be easy for modern man to label the students as freaks, the College as a failure; and this was anything but the case.

One cannot at this point, with such diverse material, come to any firm conclusions. The material must largely speak for itself. But in order to draw it together let us look briefly at the conclusions of those involved before attempting some kind of assessment of our own, noticing how little their views differed from ours, a century later. Those concerned included Bishop Gray, Sir George Grey, Dr. Langham Dale, Zonnebloem's British benefactors, the missionaries, the colonists, the students' countrymen and the students themselves.

Bishop Gray's Evaluation

Gray fully believed that the first fruits of the Kafir College had fulfilled the purpose for which the Institution had been founded. Furthermore, he maintained that the founders' vision was still valid as far as Zonnebloem's future development was concerned, though in a supplementary capacity. The development of the College had to follow the pattern of development in the country. Its destiny was shaped by forces beyond Gray's control. The remarkable fact is that Gray, and his peers, were able to assess the new needs in education and expand the College's objectives accordingly, so ensuring Zonnebloem's survival. As far as the first era was concerned, one wonders just how much more could have been accomplished if the work of the College had not been so continually frustrated by financial difficulties.

Sir George Grey's Black English Gentlemen

The founding of the Kafir College was but a segment of Sir George Grey's grandiose schemes for civilizing South Africa's aboriginal inhabitants through industrial education. Nonetheless, the Governor had high hopes that by establishing this exclusive institution in the capital, the future leaders of the African people would be transformed into black English gentlemen, imbued with the virtues of Victorian culture and loyalty to the Queen and British Empire. There is no doubt that Zonnebloem turned out some polished products epitomizing these ideals, of whom Sir George would have been proud. Students who, besides their basic training as catechists and teachers, developed a comprehension and subtle skills that allowed them to become fully assimilated into European society.

On their return home, the new image of the Zonnebloem graduates was undoubtedly an example to their people - most probably rather

an awful one which the majority of their fellow countrymen had little desire to emulate. But no matter that their education set the chiefs' sons and their College companions apart from their people, their experience in Cape Town and England had allowed them to see at first hand what the British hoped and aspired to, giving them an insight into the vision of the British Empire.

Although other institutions, such as that at Grahamstown, turned out competent native agents for the Church, they did not succeed in opening the windows that Zonnebloem and St. Augustine's managed to do. And even though these black English gentlemen had to suffer agonies of readjustment on taking up the threads of tribal life, theirs was an essential role in the overall scheme of things. There was no halting the progress of Western civilization and they were instrumental in paving the way for the new order of society which their people had little choice but to accept.

Sir George Grey's objective that the educated sons of chiefs would infiltrate into their respective tribes and prepare the way for the peaceful occupation of the Interior of Africa by Europeans was, therefore, realized to some extent. What is even more significant, however, was the stand which the high-ranking students took when the British occupation of their homelands was anything but peaceful and their new-found loyalty was put to the test.

George Tlali Moshesh is an outstanding example of one who was prepared to honour his new commitments. When the confrontation between African and European took place in Basutoland at the time of the War of the Guns, he took his stand on the side of the British. In addition, just as Sir George Grey had hoped, the traditional loyalty of the African people to their chief held true, and George Tlali's clansmen followed him into battle to fight alongside the European forces. As allies of Britain, this Basuto detachment were required to take up arms against their own people, their own brothers even. While not wishing to detract from the price George Tlali had to pay for his loyalty, it must be remembered that intertribal fighting was a normal phenomenon as brothers jockeyed for position and power, and, European pressures or not, this would most probably have been the course of events.

There were of course those few Zonnebloem educated sons of Kafir chiefs who, despite their years at the College, were not "imbued with English feeling". (23) When they in turn were put to the test at the time of the Eighth Kafir War, they rejected the values expected of them as black English gentlemen. Tribal loyalties proved too strong for Gonya (Edmund) Sandile and Nathaniel Umhala, and they sided with the rebels. Their defection was a bitter disappointment to Zonnebloem. The College's British benefactors were among those who grieved most at this setback for they felt that they had a personal stake in Zonnebloem and its students.

Zonnebloem's British Benefactors

It was the transfusion of British money into the Church's coffers that supported its work in the colonial mission field. And it was the religious public "at home" who kept the pulse of Zonnebloem beating during the first twelve years, when all other means of financial aid failed.

We have seen how Bishop Gray encouraged subscribers to "adopt" Zonnebloem students as a means of ensuring regular support to the College. Seeing that they had assumed a special responsibility for the young men, the patrons took a personal interest in their proteges progress and naturally hoped that their sponsorship would reap its due reward. But the British benefactors had to be satisfied with small returns on their investment in Zonnebloem. Some of the students died before completing their training. Others faded from the scene after only a short time in the mission field. Most of those who remained within the Church's fold had but little to show for their endeavours. There were few who became leaders in the Church's army of black evangelists, as envisaged by Bishop Gray.

The students' patrons had to be satisfied with nebulous results. Their commitment to the work of Zonnebloem was sorely tried. While one can well sympathize with their sense of frustration, it is inconceivable that those in Britain, living 6000 miles distant, could have had any conception of the trials which the students had to undergo on their return home. But before pursuing the matter further, it is necessary to take a critical look at the education offered at Zonnebloem during this period.

"The Kid-Glove Era" in Education at Zonnebloem

The education of Africans was a subject which evoked considerable

debate during the nineteenth century, more particularly in the later half. There were many diverse opinions as to what this education should comprise. Not surprisingly the African and European definitions differed somewhat. (24) As the question as a whole relates more to the second stage of Zonnebloem's development, we will confine our critique to "the kid-glove era" as Dr. Dale called it, (25) so that we can consider whether the training offered the chosen few at this time was either in their best interests or those of the Church.

As Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. Dale's policy was to provide elementary and industrial education only in the Third Class schools which catered for aborigenes. He maintained that the standards of instruction must remain low for a long time, arguing that the intellectual power among the Africans was "dormant". (26) Dr. Dale was very critical of the high level of education which the Kafir College provided for its senior students during the first era. His views are contained in a speech, delivered at Zonnebloem in May 1877, in which he recalled the early years at the College :

These were the palmy days; the Imperial grant of £1000 per annum was going on; the most promising lads were sent to complete their education at St. Augustine's; they played chess with some great Lady Bountiful, and took tea with some noble Duchess. This was the age of sentimentalism, which has happily passed away from the English notions of training natives. The kid-glove era, as it has been called, has finally disappeared, and the discipline of the public school system, and of the saw, plane, hammer, and spade has taken its place. The lesson was learnt, but it cost time and money. (27)

Dr. Dale held that higher education for Africans served only to create a class whose "very advantages have made a wide breach between themselves and their heathen kindred and have been at the same time inoperative or inadequate to open them a way into higher social intercourse". (28) In his opinion, the Zonnebloem students' experiences substantiated his argument.

The location of the Kafir Collete in Cape Town had made the initial breach between the students and their kinsmen. This had in fact been the founders' intention, believing as they did that the African children under their care must be far removed from their countrymen so that they could be kept apart from "heathen and barbarous influences". The founders had also considered it

vital to their purpose to place the sons of chiefs in the centre of civilization in South Africa.

It can be argued that while the Grahamstown Institution could turn out equally well qualified teachers, it is doubtful whether students could have been given an equally comprehensive "Imperial" education while they stayed in close contact with their traditional culture. Again, by reason of its remoteness from the Africans' homelands, Zonnebloem remained untouched by tribal politicking such as that which forced Ekukanyeni to close down. But such advantages of location as these were, were outweighed by many disadvantages. These hinged round the fact that the College in Cape Town was isolated from the realities of life in the kraal and in the mission field.

The Zonnebloem students were removed from their homes by time as well as distance. Some of them stayed at the College for as long as twelve years. Subsequently, the detachment from their tribal background which had been carried out by design, had a backlash. When the graduates returned to their own countries they found that they had become irretrievably alienated. The black English gentlemen had developed a taste for the niceties of life, the comforts of civilization, and intellectual companionship that were not available in African society. Their education, planned to help them bridge the gap between the two cultures, had actually created a cleavage that seemed to be unbridgeable.

It appears that the students' feeling of alienation was made more acute by the high standard of education they had received. Those that took up work in the mission field found that they were not given opportunities to use their erudition. They were required to carry out routine duties at a very basic level. Practical skills were needed rather than the intellectual. Further, they had to remain in a subordinate social position.

Callaway was one of the leading Churchmen who criticized the type of training given the black evangelists at Zonnebloem as being too superior, and unsuited to the Church's needs. Addressing Synod in 1871, he said that "simple earnest men, could often teach the heathen better than those whose education might lead them to entomb rather than enshrine the truth The Apostles would have ordained such men without requiring literacy qualifi-

cations". (29) Callaway believed that it was a mistake to send Africans to St. Augustine's or Colleges like Zonnebloem. He maintained that "the best training was a life of devotion and action". (30)

Although the instruction given at Zonnebloem and St. Augustine's was intended to be a basic training for the ministry, only one African graduate from this early period was found fitting to be ordained, while one out of the two European graduates entered the ministry. This could be taken as proof that the education at Zonnebloem was more suited to those who had centuries of Western tradition behind them. It must be remembered, however, that the Africans had been given an education that would allow them to become fully assimilated into European society; but whereas the white graduates automatically took their place in colonial circles, their black counterparts were rejected, a severe setback at the start of their careers.

The Zonnebloem Students' Social Position

The Zonnebloem students who had spent some time furthering their studies in England, were particularly sensitive to the disparity in their social position on their return to South Africa. Their situation was not unique though, for, amongst others, a large body of Africans were sent by the African Methodist Episcopal Church to Negro Colleges in America during the second half of the nineteenth century. (31)

After some years overseas of being accepted on equal terms, these educated elites had difficulty in adjusting to the inferior social position to which they were relegated in their own country. Their attempts to gain acceptance as equals in colonial society were met with scorn by Europeans. The following extract is typical of the criticism that was levelled against them :

Unfortunately their travels were too much for their partially developed brains, and most returned with their heads completely turned, and rather than being the better fitted for Mission Work they actually did harm by their unguarded remarks about their superiority and the inferiority of the White man. (32)

No doubt the African students who had attended St. Augustine's had been petted and spoiled. Perhaps they even had inflated ideas of their own importance. But they had to suffer intolerable frustration on their return home. Their cultural conversion had

been complete and they had lost their tribal identity. There was no going back. Yet they were not accepted by the colonists as black English gentlemen. They were denied equal social and economic opportunities.

The majority of white traders, farmers, artisans and officials living in the frontier districts were highly critical of educated Africans, and berated the missionaries for "spoiling the natives". Although Peter Masiza, the first African to be ordained in the Anglican Church, ministered to black and white alike, he was an exception. According to Callaway, Masiza achieved this distinction by winning the settlers' respect, a circumstance which outweighed their colour prejudice. (33)

The graduates of the Grahamstown Institution were in much the same position as their Cape Town counterparts; but perhaps they did not have such high aspirations. Some settlers realized that it would be in the whites' interest to give their educated black brethren a better deal, but they were in the minority. One wonders whether the comments of a reporter, who witnessed the passing out ceremony of the Grahamstown Kafir students in 1872, made much impression on the white readers of the local newspaper in which his article appeared :

The relation in which we colonists stand to our brethren with black skins, flat noses, and woolly heads, carries with it solemn duties, that are just as clearly dictated by common sense and self-interest, as they are by either morality or religion. To convert the surrounding hordes of aborigenes as far as possible to a better mind, is to make them at once better servants, better neighbours, and less dangerous rivals. (34)

With the door to European society closed to them, the Zonnebloem students looked to see where they could find a place in African society. They had three alternatives. They could either enter the mission field as employees of the Church, or they could try and live as Christians in their home environment keeping contact with the Church as best as they might, or else they could reject their Christian education and try and become reassimilated into tribal culture.

Those who shed their Western image and returned to "the red clay", still found difficulty in being accepted by their heathen kinsmen. Although they had regained their tribal image, they

could not turn back the clock. They found that they were not afforded the consideration, respect, standing and power that would have been theirs if they had never ventured from home. Gonya Sandile, for instance, could not inherit the paramount chieftaincy of the Ngqikas supposedly because he had not been circumcized nor undergone the traditional ceremonies attendant on this rite. Samuel Moroka was another whose tribe would not accept him as their leader.

Those Zonnebloem students who tried to retain the mode of life expected of a civilized and Christian African while remaining in the kraal, invariably fell between two stools. Neither side would be satisfied. The Church's rules could not be reconciled with tribal practices, and in trying to please both worlds these unfortunate misfits ended up by betraying the standards of the one as well as the other. Those that remained in close contact with the Church and had the constant support and encouragement of a white missionary friend, were bolstered up to make greater efforts. But in the end tribal pressure forced most of them to compromise, usually by taking a second wife, and the Church would not countenance such conduct.

One has great compassion for those who were forced by circumstances to go it alone: more particularly the Basutos, who lived in isolated areas completely cut off from the ministrations of their Church and out of touch with even the outposts of civilization. Theirs was a lonely witness. Their efforts to live as Christians midst hostile heathen countrymen are deserving of great admiration.

The Zonnebloem students who for the most part managed to come up to expectations, were largely aided in their endeavours by remaining under the shelter of the Church's wing. From the start, Bishop Gray had insisted that the raw black evangelists should not be transplanted from College to kraal without a helping hand, and that European supervision in the mission field was an essential factor in ensuring the successful fruition of Zonnebloem's work. This paternalistic approach has been condemned in recent years. But there is no doubt that those catechist teachers who were relegated to lonely outposts among the red blanket heathen, found the difficulties of being aliens in tribal society more than they could cope with. They soon succumbed to the temptations of their traditional way of life.

The Missionaries' Role

The missionaries played a major role in shaping the Zonnebloem teachers' careers. It was easy for the students to conform as Christians while at College, but once they entered the wide world they needed constant shepherding to keep them on the straight and narrow way.

Now-a-days the missionaries have become the target for much criticism for both black and white. They are made the scapegoats for everything that went wrong. While accepting the fact that they failed to make an attempt to encourage the development of an indigenous Christianity, they nonetheless deserve much praise for their lives of courage, self-sacrifice and commitment to their calling. Without their services to education in the frontier districts, the Africans' development would have been slow in the extreme. Father Downton made a sound evaluation of their contribution, when he wrote in 1905 :

The effects of large doses of European civilization on Native communities is painful social indigestion debilitating to the sufferers, and commonly attributed to the malign influence of the missionary. Actually the missionary ... is the main influence for the regeneration, elevation, guidance of the Natives during the time of their social reconstruction, a chaos in which their old customs and ideas are failing them and the new are slow to form. (35)

The Church's Judgment

The Christian code provided a framework which enabled the Zonnebloem students to keep within the bounds of their newly acquired culture. For many, however, this framework, instead of being a stiffening for their backbones, became a straightjacket which the young converts found unbearably constricting. But when they tried to shed its confines, disaster surely followed. The Christian code allowed no latitude. Those that failed to obey the rules could expect to have to face the Church's stern judgment and suffer excommunication. This was the fate that befell many of the early group of Zonnebloem graduates, they being counted as failures as a result.

Success and failure : who is to judge 2 The students themselves have already had their say. Josiah Bennekazi, writing to Sir George Grey in 1880, used the Church's standards in dividing the sheep from the goats among his College contemporaries. (36) For

those who were branded as failures, it is difficult to decide in what measure they felt guilt. According to Bishop Key, writing at this time :

The idea of sin is almost new to the native Christian, a conscience in the Christian sense is almost unknown. They understand wrong-doing, for it brings punishment and often disgrace; but guilt in our sense, the idea of shame, of remorse, of a desire to flee from GOD's presence, they understand in their heathen state but little, though their relations to the spirits of their ancestors and to their chief do bring to light some touches which show that conscience is dormant rather than wanting. But a tender delicate conscience will be the growth of generations. (37)

Be that as it may, with the approach of death many of the Zonnebloem "sinners" were troubled by the stirrings of a Christian conscience, and felt the need to repent and be taken back into the Anglican fold. This was proof indeed that the values inculcated in their education had been deeply implanted, and had triumphed in the end.

Because Zonnebloem's education was of a superior order and its students a select group, ordinary results were not enough and so-called failures were exaggerated out of all proportion. The graduates were expected to be "supermen". Even though a comparatively large number of catechist teachers were active in the mission field, this achievement was not sufficient. Theirs was an unreasonable responsibility to achieve eminence. But they were only human. They had the normal frailties of their fellows and by reason of their rank were exposed to greater pressures and tensions. Despite the fact that so many failed to come up to the Church's high expectations, they played an important part in preparing the way for the next generation. Their children had a headstart in "acquiring civilisation and advancing in Christianity". (38) Although it took time, the aspirations of Zonnebloem's founders were eventually realized.

The Unending Search for Inter-Cultural Understanding

The founding of Zonnebloem was an attempt to find a solution to the demands of the time. But the situation was timeless. The founders' sentiments could well have found an echo in the words of Geoffrey Clayton, spoken at his consecration as Bishop of Johannesburg on May 24, 1934 :

All the world over men are confronted by difficulties

that they do not know how to solve, and I think that these problems in the last resort come down to the question of personal relationships : how in the world to-day men are to live together and so to live together that there may be peace and not war, mutual trust instead of mutual contempt.
(39)

This was just as much the problem in the mid-nineteenth century as it was in the 1930's, and still is to-day. The problem of peaceful co-existence between black and white in South Africa has not yet been resolved. Nor for that matter are we now as sure as we were even a decade ago that inter-cultural understanding is the possibility it once seemed.

The founding of the Kafir College was at least an honest attempt by Sir George Grey and Bishop Gray to seek a solution in some small way. Their motives stemmed from the best intentions, their method was characteristic of the times. By establishing the College in Cape Town they at least showed some Africans how the most influential group of whites lived and were educated. Whilst such education may not have been the answer for all black men, it helped to open windows for mutual understanding.

On the surface, Bishop Colenso's attempts to locate his school in the midst of the students' home environment and teach them in their own language, appears to be a good idea in conformity with the modern approach. Whereas Bishop Gray's approach of drawing them away from home and providing them with a classical education seems far from what they really needed. But it was just because the Kafir Harrow was in such a vulnerable position, at the mercy of tribal feuding, that it came to a sudden end. In contrast, Zonnebloem's remoteness made possible its continuing survival. Further, the students gained something from being secure in the midst of Western civilization.

In our contact with the students' descendants it is apparent that their families' connection with Zonnebloem is a matter of considerable pride. The fact that many of the early students sent their sons and grandsons to the College is evidence of their appreciation of the type of education given there. The second and third generation African Old Zonns have in their turn shown the fruits of their education by becoming respected leaders of their people, prominent in public affairs, and loyal subjects

of Britain, fighting with the Allied Forces during the Second World War.

Zonnebloem has a tradition of which it is justifiably proud. The College has stood the test of time. It has the distinction of being one of the oldest schools in South Africa, a record of service to all sections of the community spanning one hundred and seventeen years.

University of Cape Town

1. Bishop Gray, "Zonnebloem", Feb. 1871, LB10:396.
2. "Kafir College, Grahamstown", Report by Mullins, MF, 1.4. 1872, 106.
3. Gray to Douglas, 28.7.1869, LB10:272.
4. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
5. "Native Education", Minutes of the Proceedings of the Synod of Bishops, Jan. 1869, No. xviii :14 - given in full; Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP. Compare the new policy in education which was taking shape at Lovedale during the late 1860's. The Scottish Foreign Mission Committee had a change in attitude and decided that in future African education should be directed towards the general uplift of the race and not towards the education of a restricted number of elites. James Stewart, who joined the staff in 1867 and succeeded Govan as principal in 1870, backed this new policy. This led to Lovedale offering different education for Africans and Europeans. The Africans were to receive elementary and industrial education, to fit them for the role of catechists and preachers. Only those doing the theology course would be allowed to study Greek and Latin - Shepherd, op.cit., 152 et seq.
6. MF, 1.4.1870, 112.
7. Gray to Wodehouse, 28.7.1869, ZP.
- 8.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Gray to Abercrombie, 9.1.1869, LB10:225.
13. Gray to Wodehouse, 28.7.1869, ZP.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid. It is of interest to note that the question of the College's removal was brought up again at regular intervals over the years, but this plan was never carried out, mainly because of the financial implications. The College is still situated on the Zonnebloem estate.
16. Ibid.
17. "Notes on Some Recollections of the Life and Church work of Bishop Gray in South Africa", CCP, July 1893, 1:ch.10.
18. Gray to Douglas, 1869, C.N. Gray, op.cit., 2:474.
19. The work of the S.S.J.E. in Cape Town is described in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 97f, 128, 138f. The Cowley Fathers opened their first school for African men in Cape Town in 1885.
20. Nonetheless African students were admitted up to 1920, when Government regulations finally put an end to this tradition.
21. Zonnebloem Record Book, 1873, ZP.
22. Bishop Callaway's Charge to Diocesan Synod, 1879, "Cape

- Colony - Kaffraria", S.P.G. Digest of Records, 314.
23. Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
 24. M. Ashley, "African Education and Society in the Nineteenth Century Eastern Cape" - C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (Eds.), Beyond the Cape Frontier (London : Longman, 1974) 199 et seq.
 25. Dr. Dale, "Zonnebloem", Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.
 26. Cape of Good Hope, Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1868, 8.
 27. Dr. Dale, "Zonnebloem", Cape Argus, 15.5.1877.
 28. Report of S.G.E., 1868, 7.
 29. Callaway, Synod 1871, quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 363.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Ashley, op.cit., 209f.
 32. "The Ethiopians", Article reprinted from the Times, 1.6.1906, CCM, 1906.
 33. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld, 135.
 34. Report from the "Eastern Star", quoted in MF, 1.4.1872, 106.
 35. Father F.M. Downton was quoting from report of the government officials who composed the Commission on Native Affairs - Lewis and Edwards, op.cit., 459.
 36. J. Bennekazi to Grey, 9.9.1860. African Letters X. See also Chapter XIII, Section 9.
 37. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld, 151f.
 38. Grey to Gray, 27.10.1860, quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 8.2.1869, ZP.
 39. Dr. G. Clayton, Sermon at the Service of Consecration, St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, 25.5.1934, Rand Daily Mail, 25.5.1934.

APPENDIX IZONNEBLOEM DEED OF TRUST

Bishop's Court Record Book, cciiif, BA.

Know all men whom it may concern.

That His Excellency Sir George Grey K.C.B., Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, Appeared before the Registrar of Deeds who declared that Whereas with a view of civilizing and Christianizing the native inhabitants of Africa and their descendents of pure and mixed race and of providing for the education of destitute European children, it is desirable that a portion of land situate at "Zonnebloem" in the district of Cape Town, should be set apart as an endowment for the establishment and maintenance of an Industrial School or Schools for the education of the children of African chiefs, and of pupils of all races in South Africa, to be under the management and superintendence of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town; and whereas sometime since the Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, Miss Burdett Coutts, the Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge, and other persons in conjunction with the British Government; did, to promote this object, provide funds for the purchase and adaptation by the Lord Bishop aforesaid of the Estate of "Zonnebloem" and whereas for the better and more effectual carrying out the objects in view, and securing, as far as may be, the permanent establishment of the School or Schools aforesaid, the Lord Bishop of Cape Town did by Deed of Transfer bearing ever date herewith, transfer and convey to the Appearer as aforesaid the undermentioned property, to the end that it might be transferred in trust. Now therefore the Appearer did by these presents cede and transfer to and on behalf of the Right Reverend Robert Gray, Lord Bishop of Cape Town and to his successors in the said See, certain pieces of land with the Buildings thereon, situated in the District of Cape Town, near the military lines, being portions of the divided Estate "Zonnebloem" measuring together eighty seven morgen, seventeen square roods Forty do : feet, and seventy two do : inches, extending as the two Deeds of Transfer with Diagrams thereunto annexed, dated the 17th February 1855 and 17th September 1859,

and several subsequent Deeds of Transfer, the last of which made in favour of the said Governor and High Commissioner on this date, will more fully point out; and further subject to such conditions as also therein mentioned or referred to, To hold the same in trust as an Endowment for the erection and maintenance of such Industrial School or Schools as aforesaid, so long as a Religious Education, with Industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall be given to the pupils maintained and instructed at such School or Schools as aforesaid, and to pay and apply the Rents, issues and profits of the same for or towards the maintenance of the said School or Schools, subject nevertheless to the trusts, and with the powers herein expressed and declared of and concerning the same, and with full power and authority to lease any part or parts of the said Land for any term not exceeding Twenty one years, and upon such terms and conditions and in such manner in all respects, as to the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors shall seem best fitted to promote the efficient maintenance of the said Institution or Institutions. And whereas in consideration of the before recited Transfer of the Estate aforesaid made in order that the Same should be securely settled upon the Trusts aforesaid, a certain residue of the purchase money agreed to be paid for the said Estate, to wit, a residue amounting to the sum of Two thousand five hundred pounds, has been advanced from and out of certain funds provided by Her Majesty's Imperial Government, and applicable to the purpose, it is hereby declared that if it should at any time hereafter be found that owing to want of adequate funds, or other causes, the School or Schools aforesaid can no longer be advantageously continued, then it shall be lawful for the Bishop of Capetown for the time being, with the consent of the Officer for the time being administering the Government of the Cape, to pay to the said Officer, for and on behalf of Her Majesty's Imperial Government, the sum of Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds sterling and thereupon all and singular the Trusts aforesaid shall cease and determine, and the estate aforesaid hereby transferred, shall rest with the See of Cape Town in the same plight and condition precisely as if the Transfer aforesaid of this date, and this Transfer, never had been made.

Wherefore the Appearer the said Sir George Grey K.C.B. Governor and High Commissioner as aforesaid renouncing all the Title heretofore to the premises on behalf as aforesaid, did in consequence also acknowledge to be entirely dispossessed of and disentitled to the same, and that by virtue of these presents the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors in the See henceforth shall be entitled thereto, under and subject to the conditions and Trusts herein before recited, promising to warrant the property thus ceded and transferred, Government however reserving its rights.

Appeared likewise the Right Reverend Robert Lord Bishop of Cape Town who declared by these presents to accept the said Trust under and subject to the conditions herein before mentioned, through the Registrar of the Diocese, thereto duly authorized by Power of Attorney of 31st of October 1860.

In witness whereof I the said Registrar together with the Appearers have subscribed to these presents and have caused the Seal of Office to be affixed thereto :

Thus done and executed at the office of the Registrar of Deeds in Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope on the Second day of the month of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

APPENDIX IICOMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Note : The table showing the Commencement of Missions is divided into two sections so that those Missions which got underway before the arrival of Bishop Gray in South Africa in 1848 are separated from those which commenced after that time.

The information is primarily taken from : J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Longmans, 1911 - Cape Town : Struik Facsimile Reprint, 1965) Appendix III: 463 to 465. See also : P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa (London : Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963); K.S. Latourette, The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia and Africa, AD 1914 : A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York and London : Harper, 1943); E. Strassberger, The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa, 1830 - 1950 (Cape Town: Struik, 1969).

COMMENCEMENT OF MISSIONS BEFORE 1848

Date of
Commence-

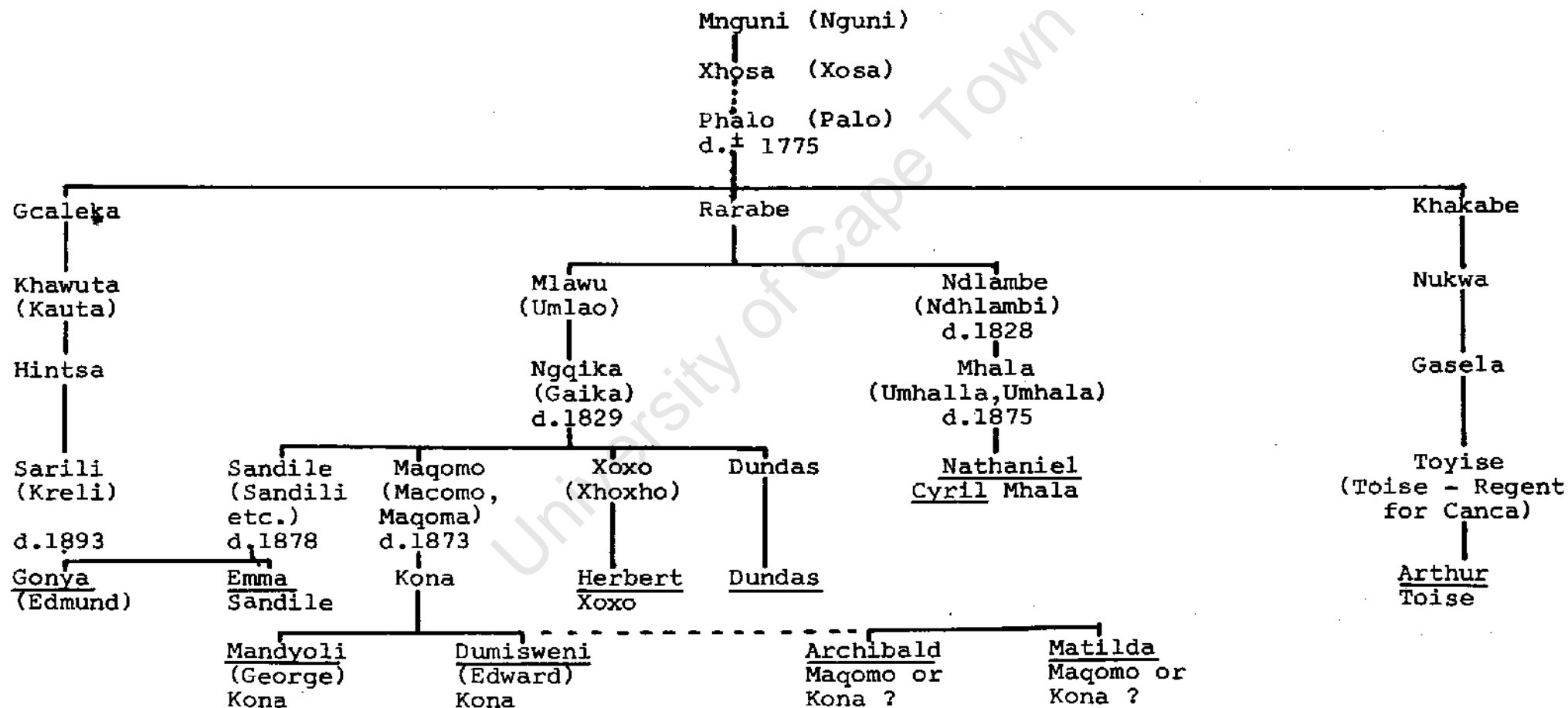
<u>ment</u>	<u>Society</u>	<u>Field of Work</u>
1737	Moravian Church	Cape Province, Native Territories
1799	London Miss.Soc.	Cape Province, Bechuanaland
1799	Zuid Afrikaanse Miss.Soc.	Cape Province, Bechuanaland
1814	Wesleyan Miss.Soc.	British South Africa
1820	United Free Church of Scotland	Native Territories, Natal
1824	Dutch Reformed Church.	British South Africa
1824	Berlin Miss.Soc.	C.P., O.F.S., Transvaal, Natal
1829	Paris Evangelical Miss.Soc.	Basutoland, Barotsiland
1829	Rhenish Miss.Soc.	German S.W.A., Cape Province
1835	American Board of Comm. for Foreign Missions	Natal, Rhodesia
1835	Church of England	British South Africa
1844	Norwegian Miss.Soc.	Natal, Zululand

COMMENCEMENT OF MISSIONS AFTER 1848

<u>Date of Commence- ment</u>	<u>Society</u>	<u>Field of Work</u>
1854	Hermannsburg Mission (and Hanoverian Free Church Mission)	Natal, Transvaal
1862	Roman Catholic Mission (Oblates of Mary Immaculate)	Basutoland
1869	Swiss Romande Mission	Transvaal, Port. East Africa
1870	Finnish Mission	Ovamboland
1873	Church of Norway Mission	Zululand, Natal
1876	Church of Sweden Mission	Natal, Zululand, Rhodesia
1880	R.C. Mission (Trappist Order)	Kaffraria, Natal, Zululand
1885	Free Methodist Church Mission	Natal
1889	South African General Mission	Native Territories, Natal, Swaziland
1890	Swedish Zulu Mission (Swedish Holiness Union)	Natal, Zululand
1890	Salvation Army	British South Africa
1890	Hanoverian Free Church Mission	Transvaal
1892	Scandinavian Alliance Mission	Natal
1892	Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union	Natal
1892	S.A. Baptist Miss. Society	Kaffraria
1896	S.A. Compounds and Interior Mission	Johannesburg, Port. East Africa
1896	R.C. Mission (Oblates of Mary Immaculate)	Great Namaqualand, German South West Africa
1896	Hepzibah Faith Miss. Assoc.	Natal, Johannesburg
1898	R.C. Mission (Oblates of Mary Immaculate and St. Francis of Sales)	O.F.S., Namaqualand
1898	Brethren in Christ Mission	Rhodesia
1899	Methodist Episcopal Church	Rhodesia
1899	Norwegian Free Mission	Natal
1904	Presbyterian Church of S.A.	Transvaal, Rhodesia

APPENDIX III

XHOSA GENEALOGY WITH REFERENCE TO THE CHILDREN OF CHIEFS WHO ATTENDED ZONNEBLOEM COLLEGE (The childrens' names are underlined in red)



References : Cory, op.cit., 1:30; Geneological Table of the Amaxosa chiefs, Rev. H.H.Dugmore's papers (published in the "Christian Watchman" during 1846 and 1847), Maclean, op.cit., 8; "Geneology of the Kafir Chiefs", 1858, Appendix to Dugmore's papers, Maclean, op.cit., 168; Soga, Ama-Xhosa, 17ff; Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., 1:88.

APPENDIX IV

HISTORY OF PROTEA - BISHOP'S COURT (BISHOPSCOURT)

Commander van Riebeeck obtained a grant of land at Green Point in 1658. After an unsuccessful attempt to grow vines on this land, he exchanged it for a freehold farm, 101 morgen in extent, situated on the south-eastern bank of the Liesbeeck River, near its source. The farm was first called Wynberg because of the vineyard. But when that name was shortly given to the elevated ground to the south and east, van Riebeeck's property was given the name Boscheuvel.

The Commander experimented with growing fruit trees. By 1661 there were many varieties under cultivation on the farm - oranges, lemons, citrons, pears, apples, plums, bananas, olives, walnuts etc., besides some thousands of vines.

Boscheuvel changed hands ten times after van Riebeeck before Horatius C.D. Maynier bought the property in August 1805 for £2,867. Maynier was a former landdrost of Graaff Reinet who had been expelled by the burghers in 1795. He let the house as a summer retreat to Governor Sir Lowry Cole in 1832. It was at this time that the name of the property was changed to Protea. The estate remained in the possession of Maynier's heirs until June 1851, when his grandson sold it to the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. According to Theal, the price paid was £3,100.

References : Cory, op.cit., 6:193f; H. Fransen and M.A. Cook, The Old Houses of the Cape (Cape Town : Balkema, 1965); M. Kirsten, The Old Company Garden at the Cape and its Superintendents (Cape Town : Maskew Miller, 1951) 51ff; G.M. Theal, "Facts Concerning the History of Bishopscourt", CCDG, 2 no. 24:371.

APPENDIX VHISTORY OF ZONNEBLOEM ESTATE

The three neighbouring farms on the slopes of Devil's Peak were all named after flowers. But, whereas the grants for Leliebloom (Lily) and Roodebloem (Redflower) were both made in 1692, Zonnebloem (Sunflower) was at first a loan-farm and was only granted in ownership fifteen years later. (1)

Zonnebloem was first mentioned at the turn of the century when a wealthy burgher, Claas Hendrik Diepenauw, was allowed the use of the farm for a number of years. Diepenauw, besides being a burgher Councillor and Orphan-master, also had the contract for supplying meat to the D.E.I.C. for some time. In addition to the two farms which he owned, he loaned several other farms, including Zonnebloem, in the environs of Cape Town. (2)

The first grant of "De zoogenaamde Zonnebloem" was made to Peter Christiaans in 1707. The property, comprising twelve morgen and sixty square roods of land, stretched from the sanddunes flanking Table Bay to the krantzies of the Windberg. It was crossed by the main track to Cape Town and the owner was required to keep a cattle path or "doordrif" open for public use. The grant also stipulated that any trees which were felled had to be replaced by the planting of oaks or other suitable species, and that a tenth of the corn produced was to be delivered as tax to the Company. (3)

Zonnebloem was sold for the first time in 1711, for six hundred Cape Dutch gulden (Guilders). (4) It changed hands four more times during the next twenty-eight years, its value increasing five-fold for the property was developed extensively during this period. (5) Vines were planted on the slopes of the mountain, and it was run as a wine and wheat farm, as well as being stocked with cattle and sheep. Two buildings were erected - a large unpretentious homestead without gables, and a barn to house the animals, farm equipment and wine cellar. (6) Rudolf Siegfried Allemann paid 3000 gulden for the property when he bought Zonnebloem in 1739. (7)

Allemann was one of the leading Company officials at the Cape at that time for he was Captain of the Military Forces and Commander of the Castle. He also held the position of upper

merchant and presided over the Council of Justice. In his biography of Allemann, O.F. Mentzel gave a detailed account of the Dutch Captain's distinguished career in the Colony, besides recording a vivid description of life at the Cape in the mid-eighteenth century. (8) Mentzel, a German, came to the Colony in the early 1730's as a soldier in the Company's service. He later became tutor to Allemann's children. Zonnebloem was acquired after the family's town house burnt down. Mentzel moved with them to their new home, and he described it as follows :

A large house standing in a fine garden and situated on a knoll below the Devil's Peak. This is a delightful spot; from it one can see the whole of town, the Castle, the Bay with ships lying at anchor in it; the Tijgerberg, Robben Island, and a great expanse of open sea. It would be impossible to find a more beautiful view anywhere at the Cape. (9)

Allemann obtained an additional grant of land in 1743, which doubled the size of the property. (10) When his two eldest sons inherited the farm in 1762, it was valued at 8000 gulden. (11) Bookkeeper Nicholaas Allemann sold his share, "the Garden", to his brother Frederick, the Company's "Assistent", two years later. (12)

Zonnebloem passed out of the Allemann family in 1774 when it was sold to Jan Hendrik Munnik, Adjutant (later Captain) of the Burgher Cavalry Corps. He lived there for the next twenty-four years. (13) During this period, the Cape was occupied by foreign forces, first the French, and then later, the English; and Zonnebloem was the scene of much military activity.

In 1781, Britain was at war with the United Provinces. France, fearful lest the Cape should fall into alien English hands, so threatening her sea route to the East, sent a fleet with troops to occupy the Company station, to guard and secure her interests. The French soldiers, assisted by the local burghers and their slaves, immediately set about improving Cape Town's defences. A line of ramparts and redoubts was built from Fort Knokke, near the beach, reaching up the mountainside to Zonnebloem. These entrenchments were originally named after the owner of the farm and called "Munnik's Lines". They later became more generally known as the "French Lines". (14) Following the First British Occupation of the Cape in 1795, the Lines were extended up

Devil's Peak, and three blockhouses were built at intervals so as to strengthen the fortifications. The lowest blockhouse, the Queen's, was erected on Zonnebloem. (15)

After Munnik's death in 1798, the estate was sold a number of times in rapid succession at greatly inflated prices. (16)

Mijnheer Frederick Goetz became the owner in 1800, paying 35,000 gulden, about £3500 for the farm. (17) Goetz was the son of a local wigmaker and silversmith. Prior to the coming of the British, he had been secretary to the Dutch Government under Commissioner Sluysken. Following his dismissal from this office he worked as a public notary. Goetz, "a cultivated and cynical Hollander", and his wife, were among the select group of Dutch people considered sufficiently cultured to be accepted into Lady Anne Barnard's intimate circle of friends at the Cape. (18) Lady Anne's husband was secretary to successive British Governors. She frequently acted as hostess at the Castle. At a party which she gave exclusively for her Dutch friends, the Goetz's elaborate but out-dated apparel caused her much amusement. (19) She described their dress in detail :

He wore his brown full-dressed suit and ventre d'or, like a goldfish. She in a muslin frock, a scarlet shawl, over which hung a diamond flower by a blue riband, two lockets of hair, and the whole crowned by a blue riding hat ornamented with white feathers, but let me not forget a pair of shoes so very high in the heels as to give her three inches of dignity at least. (20)

The Goetz family lived at Zonnebloem for only a few months. The farm was sold at a great profit to Alexander Tennant in October 1800, for 50,000 gulden - about £5000. The new owner was a Scotsman. (21) When the Batavian administration took over from the British in 1803, Tennant, together with the other British residents, was removed inland and held in confinement for six months. (22) After his release, he not surprisingly returned to his home country for a year's stay.

Before his departure in 1804, Tennant leased Zonnebloem and sold all the moveable property. He was a man of substance and the notice of the auction, which appeared in a local Dutch newspaper, advertised the sale of wagons, horses, cows and goats, as well as furniture, finely worked silver, a considerable quantity of imported European wine, bottles of beer, and diverse English

books by wellknown authors. In addition, there were more than sixty male and female slaves, mainly aborigenes of the Colony, who had been trained as carpenters, masons, wagon drivers, gardeners and cooks. (23)

When Tennant returned to the Cape in 1805, he was appointed by the Batavian administration to its grain committee. Grain was then in short supply and its sale had to be carefully regulated. Tennant retained his position when the Colony passed into British hands the following year. (24) But his fortune was made trading in slaves. As a shipping agent, he was involved in the importation of Africans from Mozambique, for sale in the Cape Colony. This lucrative income came to an end when the slave trade was abolished in 1808. He died insolvent in 1814. (25)

Zonnebloem estate was bordered on its lower boundary by the burgeoning village of Papendorp. This district acquired its curious name from the owner of the original farm, the Dutch burgher Pieter van Papendorp, who settled there in the middle of the eighteenth century. (26) With time, as the capital grew, it gradually spread beyond the Castle walls. Houses were built along the dusty main road that ran through van Papendorp's former property. (27) As the tentacles of the town reached out and grasped more and more land, the country estate was swallowed up, the victim of urban development.

The hamlet of Papendorp was the scene of much excitement when the British re-occupied the Cape in 1806. After the British force had defeated General Janssen's oddly assorted army (28) at the Battle of Blaauwberg (Blueberg), they marched on Cape Town. The burgher force, that had been left behind to defend the town's fortifications, was hopelessly inadequate and could not possibly compete with the superior strength of the enemy's troops. It made no attempt whatsoever to check the British advance. A truce was declared, and the French Lines and Fort Knokke were handed over on demand. (29) The articles of capitulation were signed the next day, January 10, at Papendorp, by representatives of the Batavian administration and Her Majesty's forces. The Cape Colony was formally surrendered to the British Government for the second time, at the entrance to the town, at the foot of Zonnebloem. (30)

The French Lines were further strengthened during the Governor-

ship of Sir George Cradock (1811 - 1814), Zonnebloem being the seaside terminus. (31) The Lines acted as a formidable boundary between Cape Town and the country. A toll was also instituted at this time, hence the origin of the name Toll-Gate.

Because Zonnebloem stretched from the mountain to the sea, the different roads that were constructed over the years, to connect the town with the suburbs, all had to traverse the property no matter at what level they were built. Compensation was duly given to the successive owners of the estate. The early roads ran along the mountainside so as to avoid the sand dunes flanking the shore-line. During Tennant's time, a new road was constructed at a lower level, further away from the homestead. Zonnebloem's owner was granted seventy-five morgen by the Burgher Senate in 1809, as compensation. (32) Tennant increased the size of the property with additional grants of land until it was two hundred and thirty-nine morgen in extent, the largest area it was ever to encompass. It extended along the slopes of Devil's Peak, to include the present day suburb of Vredehoek. (33)

Zonnebloem's Title Deeds stipulated that the ironstone found on the farm could be taken away and used for repairing roads. (34) The property was also rich in clay. The clay ground was first let to a brickmaker, J.H. Eybers, in 1812. He obtained court sanction to continue moulding and burning bricks after the property changed hands in 1815. (35)

Following Tennant's death, his insolvent estate was transferred to his executor, who was forced to sell off parcels of land to meet the debts. (36) The homestead and the remaining one hundred and ninety-two morgen of land fetched 108,000 guilders when sold in 1818. (37)

Zonnebloem was again put on the market three years later. (38) Although it found no buyer on this occasion, the sale notice is valuable evidence for it gives us a precise description of the property at that time. The buildings were said to be "capacious and extensive" and included "an excellent Dwelling House, suitable for the accomodation of a family, with numerous Out Offices". (39) The farm buildings - wagon and coach houses, stables, corn lofts and kraals - had formerly been let to the Government for the Artillery horses and Gunnery drivers. Not only was the estate comparatively close to the Castle, but it

was also near to the New Market, a distance of a quarter of a mile and an important asset to Agriculturists. The farm was publicized as "possessing every conveniency as a Depot for produce, Cattle and stock of every description", with "Arable, Garden and Pasture Land, the greater part now in cultivation". (40)

The military servitudes that were part of the conditions of sale attached to Zonnebloem, continued to exist until 1939. The estate's owner was required to keep the approaches to the fortifications and military Lines free of bushes and trees - so as to make them readily accessible to soldiers and to avoid providing protective cover for an enemy. The Government retained the right to erect Blockhouses, Forts, or any other military buildings that might be thought necessary for defence purposes, on the property. Any interference with existing fortifications was prohibited, and no private buildings were allowed to be erected in certain areas. (41)

Zonnebloem was leased by John Ingram from 1823 onwards. Ingram had originally come to the Cape at the head of an Irish 1820 Settler party. Although his settlement at Clanwilliam met with disaster, he nevertheless saw the Colony's need to acquire more settlers, particularly of the labouring class. He returned to Ireland in 1823 to muster together such a party. His group of immigrants arrived in December and camped at Zonnebloem with their families while waiting to be indentured. Many of them, "spoiled by the easy life became idle and shiftless", and caused trouble in the neighbourhood. (42) Ingram was kept busy pacifying the local police.

Zonnebloem was eventually bought by Ingram in 1830. (43) But he became insolvent soon afterwards, and plots were once again sold off to settle debts. The remaining property, one hundred and twenty-eight morgen in extent, changed hands twice more during the thirties, both buyers being Dutchmen. (44)

There is a watercolour of Zonnebloem, circa 1846, by George French Angas, which has also been reproduced as an engraving. (45) It is labelled as being one of the earliest wine farms above Woodstock. This picture shows the thatched and gabled house as well as the adjacent outbuildings, against the background of Devil's Peak and Table Mountain. A Malay sentry is apparently

guarding the steep steps that lead up to the entrance of the main house. In the foreground, washerwomen are shown at work, grouped around a stream that meanders through the farmyard.

Zonnebloem estate was acquired by Dr. George Eveleigh in 1848. (46) He was appointed Professor of the Physical Sciences at the South African College five years later. The College Council were shocked when Eveleigh applied for large sums of money to buy chemical apparatus, particularly as the Professor "proposed doing not much teaching". (47) He apparently never settled down well as a Professor and resigned his Chair early in 1855.

Eveleigh parted with large portions of Zonnebloem during his tenure of the property. Plots of ground, with woods and springs, were sold as residential sites. A pound was also established on the lower part of the estate at this time. (48) And as the farm was whittled away, the town pressed ever closer against the perimeter of the property.

Captain Wilson, the Port Captain, paid £2000 for the house and what remained of the estate, in 1857. (49) Bishop Gray paid three times as much when he bought the property for the Kafir Industrial Institution, two years later. By then Zonnebloem had shrunk in size and was only just over eighty-seven morgen in extent. (50)

NOTES ON APPENDIX V

1. P.W. Laidler, The Growth and Government of Cape Town (Cape Town : Unice-Volkspers, 1939) 383.
2. Diepenauw owned Joostenburg and Waarburg. See M. Kuttel, unpublished manuscript, "The Story of Zonnebloem", 34.
3. Old Cape Freeholds, 20.7.1713, T.945.
4. Zonnebloem was transferred to Jan Viok (the younger) for 600 gulden, 17.11.1711, T.883.
5. Zonnebloem transferred to Elias Kina for 620 gulden, 22.7.1713, T.945; Transferred to Melt van der Spuy for 1100 gulden, 1729, T.1893; Transferred to Nicholaas Gockelius for 3500 gulden, T.2130: Gift with 5 slaves to Steven ten Holder, in exchange for payment of 2 debts of 1000 gulden each, 15.9.1738, T.2409; Transferred to Rudolf Siegfried Allemann for 3000 gulden, May 1739, T.2441.
6. F. Valentyn, Description of the Cape of Good Hope with matters concerning it, Part 1, Second Series no. 2 (Cape Town : Van Riebeeck Society, 1971) 67 - View of the Cape of Good Hope.

7. The Cape gulden was then worth about is 8d.
8. O.F. Mentzel, Life at the Cape in Mid Eighteenth Century (being the Biography of Rudolf Siegfried Allemann, Captain of the Military Forces and Commander of the Castle in the Service of the D.E.I.C. at the Cape of Good Hope. 1784) translated from the German by M. Greenlees (Cape Town : Van Riebeeck Society, 2, 1919).
9. Ibid., 102.
10. Zonnebloem totalled 24 morgen 570 square roods in 1743.
11. Zonnebloem was inherited by Nicholaas Anthoon and Frederick Wilhelm Allemann, as well as the garden implements, nine garden slaves who had been baptized and could not be sold, the cattle, sheep, horses, wagons, wine etc.
12. Half share sold by Nicholaas to Frederick Allemann for 4000 guilden, 12.12.1764.
13. Zonnebloem transferred to Jan Hendrik Munnik, 4.11.1774, T. 4667.
14. P.W. Laidler, A Tavern of the Ocean (Cape Town : Maskew Miller. 1952) 102f. See also Kuttel, 39. Part of Zonnebloem was cut off by the Lines and Munnik was awarded compensation in 1787 according to Governor van Plettenberg's promise. He was granted a farm of 60 morgen, Hans Melchior's Kraal (Gravengift) near the Groen Kloof.
15. The Prince of Wales Blockhouse was built above present day De Waal Drive and the King's Blockhouse, on Devil's Peak.
16. Zonnebloem transferred to Floris Brand for 26,000 gulden, 1798, T.176; Transferred to Frederick Goetz for 35,000 gulden, 1800; Transferred to Alexander Tennant for 50,000 gulden, 15.10.1800.
17. The gulden was worth 2s Od in 1800. See E.H.D. Arndt, Banking and Currency Development in South Africa, 1652 - 1927 (Cape Town : Juta, 1928) 16.
18. M. Masson, Lady Anne Barnard (London : Unwin, 1948) 165.
19. Lady Anne would have worn a high-waisted Regency dress with flat slippers, and a muslin turban head-dress. Kuttel, 41.
20. D. Fairbridge, Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 - 1802 (Oxford : Clarendon, 1924) 36.
21. Tennant came from Ayr in Scotland. A direct descendent, Sir David Tennant, Speaker of the Cape House of Parliament, was Registrar of the Church of the Province of South Africa and of the Diocese of Cape, as was his son and namesake. See CCP, 2.12.1915, 12 no. 24:6.
22. Kuttel, 42.
23. The name of the newspaper is unknown.
24. Kuttel, 42.
25. Ibid.
26. C. Graham Botha, Place Names in the Cape Province (Cape Town : Juta, 1926) 81.
27. Van Papendorp registered his house and erf between the

Castle and Salt River in 1888, for 4000 florins as security of a debt to Jan Winterbach. See Laidler, Growth and Government of Cape Town, 401.

28. General Janssen's army was more than 2000 strong but it was made up of a motley collection of soldiers - burghers on horseback, regular Batavian troops, German mercenaries, the crew of two French ships, Javanese artillerymen, Hottentot foot-soldiers, and slaves from Mozambique. See Theal, S.A. Since 1795, 1:140f.
29. Ibid., 142 et seq.
30. H.W.J. Picard, Gentleman's Walk (Cape Town : Struik, 1968) 152.
31. Laidler, Growth and Government of Cape Town, 383.
32. Kuttel, 42.
33. Ibid., 42f.
34. Cape Title Deeds, Vol. 2. No. 7 (Freeholds), 21.3.1831.
35. Kuttel, 43f.
36. Tennant's insolvent property was transferred on his death to his executor, David Jennings, on 1.9.1815, T.261. Jennings sold portions of the estate to the value of 113,900 gulden.
37. Zonnebloem (192 morgen) was transferred to Henry Thomas Colebrooke, for 108,000 gulden, in 1818, T.537. The gulden was worth 6d in 1825. See Arndt, op.cit., 48.
38. The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 18.8.1821.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Cape Title Deeds, Vol. 2 No. 7 (Freeholds), 21.3.1831.
42. Laidler, Growth and Government of Cape Town, 383.
43. Zonnebloem transferred to John Ingram in 1830, T.139.
44. Zonnebloem transferred to J.W. Hurter, Nov. 1832, T. 469; Transferred to P.J. Redlinghuys, 1838, T.145.
45. "Zonnebloem", circa 1846, by George French Angas (1822 - 1866) Watercolour (C-45) and Hand coloured engraving (D-48) at Rust en Vreugd, Cape Town. A black and white engraving is titled "Zonnebloem in 1840", ZP.
46. Zonnebloem (116 morgen) transferred to George W. Eveleigh, 1848, T.75.
47. W. Ritchie, The History of the South African College : 1829 - 1918 (Cape Town : Maskew Miller, 1918) 155, 159.
48. Eveleigh sold off 194 acres during 1854 and 1855. Laidler, Growth and Government of Cape Town, 383.
49. Zonnebloem transferred to Captain Wilson for £2000, 1857.
50. Zonnebloem transferred to Bishop Gray on 4.1.1860 for £6000. Extent : 87 Morgen, 17 Roods, 40 Feet, 72 Inches.

APPENDIX VIABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF EXPENDITURE OF THE KAFIR INDUSTRIAL
INSTITUTION, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 MARCH 1860

Glover Report to S.P.G., ZP.

	£	s	d
Provisions	749	1	34
Clothing	63	15	24
Wages and Washing	78	7	6
Books and Stationery	10	14	2
Furniture, Bedding etc.	107	3	11
Medical Attendance	8	13	3
Sundries	11	15	114
	£1527	7s	1d

This sum of money was received from the British Treasury for the Maintenance of the Kafir children.

An additional sum of £38 was given for the purchase of cows for the use of the Institution and £44 11 94 was used for matters concerning the removal of the College to Zonnebloem - including Wages for the Masons and repairs to the dormitory roofs.

Total : £1609 18s 104d

APPENDIX VII

History of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury

St. Augustine landed in Kent in AD 597 and soon won King Ethelbert to the Christian faith. The King, in gratitude for his conversion, gave a site in the city for a cathedral church and another site outside the east wall for a monastery, the first to be founded in England. It was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul in 613. The name of St. Augustine was added in 978. The early Kings of Kent and the first Archbishops were buried there and their tombs are still to be seen. Two successive monastic churches were built in the Saxon period and their foundations still remain. A great Norman abbey church was built in the eleventh century to replace them.

In the Middle Ages, St. Augustine's was the Mother University of England - "at a time when Cambridge was a desolate fen, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of waters". Besides the traditional subjects of theology, Latin and Greek; astronomy, arithmetic, music and poetry were also taught. It was the first Abbey of the Benedictine Order to be built in England and it remained powerful until the 16th century.

The Monastery was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1538. Its treasures and estates were seized for the royal exchequer, stones from many of the buildings were sold to the citizens of Canterbury and what remained became a royal palace. It was visited in turn by Queen Elizabeth I, Charles I and Charles II. The buildings later fell into decay. By 1840 they were being used as a beer-house and a centre for cockfighting.

Some churchmen bought the property in 1844 and new buildings, designed in the Gothic style by William Butterfield, were added.

The Missionary College of St. Augustine's was established in 1848. Eight hundred men were trained there before it was closed in 1942, after being damaged by bombs during air assaults in the Second World War. Repairs took some time to be effected and it was ten years before it was re-opened. It became the Central College of the Anglican Communion in 1952. But in September 1969 it was once again turned into a theological college. In 1972, it offered a course in pastoral and applied theology to

students who were seeking to be ordained in the Church of England. They came mainly from King's College London.

References : St. Augustine's College, Canterbury : A brief guide (Canterbury : Snowden, 1971); St. Augustine's Canterbury : Central College of the Anglican Communion (Oxford : Church Army Press); St. Augustine's Abbey : Official Guide-book (Scotland : H.M.S.O., 1965); R.J.E. Boggis, A History of St. Augustine's College Canterbury (Canterbury, 1907).

APENDIX VIII

THE GRANT OF A FARM IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, AS A PERMANENT
ENDOWMENT FOR ZONNEBLOEM INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION. 10 DECEMBER
1861

Notice

King William's Town

The Undersigned, being duly authorized, will Let for a term of years, as may be agreed upon, that very valuable FARM granted by His Excellency SIR GEORGE GREY, to the See of Cape Town, as an endowment to the Kafir College.

This farm contains 1865 acres, and is situated on the right bank of the Buffalo River, about 14 miles from King William's Town, and 4 miles from Need's Camp, bounded on the lower side by Farm No. 23, occupied by E.H. RENSBERG, on the upper side by Farm No. 308, lately purchased by T. SIMPSON.

Comment as regards the quality and superiority of this Farm is needless, from the fact that it has been expressly selected as one of the best Farms in Kaffraria for the purpose above named.

RICHARD TAYLOR

APPENDIX IXADDRESS TO BISHOP COTTERILL FROM THE NATIVE LAITY OF ST. MARK'S

Published in "The Mission Field", 2.10.1871, 300.

My Lord, - We the native parishioners of St. Mark's having heard with deep regret of your call to another sphere of labour, not anywhere near us, humbly beg to announce to your Lordship our sincere sorrow for the great loss which we apprehend we must sustain.

Your Lordship's removal from our midst is one of a piece with the line of calamities which have been, and are the misfortunes of our Southern Africa. We regret your Lordship's departure from us, for we had begun to appreciate the blessedness of that invaluable union with Christ the Head, and with the universal Church of God, which not even an angel's tongue could sufficiently declare. We lose your Lordship in both these feelings; for we had felt that it was through your Lordship's instrumentality by tendering to Mr. Water's wise rules for the governance of his charge, that these sentiments found home in our hearts. We also were persuaded by marking your Lordship's care for every branch of the Church of Christ in your supervision especially of us, that indeed we are members of one body and all are brethren. How much we shall miss (your 2) rule, no wisdom can express. We really envy that flock, who shall have a great gain through our great loss. May your Lordship strive to leave us a proficient successor May your Lordship never forget us in your prayers ! That prosperity may attend your Lordship both in your journey to your future diocese, and its governance, is the hearty prayer of St. Mark's parishioners. - Farewell.

Signed on behalf of the native laity of St. Mark's,
N.C. Umhalla.

APPENDIX X

CHURCH PERIODICALS

Church periodicals have proved to be a rich source of material for this history. During the nineteenth century the Church was entirely dependent on this medium for communicating and publicizing the nature of its work. The English missionary magazines and the South African diocesan and provincial journals, however, aimed to serve different sections of the religious public and so the type of information which they published varied and depended on the specific objects of the periodical concerned. In their different way these journals provide valuable historical records on education and mission in South Africa in general, and on Zonnebloem and its students in particular. Short explanatory notes are given about the publications indicating their special interest and possible bias.

I ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

The English magazines sought to keep the public "at home" in touch with the work of the mission field in all parts of the world. Contributions from missionaries came in the form of letters, reports and journals; and in true Victorian fashion, the churchworkers impressions and accounts of their doings were recorded at great length.

1. S.P.G. Publications

a. Quarterly Paper. Started in 1839. It gave extracts from letters of Bishops and other missionaries with information about the work of the Society, and other papers of interest.

b. Gospel Missionary. Begun as the first monthly magazine of the S.P.G. in January 1851.

c. Monthly Record. Started in 1852. Limited to one article - description of the history of some diocese or some aspect of missionary work.

d. The Mission Field. Successor to the Monthly Record - 1856. A monthly record of the proceedings of the S.P.G. at Home and Abroad. Its chief object was to present extracts from the letters and reports of the Bishops and other Missionaries abroad, telling in their own words what was going on in their

several spheres of labour.

e. The Annual Reports of the Society. 1704 to 1892.

f. Digest of S.P.G. Reports. 1701 to 1892. A complete chronicle of the Society's work in all parts of the world.

g. 200 Years of the S.P.G. 1701 to 1900.

2. The Net : "Cast in Many Waters - Sketches from the Life of Missionaries". Founded January 1, 1866.

Miss Anne Mackenzie, the first editor (1866 - 1877) aimed to confine the magazine to small portions of the mission field with which she had been concerned and from which she could obtain direct intelligence. Her personal experience was used to give a background to the mission reports, and she supplemented the converts' and churchworkers' letters with descriptions of the manners and customs of the people, the nature of the country etc. as well as making observations on the trials, difficulties and encouragements of her mission friends. The Kwamagwaza mission in Zululand and the "College at Cape Town for the Sons of Native African Chiefs" were two of her selected projects.

Miss Mackenzie also undertook to receive subscriptions and donations for the missions in addition to collecting second hand and new clothes, dress material, church furniture, teaching material and books. She believed in the power of "the Tittles" in doing good and small sums of money were collected from a large number of contributors. From 1866 to 1877 the sum total raised by "The Net" was :

For the Mackenzie Memorial Fund	£18,117 8s 5d
For other missions	£ 9,846 5s 9d

3. St. Augustine's College, Canterbury - Occasional Papers

1843 to 1945. Printed by the College Press. A record of news of the College and, more particularly, the letters of graduates working as missionaries in all parts of the world.

4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine

The community of St. John the Evangelist had its headquarters in Oxford. The magazine published letters and reports on the

work of the Cowley Fathers at Home and Abroad.

II SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLICATIONS

The South African publications were restricted by limited subscriptions and had to contend with great financial difficulties from the start. Many ceased functioning after only a short span of life. The diocesan magazines were mostly concerned with establishing contact between parishes within a diocese and with the work of the particular diocesan mission field, while the provincial journals attempted to co-ordinate communications between the different dioceses.

1. The Province of South Africa

a. South African Churchman's Almanack. Started in 1850.

b. South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review. 1850 to 1857. Monthly publication. Its object was to faithfully expose "the mind of the Church of England, as interpreted by her own authoritative formularies".

c. South African Church Magazine and Educational Register. 1858 to 1859. This magazine attempted to make (b) acceptable to a wider circle of readers. It aimed to diffuse information concerning Education and to guide, by advice and judicious criticism, the new developments in South Africa, taking its stand on the principle "that religion and morality must be the leaven of a sound education".

d. The Church News for South Africa. 1864 to 1886. Edited by the Rev. Lightfoot for a time from 1866 on.

e. Colonial Church Chronicle.

f. The Southern Cross. 1890 to 1901. Monthly publication edited by A.T. Wirgman.

g. The Church Monthly. 1897 to 1906.

h. The Church Chronicle for the Church of the Province of South Africa. 1904 to 1935. Its object was to supply information as to what was taking place in the Church - in the Province, in the Mother Country and in other parts of the world - and to be a means of intercourse between Church people. Missionary undertakings were a particular interest.

i. South African Church Quarterly Review. 1906 to 1911.

j. The Cape to the Zambesi. The South African Church Magazine. 1934 to 1969. It set out its aim as being : "a first step in co-operation on the part of the various Diocesan Associations. In South Africa the Church of the Province works and acts Provincially, and it is the purpose of this magazine to voice in England that work as a whole".

2. Diocese of Cape Town.

a. The Church News. 1866 to 1883.

b. The Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record. 1892 to 1913. Its object was to supply a means of communication between the scattered parishes and to cultivate a brotherly interest in the common work of the Diocese and Province.

c. Cape Town Diocesan Magazine.

3. Diocese of Grahamstown.

a. The Church Chronicle. 1880 to 1890. A record of Church news for the Diocese of Grahamstown and the Province of South Africa.

b. Grahamstown Diocesan Magazine. 1884 to 1893.

c. The News Letter. 1917 to 1965. The Monthly Diocesan Magazine.

4. Diocese of Bloemfontein.

a. Bloemfontein Mission - Orange Free State and Basuto Mission. 1863 to 1879.

b. Bloemfontein Quarterly. 1876 to 1920.

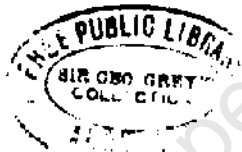
AFRICAN LETTER I

Tsekelo and Tlali Moshueshue (Moshesh) to Grey, Cape
Town, 4.12.1857.

! 30
1/2
Glass case p. 216
Cape Town December 4
1857

To His Excellency
The Governor

Sir



Some time ago
you were pleased to tell us
that we would write to our
father to inform him of
your kind intentions of sending
us to England.

We have done so and we are
very happy to inform you
that our father is much
pleased with it and he says

He is sure that whatever
your Excellency does will
certainly be well done & that
he will even be grateful
for it.

He has the honour to be
Your Excellency's
most obedient & humble
servant

Isakiah J. Hall
His Excellency's Secretary

AFRICAN LETTER II

Samuel Moroka to Grey, Cape Town (Bishop's Court),
July (1859?)



of after town July 9 1859

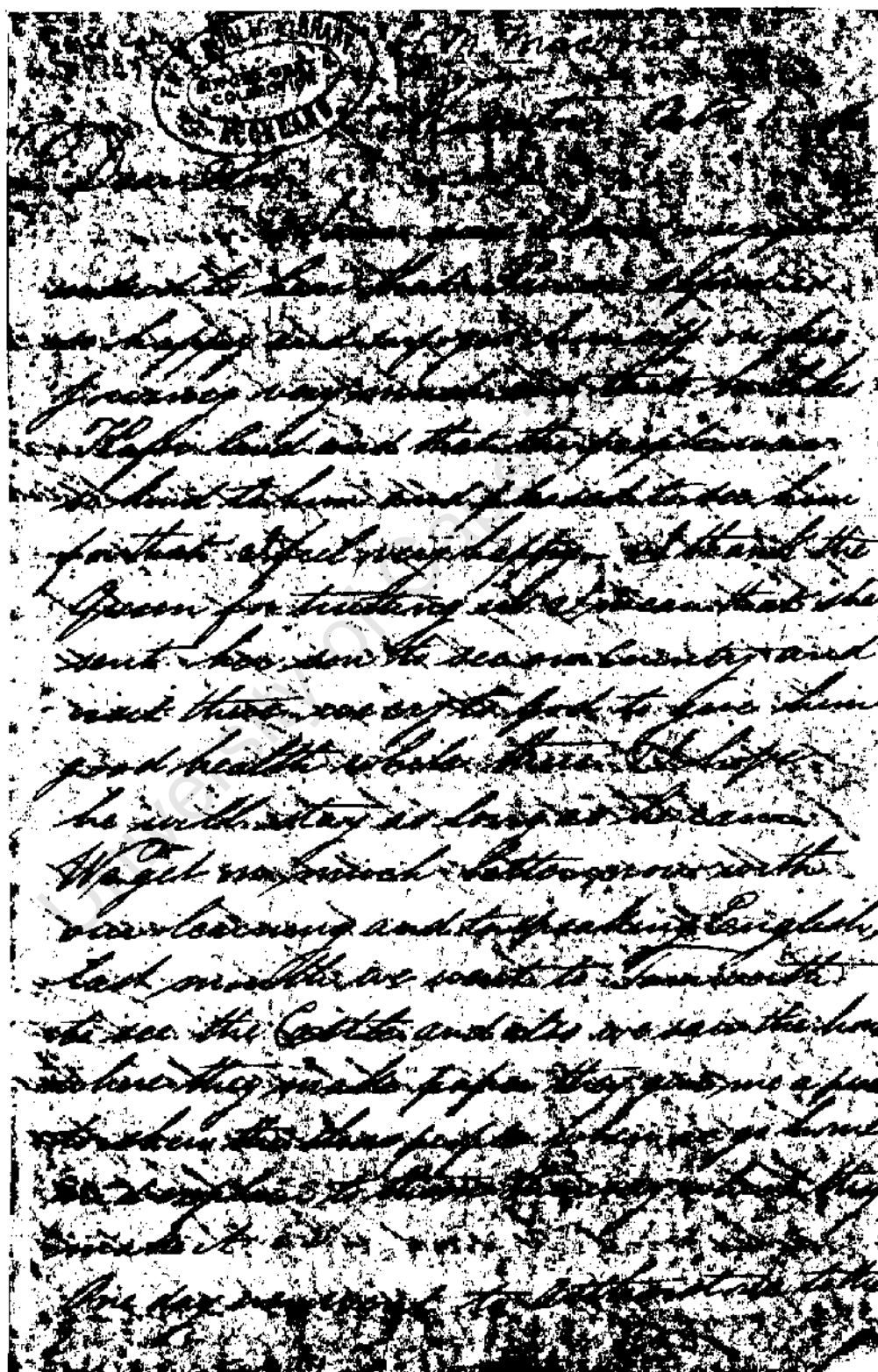
Samuel Moroka.

To Sir George Grey I send this
letter to you Sir I like to go England
Sir I like you much Sir and I want
any thing I must ask to you Sir and
I was wrote to my father I tell him
I shall ask to you Sir and he said
it is good he said if I want anything
I must ask to you Sir I like very
much Sir if I can go England I
shall be glad Sir I like Sir
I like to go and I thought my
father he shall be glad Sir if
he hear I go England to learning
he shall very glad Because you
promis my father you said to him
you shall bring me England then
Sir I like very much Sir to go
England Sir

Sam Samuel Moroka.

AFRICAN LETTER III

George Mandyoli Macomo (Maqomo) to Grey, Nuneaton,
1.10.1860.



I spanken her a Cattle show I like them
 very well but the things, I like best
 of all were the ground, and gardens, and park
 There were some nice little Pigeons. —
 The prizes were some ten shillings and
 some two or three pounds. There were nice
 horses but although they have not
 reached up to yours; There were very pretty
 flowers, and some balls too, And then the ladies
 played the the trumpets they came from
 London they played very nicely indeed —
 And we dined with Mr. Savage's friends
 there, One day little longer ago I went
 to the station to meet Mr. Savage & boys
 from Atterstone School. And I saw
 in there, some body called me, I could
 not tell who — and he asked me if
 I remember him at Sir George Grey's
 house and it was Colonel Newdegate
 I was quite astonished to see him, then
 he says he does not live very far
 off from Nuneaton only about 80
 miles and he said when I wrote to
 "I may tell you that I have seen

him, and he gave ^{this regard} ~~me~~ ^{to you}.
 Please Mr. to tell me if you have
 seen my grandfather since you ^{you} say
 how is he, now or how does he get
 on. I am looking to hear from
 you about him, I shall be very
 much pleased to hear of him.

We are thankful to God for his mercy
 to hear our prayer, when we pray for
 you to send you back again because
 you ~~did~~ ^{do} please us. We do hope that
 God will bless thee ~~and~~ ^{and} help thee to
 rule there in the righteousness way
 of, as St. Matthew's 5th Chapter one verse
 says. Blessed are they which do hunger
 and thirst after righteousness for they shall
 be filled. I am sure it does make me feel
 to wish to be there. When Mr. Savage
 preaches I understand almost all that he says.
 I desire of him to go to our country to preach our
 people and I hope God will rise up that dark
 country now become Christians we pray to
 God to help the missionary to teach those ~~that~~
 them to know their salvation and save their
 souls.

As the day is very late
 I have not all of my feelings
 I must say I am very
 what, most thing I am
 makes me very happy to
 that I am full of love to
 I have sent her love to you

I am Dear Sir
 Your Obedient
 Servant
 George Washington

Son of Thomas P. Washington
 Washington

Emma Sandilli (Sandile) To Grey, Zonnebloem, 2.11.1860.

2

November 2. 1860

Zonnebloem

My Lord Governor. I
want to ask you if you
please sir to let me go back
to see my parents for a short
time and I will come back

again I will not stop any
longer. It is because I do

desire to see my parents and
again I beg you to let me

go to see my parents and if

you do let me go I shall

never forget your kindness

I should be so please to see

3

my Mother's face again.

I beg you do let me go

my Lord Governor of

your kindness I am

quite sure that you will

I cannot do so I like now

because you are in my

father's place. if you do

4

listen to my ask I am sure

I do not know what I

shall do, because I cannot

do any thing for you,

and you can do so

much for me

Emma Sandilli.

AFRICAN LETTER V

Boy Henry Duke of Wellington Tshatshu to Grey, Nuneaton,
4.1.1861.

Grey, Nuneaton, p. 102.
H. D. Tshatshu
Dear Sir
As I have not written
to you such a long time I thought
you would like to hear from us.
We had a letter the other day from the
boys to say that the boys from my home
are going to leave the Cape. I felt very sorry
to hear of it for I never thought that
they would have such opportunity of
learning God's word. I told my cousin
after he wrote to tell me that he was
going home that I hoped he would not
think of such a thing again for I often
think of home myself but I want to
finish the duty I came here for. I
should not like to go till I have learned
a great deal more and I think it is
very wrong of their people to send for them.
Will you excuse me asking you Sir if
you have settled about the piece of land
you were kind enough to promise to give
me. I am very sorry to hear that
that we are not going to have you for
our governor any longer. I hope I can
I am sure I cannot express how much



we shall always you. I know all
 our people will prize to hear it
 because we have never had such
 good Governor before. We have
 spent a very nice Christmas here
 this year we have had snow on the
 ground for the last few weeks it has
 been very cold, but I think George
 and I stand it as well as the English
 people - I think it is a great blessing that
 we have been so well ever since we
 came to England - We are going
 on very nicely with our learning
 we have got to the 1st Proposition
 in Euclid and we now understand
 it very well we have also begin
 Latin which we like very much our
 Schoolmaster is so kind to us
 and tries to explain all the
 difficult parts to us - George and
 I have joined a Bible - Class and
 soon we learn there we hope
 will be a blessing so that we may
 go back and teach our people
 about Christ and his
 sufferings for sinners

We heard ^{from} the Bishop by the last
 mail - he was quite well -

Believe me very Dear Sir
 Yours obedient & grateful
 Boy Henry Duke of Devonshire

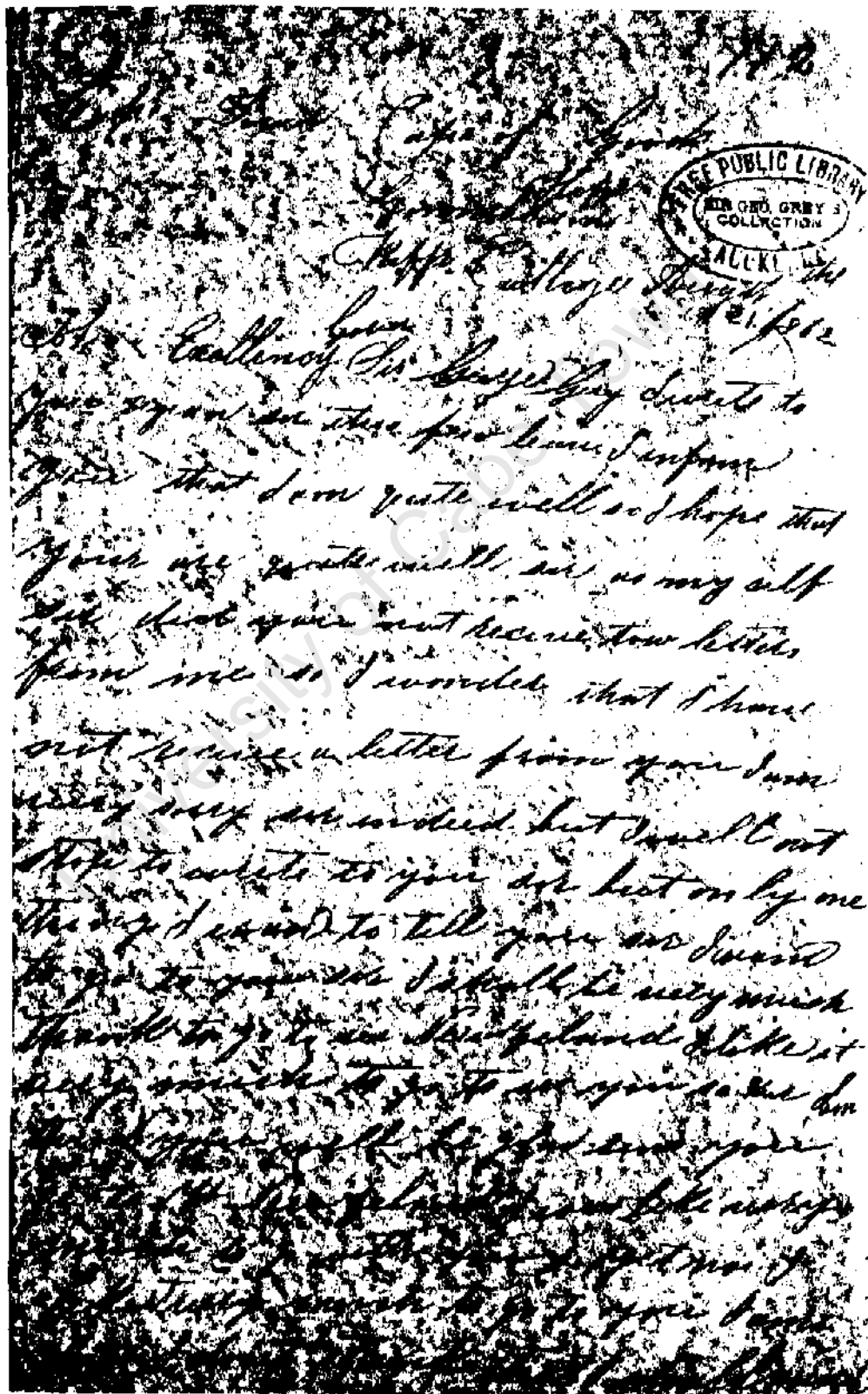
AFRICAN LETTER VI

George Moroka to Grey, Zonnebloem, 11.7.1861.

MISS CAP. 138
PUBLIC LIBRARY
LONDON
George Moroka (Son of George Moroka)
Cape of Good Hope July 11
Dear Sir George Grey
I write to you this few letter but
but I ask you if you can
receive your letter from my Father
Moroka or not he say he must
a letter but he had say I must ask
you if you receive that letter
for you he say he has some paper
if you go away from the Cape
he said he don't if it is true
at the say if it is so I will
you to go with you where you go but
but I tell my Father I say to him
if Sir George Grey go home
but he say very well
tell him if you go I will
I am your affectionate son

AFRICAN LETTER VII

George Moroka to Grey, Zonnebloem, 21.8.1862.



I found a General like the General I
 now I don't think that I shall find
 one like that. But George said I had nothing
 to say to you but we will find
 that you must wait to me please
 I remember you very much but I
 like to see you very much so I hope
 you will not play always to God that
 we must keep you in my dear Sir I must
 not say my dear Sir I must say my dear
 Father because you was great like my father
 and my father. Moroko say dear I must
 write to you I did say yes he did write
 me why did you not go with me George
 I did tell him that I wrote to him
 but I have not got answer yet from
 you but now I must say by the
 circulation of with my dear
 hand I send my best love to you
 I am always Yours Affectionally
 George Moroko the Prince of Darlington
 Cape Town Cape of Good Hope
 Your obedient servant K. H. H. H.

my dear Sir I have nothing to
 say to you but I am very sorry
 because I did not have your answer
 I don't know if you got the note
 I am always Yours Affectionally
 George Moroko the Prince of Darlington
 Cape Town Cape of Good Hope
 Your obedient servant K. H. H. H.

AFRICAN LETTER VIII

George Moroka to Grey, Zonnebloem, 26.8.1862.

Cape Town Cape of Good Hope
 Hope College 710
 Zonnebloem. August 26th 1862
 Le
 My dear George
 I have written this few notes
 to you I don't think that are
 reaching my letter. I write many
 letters to you my dear Father
 in law I wonder about about
 but I remember you very much
 I was wish that I can be your
 when I heard in the newspaper
 that in the Cape that Sir George
 would send people to go to
 the Zulu work. I was wish
 that I must be there but Sir I don't
 think you will go see you
 very much I don't think
 that I shall see you

Forgive his message but
the world because he like all
the people white and black. I
have nothing to say I hope that
you're quite well I was very
glad when I heard that
you're quite I don't have to go
back to my Country without
seeing your head and tell
my father how did I see you
because I like to go in Singapore
so I hope that I shall be
so glad to see you as if
God took care of you and
I am always pray to God
that he must keep you
always in your life till
we meet together I shall
be very glad to see you again

I shall be very glad where
 I am here in hope that
 do be the same to me say down
 George Morda to come to me on
 Minneapolis how glad shall I be
 I think that we can do so
 he I liked very much so
 I must say good bye so I
 forget to give the salutation of my
 Father the old Chief Orosaka
 he say I must send his love to
 you he say he don't live well when
 you was going to Minneapolis he
 remember you very much I
 think he will write to you
 I hope that you are safe - and
 God must keep you always to go
 ing out and coming in so far
 must be to God he keeps us
 I am your dear son George
 Morda

AFRICAN LETTER IX

George Moroka to Grey, Zonnebloem, 22.11.1862.

I have been thinking of you
 very much, and I have been
 thinking of the opportunity of writing
 to you, and I have been thinking
 of you in good health, as it seems
 your wellwishing son George Moroka,
 I have nothing to say to you, but
 very much glad that you are well,
 yet so, thanks must be to God, I pray
 to God always to protect you, as it seems
 and God, and my father the late
 Moroka, my I must send his love and
 to you, and he says he will very much
 you, he says he will not forget you,
 and as all the people are pleased, I want
 with you, and I will send you the same
 and I will send you the same

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am
 glad to hear from you. I am well and hope this letter
 will find you the same. I am not at present in the
 city but I will write you again as soon as I can.
 I am, my dear friend, very respectfully,
 Yours,
 Wm. Lloyd Garrison

Josiah Bennekazi to Grey,
Fingoland, 9.9.1880.

9th September
1880

My dear and to say, that it is
only of late, that I learnt of your address
or else, I would have written long
before this

Touching introductory of myself

I am one of those young men, which you
sent to Cape Town for Education 1858.

With Gouza, who is Christianised as (Edmund
Sandile) with some of Basuto Boys

I am moved I felt it to be my bounden duty
to return thanks to His Excellency the

Governor for his great kindness, in
bringing me to the light I enjoy at present
enjoying it for your people

Thinking His Excellency will be sorry as I am
to hear these many failures of my fellow
scholars. For some, through misconduct were sent
away from Goumbela, & had to return to
the red clay which their ^{father's} used.

Some died of common deaths

Some still attain unto ^{what} they were taught
& are in Civil services & some teaching, and
are enjoying the light of the Gospel and
Civilisation

Emula Sandile is one of those who returned
to red clay. Edmund Sandile is married to
one of those girls who were with us in Goumbela
Houman or Herbert Noko is a Teacher, but he
never could enjoy good health. Houdile or
Kathaniel Moko is in a lawyers office H.W. by
Stephen or Moko is in Holy orders near Fort
Barnard at a Place called Trinity mission

The rest I will fail to remark. as they are
many & are far apart from each other.

As for girls only two that still make their good
talent given them. that is Komantse magoma
& Kankho

Vast Changes took place since you left us, & we are
unto this day, like unto the Children of Israel after the
Death of their Kind Pharaoh.

My heart aches when I remember the time you
kept us when you used to give us good dinners
& used to return to Gonaubani each time with
5 shillings each boy. And all wishing for the
morrow to buy beads & marbles

On the year 1883 my native place broke into
war with the Colony. The consequence is the
death of Jandik Kellor in a bush. and the
Capture of all his sons Edmund & all. who
are in Robben Island unto this day

I do measure for his Excellency for I am sure
I would not ^{have} been so poor if He was still with
us. I have 3 Children which I am trying to bring up
as I was brought with the little money I get
I am in great here. & we are looking for help.

Hoping to receive a favourable answer
of the Governor

I beg leave to be yours

Josiah Benerozi

my address

Josiah Benerozi

Care of Dr. F. Gladwin R. M.

Agassieburg Island

South Africa.

I must bring this to the
 notice of his Excellency
 I did not get a farre, as
 all my fellow scholars
 having mentioned that
 to the Cape Government
 it was said that I
 was forgotten, & there
 are no farms.
 I thought I would never
 get it in money, or
 anything, for I think it
 to be my inheritance
 some of the boys sold their
 farms for 250

I beg leave to be
 Sir

Your obedient servant
 Josiah Bembosi

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